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Volume VIII, 1942.

Article No. 1.

The Rājāvāḍī (Bhāwāl) Plate of Lakṣmaṇa Sena Deva.

By N. K. Bhattasali.

This copper-plate grant of King Lakṣmaṇa Sena Deva of Bengal has had an unusually chequered history. The salient points of that history are briefly noted below.

History of the Find.

This single sheet of copper was dug up about 1790 A.D. by a Koñch cultivator from the vicinity of an old tank and the *Math* on its bank, called respectively Maggi's *Dīghī* and Maggi's *math*, situated on the District Board road running from Kāpāsiā to Rājendrapur Ry. Station,—about 3¼ miles west of Kāpāsiā, and 9½ miles north-east of the Jayadevpur Railway Station on the Dacca-Mymensing Railway line, Dt. Dacca, in the village of Rājāvāḍī.[1] The finder took the plate to Rājā Loknārāyaṇ Roy,[2] the then zamindar of Bhāwāl. His son, Rājā Goloknārāyaṇ Roy showed the plate in about 1829 to Mr. Walters, the then District Magistrate of Dacca. The keensighted Magistrate immediately realized the importance of the copper-tablet inscribed with ancient writing and obtained it from Rājā Goloknārāyaṇ. He then asked Paṇḍit Bhairab Tarkālaṅkār, the Court-Paṇḍit of the period at Dacca, to decipher the plate. The Paṇḍit fared very ill with the unfamiliar work entrusted to him and supplied the Magistrate with a reading, which was almost totally fictitious. Mr. Walters presented the plate to the Asiatic Society of Bengal along with the Tarkālaṅkār's reading. Dr. H. H. Wilson, who was then the Secretary of the Society, immediately gauzed Tarkālaṅkār's reading at its proper value, pronounced it as 'exceedingly and unnecessarily defective' and employed three Paṇḍits to prepare a fresh reading. They took great pains and prepared an improved reading, but Dr. Wilson entertained 'strong doubts' about the correctness of even this reading and was not prepared to depend upon the results achieved. But he ascertained by comparison of portions, that it was a much more faithful copy than the one sent by Mr. Walters.

With the help of the version prepared by the Paṇḍits of the Society, Dr. Wilson read a notice of the plate in a monthly meeting

[1] The location of the tank can be seen on Fig. D, on p. 16, in the north-east corner of the village of Rājāvāḍī, just on the border of the village, south of the District Board road.

[2] Mr. Walters writes: 'Luckhenarian', from which I originally gave the name as Lakṣmīnārāyaṇ. The famous Sannyāsi Kumar Rāmendra Nārāyaṇ one day, in the course of a conversation, corrected my mistake.

of the Society held on the 6th May, 1829, giving all the details of the find and of the attempts at decipherment. Unfortunately, there was no official Journal or Periodical of the Society during this period and thus the Proceedings of this meeting failed to get recorded in any publication of the Society. Dr. Wilson went away to England after 1833 and took over the duties of the Librarian of the India House in London. Presumably, he took away the plate with him for better decipherment and left it at the India House Library. Thus all trace of the plate was lost from the Society, and the notice read by Dr. Wilson in Society's meeting of the 6th May, 1829, was left pigeon-holed to decay in the archives of the Society, undisturbed by any subsequent investigator. The fact of the find of such a plate was thus completely forgotten. Dr. Rajendralal Mitra, General Cunningham, and others who subsequently wrote about the Sena Kings of Bengal, had no knowledge of the find of such a plate, relating to the Sena Kings.

One, Babu Nabin Chandra Bhadra wrote a history of the *Parganā* of Bhāwāl in Bengali (*Bhāoāler Itihāsa*), probably about sixty years ago. In this pioneering attempt at writing local history, the find of a copper-plate at Rājāvāḍī in the *parganā* of Bhāwāl is noticed on page 26. It is also recorded there that the plate was sent to the Asiatic Society for decipherment and thence to England.

The present writer long searched for any other notice of this mysterious plate in all possible quarters. In 1920, Mr. J. T. Rankin, I.C.S., the then Commissioner of the Dacca Division and Chairman of the Dacca Museum Committee, handed over to him a volume of a Journal published from London, called the Asiatic Journal and Monthly Register, Vol. XXVIII, July to December, 1829, and pointed to a passage in it, containing a notice of the long-sought for Bhāwāl plate. The passage occurred on page 709, under the head 'Varieties'. It was a quotation from the Calcutta Government Gazettee of the first week of May, 1829, and contained a report of the Proceedings of the meeting of the Asiatic Society of the 6th May, 1829. On the basis of this report, the present writer wrote an article entitled— The lost Bhāwāl Copper-plate of Lakṣmaṇa Sena Deva of Bengal'— in the Indian Historical Quarterly for 1927, pp. 89ff. In this article, the report, as published in the Asiatic Journal and Monthly Register, was quoted in full and the following points were sought to be established:—

(i) The grant was of Lakṣmaṇa Sena Deva of Bengal.
(ii) It was granted late in his reign and the draft was the same as found in the Mādhāinagar grant of the same King.
(iii) The grant was probably issued in the 27th regnal year of the King.

The article was published in 1927 and it is rather curious that, no notice of the grant is taken all the same in the Inscriptions of Bengal, Vol. III, edited by the late Mr. N. G. Majumdar and published in 1929, though this commendable publication is otherwise an exhaustive survey of the Chandra, Varmma and Sena inscriptions.

In the Indian Historical Quarterly for 1939, pp. 300ff., Dr. H. N. Randle of the India Office Library, wrote again on the Lost Bhāwāl copper-plate of Lakṣmaṇa Sena. Directly after he joined the services of the India Office Library, he found in a safe 24 copper-plate inscriptions, one of which was of Lakṣmaṇa Sena Deva. In his article, Dr. Randle gave a description of the contents of this plate, which served to identify it as the Bhāwāl plate of Lakṣmaṇa Sena Deva, lost from the archives of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. The present writer, thereupon, drew the attention of the authorities of the Society to the fact that the plate belonged to the Society and a claim should be set up for it on behalf of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. The claim was accordingly set up and admitted by the India Office. When difficulty was felt, due to war-conditions, in sending the plate from London to Calcutta, Sir John Herbert, our present Governor, volunteered to bring the plate to Calcutta in his personal care. The plate was thus safely brought to Calcutta and handed back to the Society, after an absence of more than a century, and His Excellency Sir John Herbert has earned the grateful thanks of all the members of the Society and all lovers of antiquities for his graceful act.

The authorities of the Society honoured the present writer by entrusting him with the preparation of an edition of the plate for their Journal. Excellent photographs prepared by the Zoological Survey of India and estampages prepared by Mr. T. N. Ramachandran, M.A., Superintendent, Archaeological Section, Indian Museum, were supplied for the prospective edition; but the authorities, in the face of the bitter memories of the past, were unable to issue the plate to the prospective editor, living at a considerable distance from Calcutta.

In deciphering the plate, I have thus been compelled to rely on the estampages and photographs supplied, which, though excellent in their way, could not be of much help in deciphering the rubbed-off portions. As the funds of the Society were rather low and the authorities were not willing to bear my travelling expenses, I took advantage of a short visit to Calcutta in May, 1940, to check my readings with the help of the original plate and to fill up the lacunae. But the brief visit was too short for clearing up all difficulties, and I have therefore to regret and apologize for the unsatisfactory nature of the reading in at least one *śloka* and in portions of a few lines.

Description of the Plate.

The grant is a single plate of copper, measuring 12″×13¼″. A miniature figure of god **Sadāśiva**, the royal *lāñchhana* of the Senas, is affixed to an elliptical projection in the middle of the top-side. The figure of the god is inside a dotted

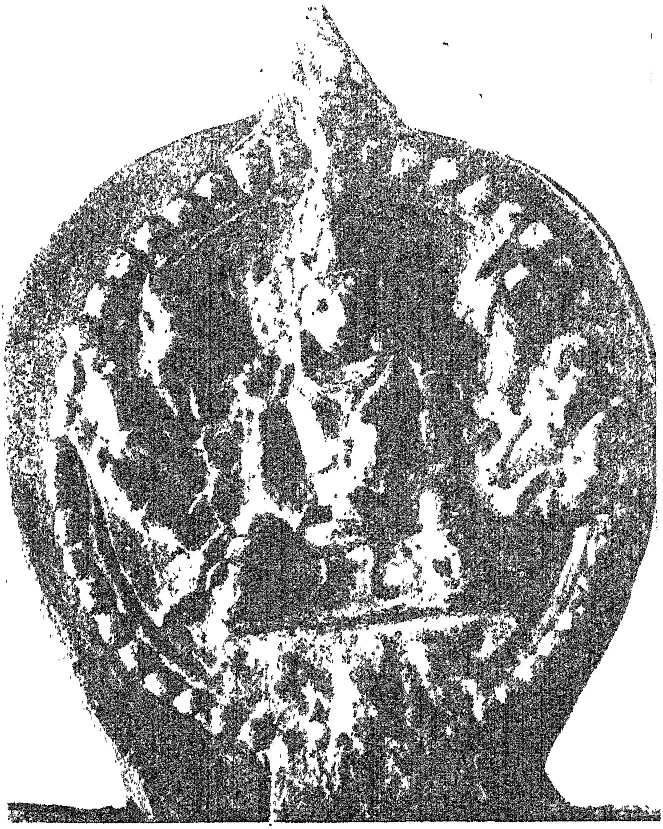

Fig. A. The seal of the Bhāwāl plate.

circle, and is 2½″ in length. It is a ten-armed deity and has all the usual attributes of Sadāśiva in the ten arms. The figure has lost its sharpness through corrosion and some of the attributes are hardly recognizable.

The inscription has suffered badly in places by corrosion, the effect of which is particularly noticeable on the proper right side of the reverse, where, towards the middle, about a fourth of the lines is practically undecipherable.

The plate contains thirty lines of *Writing* on the obverse and twenty-nine lines on the reverse. The letters are generally about $\frac{1}{4}$th inch long, and would have been easy of decipherment, but for the corrosion in places. They belong to the proto-Bengali class of writing, to be met with on all the plates and inscriptions of the Senas.

As regards *Orthography*, the doubling of the consonants after a superscript *r* is the most remarkable feature.

The *Contents* of the plate are summarized below.

The plate begins with the spiral *Svastika* sign, explained in my article,—'Some Image inscriptions from Eastern Bengal' (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XVII, pp. 352) as representing the symbol called *Āñji* and standing for सिद्धिरस्तु = May success attend. A salutation to the god Nārāyaṇa in prose follows. This is followed by thirteen verses.

Verse 1 invokes the god Siva in his **Umāliṅgana** and **Harihara** forms.

Verse 2 is in praise of the moon-god, from whom the Senas claimed descent.

Verse 3 says that in the lineage of the Moon, were born kings who were great conquerors, as well as performers of sacrifices.

Verse 4 says that in that line and descended from Vīrasena famed in the Purāṇas, **Sāmanta Sena**, a Kṣatriya from **Karṇnāṭa**, was born, who after conquering all his foes, washed his sword in the waters of the Ganges.

Verse 5 says that Sāmanta's son was **Hemanta**, a hero worshipped by other heroes.

Verse 6 says that from Hemanta was born **Vijaya Sena**, who allowed the epithet 'King' to cling only to the Moon, because he was the progenitor of the family.

Verse 7 says that the fame of Vijaya Sena spread over the three worlds.

Verse 8 says that from Vijaya was born **Ballāla Sena**, who was a king of kings as well as a master-scholar among scholars.

Verse 9 says that he married a Chālukya princess, **Rāma Devī** by name.

Verse 10 says that from them was born **Lakṣmaṇa Sena**, as Nārāyaṇa (Kṛṣṇa) was born from Vasudeva and Devakī.

Verse 11 says of Lakṣmaṇa Sena, that forcible seizure of the fortunes of the **Lord of Gauḍa** was the play of his boyhood; in youth, he was made to imbibe a veritable abhorrence for women by the **King of Kaliṅga** (Orissa); (subsequently) he defeated the **King of Benares** in battle and the king of **Prāgjyotiṣa** (Assam) made him abject submission.

Verse 12 says that even the Lords of the Quarters had submitted to Lakṣmaṇa Sena.

Verse 13 describes the **Capital**, where the mosses played in the shade of the trees of pleasure gardens, and the rice plants shivered among them; where princes gave up their lives but not their honour and round which the king granted villages to Brahmins in thousands.

Lines 25–28. From this capital called **Dhāryya-grāma**, the victorious King Lakṣmaṇa Sena, meditating on the feet of his father Ballāla Sena, thus addresses his royal officers.

Lakṣmaṇa Sena is given the following epithets:—

(i) He had obtained the fortunes of Gauḍa by furiously churning with his arms the boundless sea of war.

(ii) He was the sun which made the lotuses, viz. the heroes to bloom forth.

(iii) He was a devotee of Viṣṇu in his Man-lion incarnation.

Lines 28–30 of obverse and lines 1–3 of reverse, contain the names of the officials addressed.

Lines 4–14 of reverse contain a description of the land granted. It was within the Division of **Pauṇḍravardhana**, the Circle of **Bāṇḍana**, and the Quadrangle of **Vasu-Śrī** and consisted of parts of two villages called **Mādisāhaṁsa** and **Vasumaṇḍana** with four detached plots, south of the **river Bānahāra**, modern **Bānār**, probably not far from the find-place of the copper-plate. The area of the land, when measured with the *Nala* (reed) measuring 22 cubits in length, was six *Pāṭakas*, one *Droṇa* and twenty-eight *Kākinīs*. Its annual produce was four hundred *Purāṇas* (the money unit of those days, equivalent of the modern rupee) to be counted out in cowries.

Lines 15–20 give the name of the donee Brahmin and the motive for the donation. The donee was **Padmanābha**, son of **Mahādeva**, grandson of **Jayadeva** and great-grandson of **Kṛṣṇa Deva.** He belonged to the **Modgallya** clan of the five *pravaras* called **Aurvva, Chyāvana, Bhārggava, Jāmadagna,** and **Apnuvān.** He was an adept in the **Kauthuma** branch of the **Sāma-Veda**, and was a Reader of Holy Texts by profession.

The motive of the grant was to please the god Nārāyaṇa and to secure the spiritual and temporal welfare of the two major **queens Sṛyā Devī** and **Kalyāṇa Devī.**

Lines 20–27 contain injunctions to future kings to respect the grant and some imprecatory verses for those who would nullify it.

Line 28 gives the name of **Śaṅkaradhara**, the **Minister for Peace and War**, who was the mediator in the matter of this grant.

Line 29 contains the usual endorsements in initials, and the date in the 27th regnal year, on the 6th day of Kārttika.

TOPOGRAPHY OF THE LAND GRANTED AND OF THE CAPITAL.

Though the description of the land granted contains a number of village-names, it would have been difficult to locate its place on the map, but for the fortunate occurrence of the name of the river Bānahāra in the northern boundary of one of the plots granted. We have no difficulty in recognizing in the name the river Bānār which lies about 3¼th miles to the east of the find-place of the copper-plate.

The entire locality is of supreme antiquarian and archaeological interest, though at present it is so sparsely populated and contains miles and miles of *śāl* (Gajāri) plantations. The area is known to geologists as the Madhupur jungles, though the actual Madhupur jungles lie in the district of Mymensing. The river Bānār, which possesses such a significant name, viz. Bānahāra, i.e., one which steals or drains off a flood (in other words, carries off the spill-water of the mighty Brahmaputra in flood), was surely given this name in hoary antiquity by some keen-sighted observer, because it actually serves this purpose. Starting from the Brahmaputra about five miles below Jamalpur,[1] it runs direct south and skirts the western side of the red laterite formation in the Mymensing district, called the Madhupur jungles. It then turns east and forms for a considerable distance the boundary between the Dacca and the Mymensing districts and then it flows in a south-easterly course to join the old Brahmaputra at Lakhpur and to become practically the upper course of the Śītal-Lakṣyā river. It will thus be seen that there is a considerable stretch of low alluvial land between the Madhupur jungles,—the patch of laterite formation in the Mymensing district, and the Bhāwāl jungles, the laterite patch in the Dacca district. The river Bānār flows east-west over this alluvial divide up to Trimohini, when it turns south, and flows to Lakhpur to reach the old Brahmaputra. The Trimohini-Lakhpur portion of the Bānār forces its way through the Bhāwāl laterite patch and divides it into two almost equal divisions. Both the portions are densely wooded in places and consist of undulating red laterite formations, sometimes rising into picturesque cliffs or *tillāhs*. This section of the Bānār flows through scenery which is mostly hilly in character, the steep red banks sometimes rising to 70 feet above the level of the water in the dry season, while the river itself attains a depth of 40 feet in places.

The two divisions of Bhāwāl separated by the Bānār both contain ancient river-beds, now mostly dried up. Through the eastern division flows the oldest course of the Brahmaputra. Though the main course of the Brahmaputra long ago went off

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[1] This most interesting river has not even been mentioned in the Mymensing Gazetteer. Its offtake can be traced to the Brahmaputra through the Police Stations of Muktagāchhā and Jāmālpur up to the village of Dengārgar, about a mile from the bank of the great river.

eastwards to meet the Meghnā at Bhairabbāzār, hardly any sanctity is ascribed to this new course. All sanctity still clings to the dried up course, which starts from Āraliā on the main course, sends off the Lakṣyā at Lākhpur and again deflects eastwards to flow through the *Parganas* of Bhāwāl, Maheśvardī, Sonārgāon, and Vikrampur. The ancient town of Sonārgāon used to stand on this course, and the great annual bathing festival on the *Aśokāṣṭamī* day is still celebrated on its banks, opposite the site of the town of Sonārgāon. The portion of the old Brahmaputra from Āraliā to Lākhpur was erroneously marked as the old course of the Lakṣyā, probably on some early map of the locality. Major Rennel marks this course as a fairly strong river, but he does not give any name to the Āraliā-Lākhpur portion. I find that this portion is called the old course of the Lakṣyā in the Main Circuit Map of 1857-58. Probably the mistake originated even earlier. A succession of scholars and investigators has pointed out this mistake again and again; but the Survey Department has, with characteristic apathy to rightful criticism, persisted in this mistake up to the present date.[1] The present writer pointed out this mistake in 1916 to Mr. Ascoli, then Settlement Officer of the Dacca district. Mr. Ascoli admitted the mistake, but was unable to correct it owing to the huge expenditure involved.

Two other streams in this region deserve mention. The stream to the east of the old Brahmaputra is called the Pāhāḍiyā river and further east is the Ārial Khān river.

There are a number of proofs to show that this stable laterite region was inhabited from very ancient times. The first proof lies in the nomenclature of the rivers and the villages on their either bank. Village names ending in Śrī are fairly common in this region. One of them Vasu-Śrī, occurs on the present plate. To the east of Trimohini lies the well-known village of Siṁha-Śrī, where a rather large hoard of silver coins of the Sultans of Bengal was found some years ago. The richness of this hoard may be gauzed from the fact that the finder supplied no less than fifteen coins of Danujamarddana and Mahendra (Rājā Ganeś and his son Yadu) to Mr. Stapleton in 1915-16,—coins which are extremely rare and are unrepresented in the otherwise rich Indian Museum Cabinet. Names like Bāṇahāra (stealer of flood) and Sītalalakṣyā (soother of the eyes) must have been given by literate people with poetic imagination.

The second proof lies in the frequent find of Treasure-troves from the region. The Trove from Siṁha-Śrī has already been referred to. Some years ago, a rather large Trove was found at Marjāl on the bank of the Ārial Khān, consisting entirely

[1] As an example of correction in works published by the Government of Bengal, see Mymensing Gazetteer, edited by Mr. Sachse. Ed. 1917-P.-7.

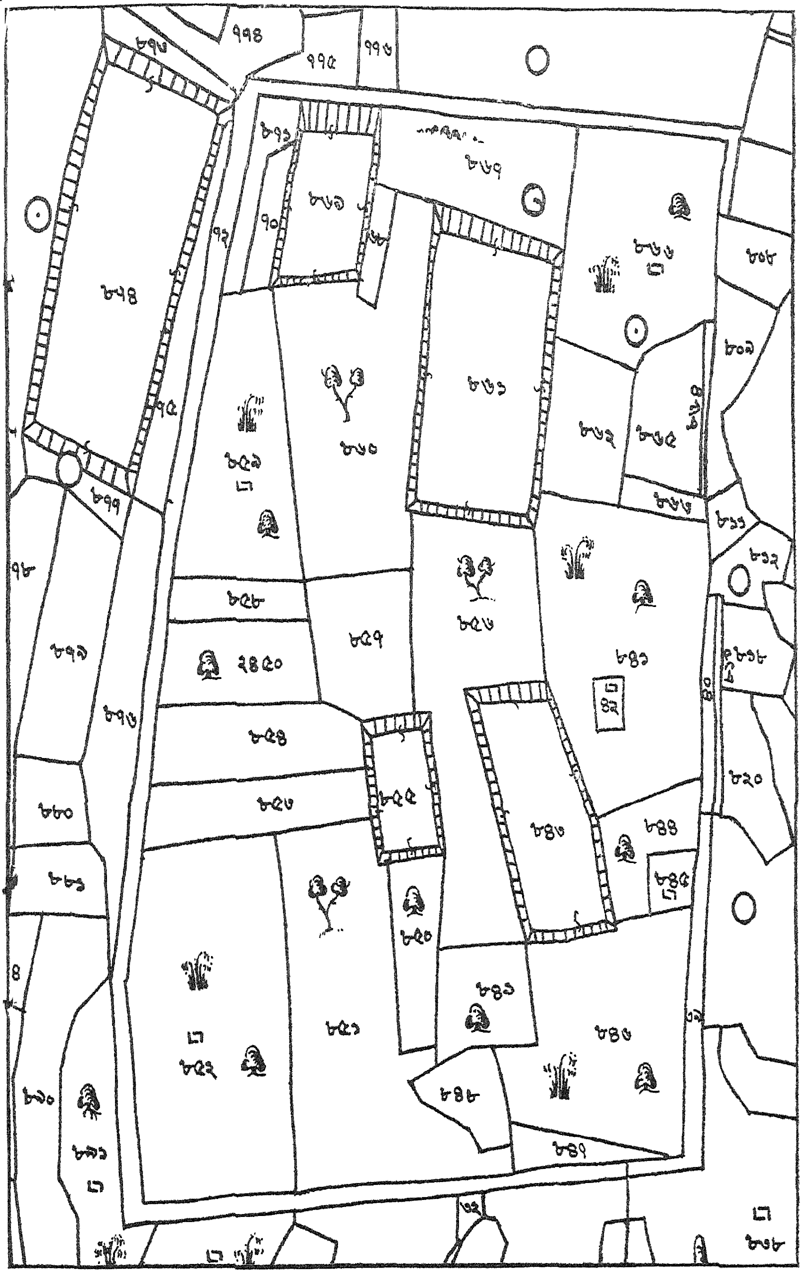

FIG. B. Map of the palace-site at Rājāvāḍī. Scale 16″ = 1 m.

of Mauryya and pre-Mauryya punch-marked silver coins. I succeeded in obtaining about 90 of them for the Dacca Museum through the kind offices of Saiyyid A. S. M. Taifoor, then Sub-registrar of Nārāyaṇganj. Captain Martin of the Royal Engineers, prepared an exhaustive catalogue of the collection, while posted at Dacca, and I hope to publish the catalogue soon. The discovery of these coins of the 3rd-4th century B.C. from the bank of the Ārial Khān shows the early nature of the settlement on the banks of these rivers. It may be recalled in this connection, that the village of Ashrafpur from which the two copper-plates of Devakhaḍga were found, lies only about six miles east of Lākhpur, between the old Brahmaputra and the Pahāḍiyā rivers. The ruins of the Buddhist establishments referred to in these two copper-plates can still be traced at Ashrafpur.

As the third proof, I should refer to the places of antiquarian interest on either bank of the Bānār.

In the mauza of Rājāvāḍī itself, about a mile south-west of the find-place of the present copper-plate, there are remains of a Raja's house, which has given the village its name. The accompanying copy of the mauza map of the village prepared from the survey of 1911–14 on the scale 16″=1 mile will give a good idea of the royal residence. The place is rectangular in area and is surrounded by a moat 704 yds. × 440 yds. in extent. There are four tanks inside the enclosure, measuring 182 × 100 yds., 156 × 66 yds., 100 × 66 yds., and 88 × 50 yds. respectively. Outside the moat, along the northern end of its western side, there is another tank which is the biggest in the area, measuring 242 × 110 yds. The tank of Maggee, near the bank of which the present copper-plate was found is even bigger in area. It measures 340 × 100 yds. This royal residence is associated in tradition with two brothers Pratap and Prasanna, who were Chaṇḍāla by caste and who are reported to have ruled the region as joint rulers. Maggee was their sister. I personally visited Maggee's tank and the mouldering *math* on its western bank in 1920 in the company of Mr. J. T. Rankin, the late Commissioner of the Dacca Division. The *math* had then almost fallen to pieces, but was even then being held together by the roots of the huge *Aśvatthva* trees that had grown on the temple, and held it as if in a vice. The temple was of the style of the Hindu temples of the Muslim period, square at the base, with hanging eves all round, surmounted by a single spire. If Pratap and Prasanna and their sister Maggee had any real existence, they appear to have flourished in the pre-Mughal age. Prabably they went down when the Ghazi family occupied the Bhāwāl region and established their seat at Chaurā, twelve miles south of Rājāvāḍī.

But the discovery of the plate of Lakṣmaṇa Sena from the vicinity of Maggee's *math* and the fact that land was granted by it on the bank of the Bānār river, three miles and a quarter

to the east, together with the statement contained in the plate under discussion (verse 13) that countless such villages were quickly given away by the Kings to Brahmins in the vicinity of the capital, complicates matters. The presumption arises that these regions were well-inhabited during the period of the Senas and after all, the site of the Rajah's palace at Rājāvāḍī may be older than Pratap and Prasanna of the pre-Mughal period by a few centuries, and may have actually belonged to the Senas. The metropolis of the Senas was at Vikrampur at the junction of the Ichhāmatī and the old Brahmaputra, and all the earlier plates of Lakṣmaṇa Sena, up to the sixth year of his reign are issued from that capital. It is undoubtedly a remarkable fact that the last two plates, viz. the Mādhāinagar plate and the Bhāwāl plate are found issued from a new capital called Dhāryya-grāma. In 1202, Lakṣmaṇa Sena was surprised at Nadia by Ik͟htiyāruddin Muhammad *bin* Bak͟htiyār, and had to retire to Eastern Bengal, leaving the western part of Varendrī and the northern part of Rāḍhā in Muslim hands. Even before this catastrophe, we find a *mahasāmanta* of his, Dommana-pāla, independently granting land in the southern part of the 24 Parganās, by a copper-plate in 1196 A.D. (I.H.Q., X, pp. 321),—an encroachment upon the royal privilege, which would have been hardly tolerated in the palmy days of Sena rule in Bengal. When the Sena power thus declined and became shaky in Bengal, the old capital might have been considered insecure and too open to a sudden attack like the one on Nadia and a new royal seat might have been established in a more secure and well-protected place. The site at Rājāvāḍī, in a thickly wooded area, with a not-too-powerful river in the vicinity affording an easy access to Assam, the only province in Northern India still then under Hindu sway, was admirably suited for such an emergent capital.

If the traditions recorded in the Ballāla-charita are to be believed, the free-lance Ik͟htiyaruddin had a predecessor, named Bābā Ādam, or Ādam S͟hahid, who made a sudden onset upon the capital Vikrampur in the reign of Ballāla Sena; and Ik͟htiyāruddin only emulated his example by falling upon Nadia some years later and carrying it by assault. Ik͟htiyāruddin succeeded, but Ādam could not succeed, and his attempt has thus been lost to history. But the mosque built to his sacred memory in 888 H.=1483 A.D. during the reign of Bārbak S͟hāh just outside the mote of the Ballāl-vāḍī at Rāmpāl, the site of the capital, is still standing. And the funeral pyre (Agni-Kuṇḍa) in which the ladies of the royal household, as well as King Ballala himself, burnt themselves to death, is still shown inside the palace area, on the bank of a small tank. Thus the tradition with regard to this event may have some basis in history. This tradition is remarkably supported again by verse 13 of the present plate, where there is a reference to princes giving up

their lives but not their honour, though the applicability of the event to the new capital is not apparent. This event would have been sufficient to make the old capital unlucky and its vulnerability to attack from an enemy was another point against it. The capital thus may have been shifted to the secluded and wooded Bhāwāl region, which had all the advantages detailed above.

This region, in addition was defended by a strong fort. The fort is still known as Shāh Vidyā's fort and is situated on the eastern bank of the Bānār, exactly six miles above Kāpāsiā. I visited the site in the company of Mr. Rankin in 1920, and a cultivator told us that an inscribed plate of copper had been dug up within the fort by a man some years ago, but it was thrown into the Bānār through superstitious fear. The discovery of a copper-plate from the ruins would show that the fort dates from the pre-Muhammadan period. But even by themselves, the ruins look very old,—and the outlines have almost been obliterated. The inquisitive reader will find a description of this fort in the well-known work, Taylor's Topography of Dacca, pp. 112-113. In those days, there was constant rivalry between Kings of Kāmarūpa and Kings of Bengal and the necessity for guarding the water-routes leading from the Brahmaputra to lower Bengal will thus be easily understood. It appears clear that Shāhvidyā's fort (whoever he might have been) was erected on the bank of the Bānār in pre-Muhammadan days to serve this very purpose. The village on the opposite bank is called Gośiṅgā—(cow's horn), and the river bends here beautifully like the two horns of a cow,—a feature of the landscape which is undoubtedly responsible for this peculiar name of the village. At Gośiṅgā, the ruins of a town are still traceable, remarkable among the works of old being some old mosques and ruins, and two tanks, the bigger of which is $\frac{1}{4} \times \frac{1}{5}$ mile in area. Dr. Taylor in his Topography of Dacca thus observes about these two tanks :—'About two miles inland, there are two magnificent tanks, which are said to have been dug by the Booneah Rajas: they are of great depth and in all probability are supplied by springs' (p. 114).

Two more antiquities of this region deserve notice. One is the huge fort at Egāra-sindhu (sometimes also called Bara-sindhu). It is situated exactly opposite the Brahmaputra off-take of the Bānār river, on the eastern bank of the Brahmaputra, just at the point where it bends eastwards, deflected by the stable laterite soil of Eastern Bhāwāl. The peculiar name of the place is due to eleven streams (*Sindhu*) meeting the Brahmaputra in the locality. The use of the word *Sindhu* in the sense of a river is almost Vedic in date, and shows that the name must have been given to the place during the period when people on the Ārial Khān river, twenty miles south-east, were using punch-marked coins as their silver currency in daily

transactions. The fort at Egāra-sindhu is said to have been made by Isa-Khan, Masnad-i-Ali, who ruled all land east of the Brahmaputra and the Bānār like an independent sovereign during the reign of Akbar. I visited the site in 1916, and I found its outlines in as obliterated a condition as those of the fort opposite Gośiṅgā. These forts appear to be pre-Muhammadan in date, and were in all probability set up by the pre-Muhammadan sovereigns of Bengal as defensive works against invasions from the north, though the Muslim sovereigns may have subsequently made use of what was left of them. The fort of Egāra-sindhu occupies a rather extensive area,—very unlike the small forts on the Buriganġā, Śītal-Lakṣyā and Dhaleśvarī which Mir Jumla constructed as defensive outposts against Arracanese incursions, in the early years of the reign of Aurangzib. Three of these Mughal forts still stand almost entire, while the forts at Doordoorea (opposite Gośiṅgā) and Egāra-sindhu can be traced only in their faint outlines.

The last antiquity that I propose to notice here are the ruins at Kapāleśvar,—popularly pronounced as Kapālsahar.[1] These ruins are the remnants of some temples of considerable size, erected in picturesque surroundings in the heart of the red laterite *ṭillās* or hillocks, some five miles south of Egāra-sindhu, on the southern side of the Brahmaputra river. They are situated about four miles south of Ulusarā or Ṭoknagar, both of them well-known villages on the southern bank of the Brahmaputra. I visited the site in 1916, and a note on it was published in my article—'Notes on Antiquarian Remains on the Lakṣyā and the Brahmaputra'. Dacca Review, Vol. VII, 1917-18, pp. 12ff. The following extracts are quoted from that article:—

'Kapaleswar . . . is some four miles directly south of Ulusarā, west of Ṭoke.

'Kapaleswar, as the name implies, must be the ruins of a Saiva temple, and belongs to the pre-Muhammadan period. Four fine tanks, two of which are still deep and retain water, were dug in a line and temples founded on their banks. The northern-most one is the most interesting. Its banks are as high as the ramparts of a fort and on its west bank are the foundations of a big temple, the position of the walls of which are still marked by thick layers of mouldering bricks in a continuous line. Big slabs of stone lie scattered in the compound, as well as on the slope of the banks and the local people affirmed that they had seen several others in their childhood, which have been covered up by silt by this time. The most striking feature of the ruins is the great number of loose bricks. They lie scattered for a considerable distance like a thick layer of big hailstones after

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[1] The ruins at Padumsahar (Pradyumneśvara) in Rajshahi District may be remembered in this connection.

a hailstorm. Nowhere in Bengal have I seen such a wild profusion, except in the ruins of Devkoṭ in Dinajpur. The people of the locality are mostly settlers, and they know nothing about the builder of these temples. Only an octogenarian Hajo told me that they had heard from the elders that Ballala Sena was the author of all these works.'

Thus we see that the Sena association with this area, over which passed the short-cut water-route to Kāmrūp, evidenced by the Rājāvāḍī plate of Lakṣmaṇa Sena Deva, is further corroborated by the tradition clinging to the remarkable ruins at Kapāleśvar. We may therefore seriously consider, whether the royal seat at Rājāvāḍī, is Dhāryyagrāma, the hitherto unidentified Jayaskandhāvāra of Lakṣmaṇa Sena, from which he issued at least two copper-plates late in his reign. As already pointed out, verse 13 of the present plate speaks of the King having quickly granted numerous villages to Brahmins near the capital, and the land granted by the Rājāvāḍī plate on the bank of the Bānār river, is only three miles east of Rājāvāḍī.

Identification of the villages granted by a copper-plate is always a difficult task and few copper-plates have turned out to be as helpful in this respect as the Kātwā plate of Ballāla Sena, or the Govindapur plate of Lakṣmaṇa Sena, the villages mentioned in which exist up to the present time almost with unaltered names. The present plate also, as already pointed out, gives us an important clue as regards the locality of the land granted. The river Bānahāra, modern Bānār, flowing three miles east of the find-place of the plate, is spoken of as forming the northern boundary of one of the villages granted. As the river Bānār flows in a south-easterly direction, more south than east, it is difficult to get the river to form the northern boundary of a village, except when it forms a loop and turns directly eastwards. As will be seen from the map of the locality reproduced, exactly this is what happens at Kāpāsiā, directly east of the find-place of the plate. At the apex of the land enclosed by the loop, we find a village called Sāfāi-Śrī. With the rise of the city of Sonārgāon as a Muslim capital by about 1340 A.D., Buddhist and Brahmanical antiquities of this region suffered greatly and names of many villages were changed or Muslimized. The name of the village Sāfāi-Śrī is very curious. The first part of the name is without doubt non-Sanskritic and derived from Arabic *Shāfāi*, while the second part is without doubt Sanskritic in origin. Is this the changed form of the name Vasu-Śrī, which gave the name to the *Chaturaka* or Quadrangle in which the land granted was situated? For, it is only here that we can get a village, with the river Bānār directly to its north.

The villages granted were in the *Chaturaka* of Vasu-Śrī and in the *Āvṛtti* (circle) of Bāṇḍana. *Āvṛtti* and *Chaturaka* are well-known units of land-division of the Sena period, and

they first make their appearance in the land-grants made by Lakṣmaṇa Sena. It is difficult to be sure about the area of these units, but from the order of mention, viz. Bhukti, Āvṛtti and Chaturaka, the last naturally becomes the smallest unit.

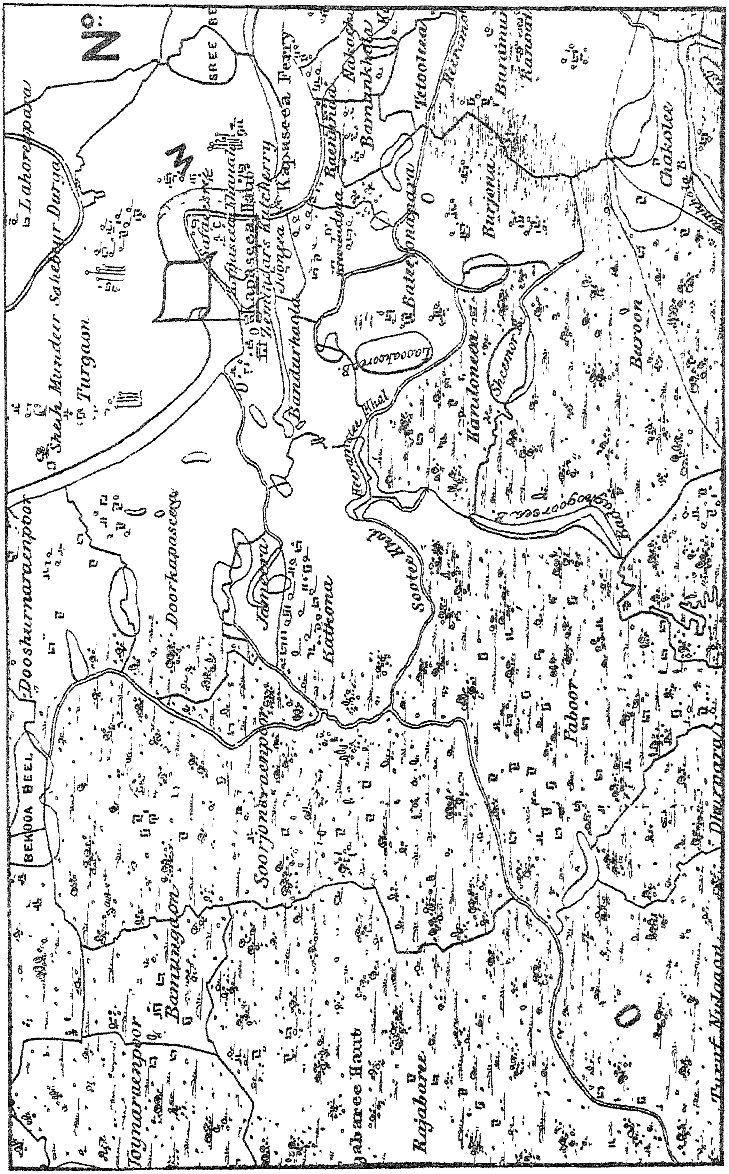

FIG. C. The site of the find and the donated land. Scale 1″ = 1 m.
From the Main Circuit Map of 1857-58.

The name would suggest that it was roughly a quadrangular area and a number of such quadrangular areas undoubtedly went to form an *Āvṛtti*. The English word Circle exactly corresponds in meaning to the Āvṛtti of the Sena period. But the word circle is applied in different cases, to very unequal areas.

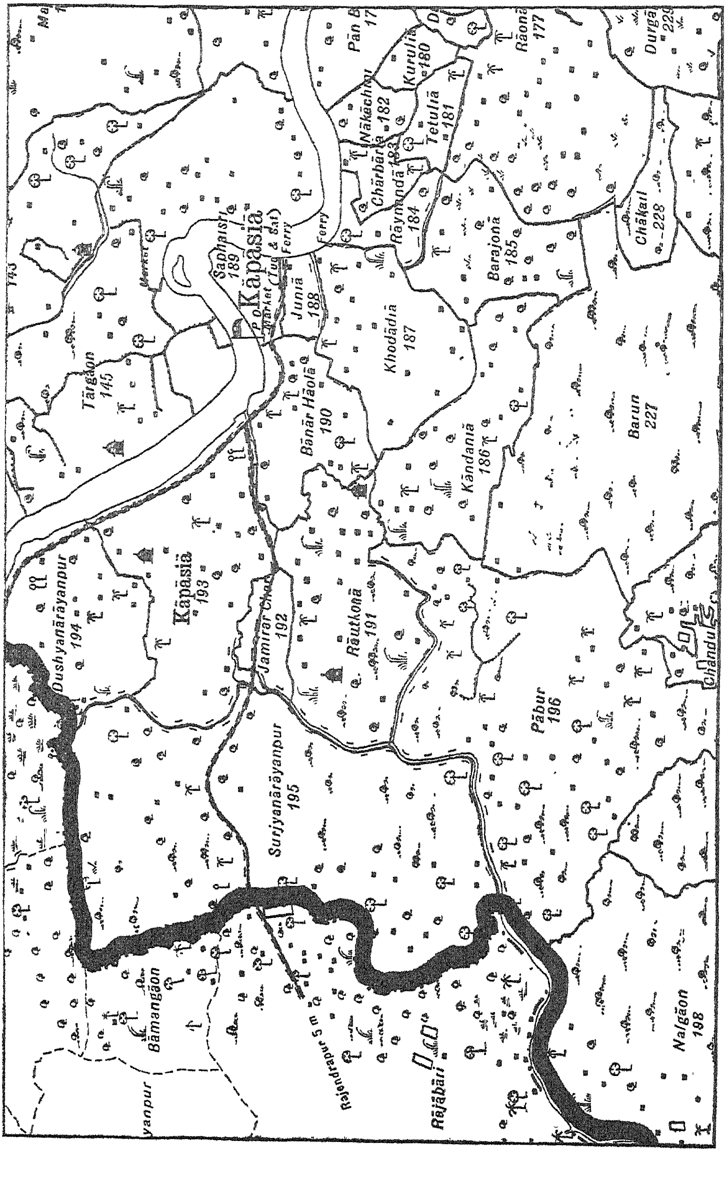

FIG. D. The site of the find and the donated land. Scale 1″ = 1 m.
From the latest Survey Map.

A Circle Officer or Sub-Deputy Magistrate has jurisdiction over a few Police Stations; while the Superintendent of the Archæological Survey, Eastern Circle, has jurisdiction over two provinces, viz. Bengal and Assam. Previous to the reign of Lakṣmaṇa Sena, the units of Land Division were Bhukti, Maṇḍala, Viṣaya and sometimes also Khaṇḍala. We meet with these terms in the land-grants of the Pālas as well as in those of the Chandras, Varmmans and the early two Sena Kings. When in the land-grants of Lakṣmaṇa Sena, we find them replaced by the terms Āvṛtti and Chaturaka,—it is only reasonable to conclude that Āvṛtti stands for Maṇḍala, and the two terms have the same meaning. *Chaturaka* would thus be a synonym for Viṣaya or Khaṇḍala. It should be made clear here that the use of the term Viṣaya in the sense of a very much larger-area equivalent to a modern district, is also familiar. Viṣaya in the sense of a much smaller unit and its equivalent Chaturaka would appear to be represented in the modern Revenue unit called *Tāluk*.

In the case of the present grant, if Sāfāi-Śrī is the modern representative of Vasu-Śrī, the big village of Bārun, about four miles south of Sāfāi-Śrī may stand for Bānḍana, after which the Āvṛtti was named.

Two villages called Vāsumaṇḍana and Mādisā-haṁsa were granted by the present plate, along with some detached plots from contiguous villages. In the absence of complete and convincing agreement in names, speculation regarding the modern representatives of these villages is of little use. I would all the same refer the reader to the two maps of the locality reproduced and would point out, that the village Bānār-Hāolā would answer to the likely position of Vāsumandana and Māndā (Roy Manda) to the likely position of Mādisā-haṁsa. The large village of Khodādia would answer to the position of the village of Jaladāṇḍi, which is named as the boundary of both the villages granted.

Historical Importance of the Plates.

(1) *The contributions from the Mādhāinagar Plate.*

As made out in the first section, the present plate is almost a replica of the Mādhāinagar plate of Lakṣmaṇa Sena discovered at Mādhāinagar in the Pabna district. No attempt has yet been made to glean all facts of historical importance from the plate, and such an attempt is made below. Unfortunately, that plate is also very much corroded. Sj. Prasanna Nārāyaṇ Choudhury's reading of the plate published in 1899 in Vol. I, pp. 92–94, of the now defunct Bengali Journal *Aitihāsik Chitra*, was the first serious attempt at a correct decipherment. Mr. R. D. Banerji's reading published in the J.A.S.B., 1909, pp. 467ff., contained little improvement. Mr. N. G. Majumdar, in his edition of

the plate in his 'Inscriptions of Bengal, Vol. III', pp. 106ff., made a few improvements, but still obvious mistakes were left uncorrected. At my request, Mr. T. N. Rāmachandran, M.A., Superintendent, Archæological Section, Indian Museum, lately sent me three excellent sets of estampages of the plate. In checking the reading of the plate with their help, I have succeeded in finding a few important facts, which baffled the previous editors. This important plate has never been properly illustrated; the illustrations published with Mr. Banerji's article are reproductions of photographs and are thus too blurred to be of any practical use. I am sure that a fresh edition of the plate, accompanied by proper illustrations, would be welcome to all scholars.

In the earliest dependable edition, Mr. Choudhury correctly stated that the reverse contained 30 lines. Mr. Banerji first made the mistake of stating that both the faces contained 29 lines of writing and Mr. Majumdar repeated the mistake. In fact, the obverse does contain 29 lines, but the reverse has 30 lines inscribed on it. This erroneous dropping out of the last line of the reverse has been very unfortunate indeed, because the date of the plate is usually contained in the last letters of the last line. From the estampages so kindly supplied by Mr. Ramachandran, I was easily able to ascertain the existence of this 30th line, and I believe I have succeeded in reading the date also.

The 30th line, like the three previous lines, is very much corroded. But on the analogy of the present plate, the date can be made out with more or less certainty as '*Saṁ* 25 *Bhādra Di*– –'. The last two letters are broken away and lost, taking away *ne* and the figure or figures for the day. In the regnal year, the figure for 2 is sure. The second figure, though made very hazy through corrosion, can be read as nothing else than 5.

We thus realize that the Mādhāinagar plate has not really lost its date, but is a dated document. It was issued in the 25th year of Lakṣmaṇa Sena. The year of accession of Lakṣmaṇa Sena is now fairly well-established. Prof. Chintāharaṇ Chakravarty in a short, but valuable, contribution on the subject, in the Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. III, pp. 186ff., made out that Lakṣmaṇa Sena came to the throne in 1178 A.D. This was supported by astronomical calculations by Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit (*Epigraphia Indica,* XXI, pp. 215-16, Editorial Note. Also Annual Report, Arch. Survey, 1934-35, p. 69). The 25th regnal year thus falls in 1203 A.D. The date of Ikhtiyāruddin Muhammad bin Bakhtiyār's invasion of Nadia and consequent Muslim occupation of the north-western part of Bengal was fixed as 1202 A.D. by myself. (Determination of the Epoch of the Parganāti Era. *Indian Antiquary,* 1923.) It thus becomes clear that the Mādhāinagar plate was issued in the year following the disaster.

This is strangely confirmed by the contents of the plate itself, the purpose of which has baffled all scholars up to the present time. The plate states that in that year, on the 27th day of *Śrāvaṇa*, certain religious rites were performed by Govinda-devaśarman, the priest in charge of *Sāntyāgāra* (House of Propitiation). Mr. Majumdar reads the passage as follows:—

L. 49............सप्तविंश्र श्रावण दिवसे...पूर्व्वकमूलाभिषेकः

L. 50............ऐन्द्री महाशान्ति...तगति...शिकादि...
उत्सृज्याचन्द्रार्कंद्विति

L. 51. समकालं..................

With the help of the estampages supplied by Mr. Ramachandran, I can improve the reading thus:—

सप्तविंश्र श्रावण दिवसे अद्भुतपूरकमूलाभिषेकः......

It would appear thus that the rites were meant to correct some defects in the original coronation ceremony and for the performance of the Grand Propitiatory Rite called *Aindrī*. What this rite was, no one has yet attempted to understand. Mr. Majumdar laconically remarks (p. 108)—'*Aindrī Mahāśānti* cannot be explained'. He probably did not realize that by failing to explain the term, he missed the whole purpose and historical importance of the plate.

It is only common sense to hold that the purpose of the Great Propitiatory Rites named after Indra must be to avert some misfortune or recurrence of some misfortune already suffered. As such, I thought, they are likely to be named and described in the great compilation by Ballāla Sena Deva, called *Adbhutasāgara* (i.e. an ocean-like compendium of strange happenings), which deals with all peculiar happenings and portents, and their remedies. A good edition of the work was published by the Prabhakari and Co. of Benares Cantonment in 1905 under the editorship of Paṇḍita Muralidhar Jhā. Jyautiṣā-chāryya and my friend Mr. Pratap Chandra Barat, Teacher, Bulandshahar Govt. High School, had very kindly presented me with a copy. It is an extremely interesting work and in the preliminary discourse, it is stated that the work was begun by Ballāla Sena in Saka 1089 and was left incomplete at death. His son Lakṣmaṇa completed and published the work. In the last part of the work, presumably compiled and added by Lakṣmaṇa Sena himself, a passage on strange happenings and propitiatory rites for them is quoted from the *Matsya-Purāṇa*. The passage is found in the Vaṅgavāsī edition of the *Matsya-Purāṇa* also, Ch. 228, pp. 814; but unfortunately, there is some confusion in the reading. In the *Adbhutasāgara* also, as edited

by Sj. Muralidhar Jhā, the passage has suffered some confusion. But the lines about the *Aindrī Mahāśānti* can easily be reset correctly. The passage occurs on p. 733 of this edition of the *Adbhutasāgara*. After dealing with various misfortunes and their remedies, it has the following two lines:—

भविष्यत्यभिषेके च परचक्रभयेषु च।
स्वराष्ट्रभेदेऽरिवधे ऐन्द्री शान्तिस्तथेष्यते॥

Translation: In coronation ceremonies, when invasion from an enemy state is apprehended, when one's own kingdom is divided or torn asunder, and for killing one's enemies, the Propitiatory Rite called *Aindrī* is prescribed and desired for.

The performance of the *Aindrī Mahāśānti*, for the *Dakṣiṇā* of which villages were granted by the Mādhāinagar plate, is a clear indication of the fact that the kingdom of Lakṣmaṇa Sena had suffered lately from a disastrous invasion by an enemy, who had probably wrested a large portion of it. This can only refer to the invasion of Bengal in the year 1202 A.D. by Ikhtiyāruddin Muhammad, and the loss of the north-western corner of the kingdom to the enemy.

The course of events can now be clearly traced. It was shown in my article on the Parganāti Era (*Indian Antiquary*, 1923) that the years of the Era were *Kārttikādi* ones and it began in 1202. Thus presumably the invasion took place after the cessation of rains in the month of *Kārttika* of 1202. Lakṣmaṇa Sena, then probably in the 80th year of his age, retired to Eastern Bengal with his Court and shifted his capital to Dhāryya-grāma on the Lakṣyā, on the road to further retirement to Kāmarūpa, if necessary. On the 27th of *Śrāvaṇa* next, the propitiatory rites were performed in 1203 A.D., the 25th regnal year. In *Bhādra* the copper-plate was issued. In defiance of the invaders, and also probably with a grim humour, as if to test the efficacy of the rites performed, the villages were granted almost on the border of the limit of Muslim occupation.

The geographical position of Mādhāinagar, the find-place of the plate, should be clearly comprehended. Sara-Sirajganj Railway is well-known. Chāṭmohar is a well-known place on the line, though the railway station that goes by the name is about 3 miles south of real Chāṭmohar. About 16 miles direct north of Chāṭmohar is Tārāsh inside the eastern slope of the famous depression known as the *Chalan Bil*. Tārāsh is well-known for its munificent zamindar family, and the road from Chāṭmohar to Tārāsh forms practically the eastern bank of the *Chalan Bil*. Mādhāinagar is five miles north-east of Tārāsh. It is about 24 miles direct west of Sirajganj. Looking from the Rajshahi side, it can be said that *Chalan Bil* is reached by travelling 16 miles direct east of Nāṭore, and across the *Chalan Bil*, Tārāsh is exactly 24 miles direct east of Nāṭore.

The Mādhāinagar plate grants the village of Dāpaniyā in the circle of Kāṇṭāpura, within the region of the lake Rāvaṇa, in Varendrī, in the Bhukti of Pauṇḍravardhana. Kāṇṭāpura is probably to be identified with the well-known village of Kāṇṭābāri, inside the *Chalan Bil* area on the western limit of the Tārāsh P.S. and on the border of the Rajshahi district. Curiously, the *pargana* round Kāṇṭābāri is still known as Kāṇṭār-mahal, and this would suggest that it is probably identical with the old *Āvṛtti* of Kāṇṭāpura. The find of a village called Dāpaniyā in the locality would have confirmed the identification, but though the name appears to be rather common in Pabna district,[1] I find no Dāpaniyā near Kāṇṭābāri. Small villages often get merged into big *mauzas* and are thus left unnamed on the Settlement maps.

The mention of a lake in the locality to which the name Rāvaṇa is given is interesting. It would appear to be the name by which the fast silting up lake *Chalan Bil* was known in those days.

About two miles north of Mādhāinagar lie the remarkable ruins of a considerable town at Nimgāchhī. At this place and at Gotithā and Khīrtalā close on the north, there are dozens and dozens of big tanks in close groups, some of them about half-a-mile long, a sure indication of the existence of an old town round them. Numerous sculptures and mounds lie scattered about and await exploration. The place very much deserves detailed inspection by the Archaeological Survey. Tradition connects the ruins with one Achyuta Sena of the Sena dynasty. It is quite possible that the place was made in those days a strong outpost against Muslim aggression and expansion.

(2) *Facts from the Bhāwāl plate.*

(*a*) The queens of Lakṣmaṇa Sena.

The present plate mentions two queens of Lakṣmaṇa Sena by name, viz., Sṛyā Devī and Kalyāṇa Devī.

The Mādhāinagar plate appears to mention another queen. On line 49 of the reverse, in Mr. N. G. Majumdar's edition, the reading accepted is:

मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोऽभिवृद्धये..........

But the correct reading would appear to be

सुश्रीदेव्यारात्मनश्च..........

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1 I have succeeded in seeking out three Dāpaniyās in the district. One is a well-known village on the road from Pabna to Sara bridge, about 7 miles west of Pabna. Another is 11 miles north-east of Pabna, in the Thana of Aṭghariā. The third is 5 miles north-east of Faridpur (Banwāri-nagar) and 5 miles north of Demrā, a well-known place, P.S. Faridpur, Dt. Pabna.

The first four letters may be मह्वादेव्या also, but as far as I can make out through bad corrosion, these appear to be सुश्री देव्या. I am inclined to think that we get the name of a queen of Lakṣmaṇa Sena in सुश्री देवी.

Three plates of the sons of Lakṣmaṇa Sena have hitherto been discovered, viz., the Idilpur plate of Keśava Sena, the Madanpāḍ plate of Viśvarūpa Sena and the Sāhitya Pariṣat (Vikrampur-Madhyapāḍā) plate of Viśvarūpa Sena. In the first, Keśava's mother is named ताड़ा देवी. In the second, Viśvarūpa's mother is also ताड़ा देवी; but in the third, Viśvarūpa's mother is अक्कणा देवी। (*E.I.*, XXVI, p. 9, Dr. Chakravarti's note on f.n. 4). It is only common sense to hold that a man cannot have two mothers, but this is hardly the place to solve the mystery. It will suffice for our present purpose, if we hold that we get the names of two queens of Lakṣmaṇa Sena, viz., ताड़ा and अक्कणा from these records. So, we learn the names of at least five queens of Lakṣmaṇa Sena, viz., सुश्री (?), ह्टया, कल्याणा, ताड़ा, अक्कणा.

(*b*) The Sāndhivigrahika.

The name for the minister for peace and war is given as Saṅkaradhara. From resemblance in name, he would appear to be a brother of Umāpatidhara, the famous poet and courtier of Lakṣmaṇa Sena.

(*c*) Date of the plate.

It is now clear that Lakṣmaṇa Sena survived the invasion of Ikhtiyāruddin and the consequent loss of the north-western portion of his kingdom by at least three years. The *Kārttika* of the 27th regnal year would be equivalent to October-November of 1204 A.D. The fact that Śrīdhara Das's *Saduktikarṇṇā-mṛita* was compiled in 1127 Śaka in the 27th regnal year of Lakṣmaṇa Sena, is now confirmed by the Bhāwāl plate. How long the king survived (he was probably about 83 in his 27th regnal year) it is impossible to know. But the extraordinary number of endorsements on the plate would suggest that the donee did not feel secure of his grant without them, as the king was very near his end. The first endorsement is *Śrī-ni*. This probably refers to the deity, who is a witness of all transactions. The next is *Mahāsāṁ-ni*, evidently the endorsement of the *Mahāsāndhivigrahika*. The next is *Srimadrāja-ni*, an extra-ordinary endorsement from the king himself, absent in any other previous record. But it is difficult to understand what

the next endorsement—'*Śrī-Madana-Śaṁkara-ni*' is, as Madana-Saṁkara is the *viruda* or title of the king himself. The final endorser *Sāhasamalla* is probably none else than the crown prince himself.

(*d*) Historical events referred to in the plate.

The following historical facts are referred to in the Bhāwāl plate:

1. The play of his youthful days was the forcible seizure of the fortunes of the Lord of Gauḍa. By कौमारकेलि, it is reasonable to hold that we should count the feats of Lakṣmaṇa Sena, between his 15th and 20th years. In the Deopāḍā inscription, Vijaya Sena, grandfather of Lakṣmaṇa Sena, claims to have put the Lord of Gauḍa to flight. Vijaya Sena reigned approximately from 1095–1160 A.D. His son Ballāla reigned from 1160–1178 A.D. Ballāla is described in the *Adbhuta-sāgara* as the king whose powerful arms were like posts to which the Elephant, namely the lord of Gauḍa, was tethered. There are proofs to hold that Govinda Pāla, the last king of the Pāla line, was finally defeated by Ballāla Sena, and his kingdom occupied in 1161 A.D. Vijaya Sena also must have wrested a considerable portion of Varendrī from the Pālas, as the site of his famous temple of Pradyumneśvara, about 7 miles west of the present town of Rajshahi shows. As a *Kumāra* or young prince of 20, Lakṣmaṇa Sena appears to have fought in this campaign against the Lord of Gauḍa. This campaign may be dated in about 1140 A.D.[1]

2. The next claim on behalf of Lakṣmaṇa Sena is his propitiation by the king of Kaliṅga, when he was a full-grown youth, i.e. when he was about 25. Vijaya claims to have driven away the king of Kāmarūpa and quickly conquered the king of Kaliṅga. Here again I am inclined to take these occurrences in Kaliṅga to have taken place during the Kaliṅga campaign in the reign of Vijaya Sena, about 1145 A.D.

3. Next, Lakṣmaṇa Sena is claimed to have defeated the king of Kāśī in battle. This must be a clear reference to the conflict of the Senas with the Gahaḍwārs of Kanauj. After Ballāla's final conquest of the remnant of Varendrī and of Bihar from Govindapāla, the last of the Pāla line, in 1161 A.D., the Gahaḍwār and Sena power came into violent conflict. The Gahaḍwār king Vijaya Chandra, son of the famous Govinda Chandra, came to the throne in 1154 A.D. and reigned up to

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[1] In *I.H.Q.*, XVII, pp. 207ff., I have shown that this encounter between the Pālas and the Senas took place in 1140 A.D. at Nimdighi, 26 miles direct north of Pradyumneśvara, and in this battle Gopala III lost his life.

1170 A.D. The reign of his son Jayaccandra extended from 1170 to 1193 A.D., when he fell in battle with the Muslims. It is impossible to say with whom Lakṣmaṇa Sena came into conflict but it is fairly clear that the results, in spite of the claims of Lakṣmana Sena and the boast of his sons, were not altogether favourable to the Senas. The Sena hold over Bihar was not strong and the conflict turned it into almost a no-man's-land, which made it such an easy prey to the invasion of Ikhtiyāruddin.

4. The next feat of Lakṣmaṇa Sena claimed is the abject submission of the king of Prāgjyotiṣa or Assam. The Mādhāinagar plate further confirms it by adding an epithet—विक्रमवशीकृतकामरूप,—one who had subdued Kāmarūpa (Assam) by his valour. It is possible that this also refers to the conflict with Kāmarūpa in the reign of Vijaya Sena, of which we have references in the Deopāḍā inscription of Vijaya Sena, as well as in the Kamauli grant of Vaidyadeva, with claims of victory from both the sides. If it relates to any subsequent campaign, we possess no other reference to it.

5. A most significant epithet in the Bhāwāl plate applied to Lakṣmaṇa Sena is the one which says that he obtained (recovered ?) the royal fortunes of Gauḍa by furiously churning with the Mandara of his own arms the endless sea of war. This sounds like an intimate personal experience and is not probably a reference to his कौमारकेलि in the reign of his grandfather. This, occurring in the plate of a king who is definitely known to have been ousted from Bihar, western part of North Bengal and northern part of West Bengal by Ikhtiyāruddin, would suggest that he did put up a fight for his kingdom and finally retained what portion of it he could. It would appear from this that the accounts of Ikhtiyāruddin's invasion of Bengal, as recorded in the *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsiri*, have to be supplemented in the light of this epithet. The challenging grant of land by the Mādhāinagar plate in Varendrī, only ten months after the deplorable sack of Nadia, almost on the fringe of the limit of Muslim conquest; the ruins in its vicinity traditionally connected with the name of one Achyuta Sena; the undeniable arrest of any further progress of Muslim conquest in Bengal; the crushing disaster to Muslim arms in Kāmarūpa on the 7th March, 1206,[1] involving the fortunes of Ikhtiyāruddin in utter ruin;—all these would signify, that the Senas of Bengal did make a stand against Muslim aggression which had overwhelmed the rest of Northern India, and that successful stand did stem the tide for about a century.

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[1] 'Muhammad-i-Bakhtiyar's invasion of Tibet' by myself, *I.H.Q.*, Vol. X, pp. 49ff.

I edit the plate from the photographs and estampages supplied by the authorities of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.[1]

TEXT

OBVERSE

L. 1. ? ॐ नमो नारायणाय ॥

यस्याङ्के [1] शरदम्बुदोरसि तडिल्लेखेव गौरी प्रिया

देहार्द्धेन हरिं समाश्रितमभूद्यस्याति-

L. 2. . . . . चित्रं वपुः ।

दीप्तार्कद्युतिलोचनत्रयरुचा घोरं दधानो मुखं

देवत्रांस [2] निरस्तदानवगजः पुष्णातु पञ्चाननः ॥ [1]

Notes :—(1) Metre—*Śārddūlavikrīḍita*.

(2) M reads त्रास, but the reading adopted is clear on the present plate. Dr. Randle (*E.I.*, XXVI, p. 5) adopts the reading देवस्त्रांस.... But in benedictory addresses, it is customary to refer to the addressee in the plural as वः or युष्मान् । The verb त्रंस means 'to shine'.

Translation :

May success attend. (Expressed by a symbol.) *Om* Obeisance to Nārāyaṇa.

May the five-faced god (Śiva) advance (our affairs), on whose lap is his beloved Gaurī like a streak of lightning on the bosom of the autumn clouds; whose person assumed variegated appearance by holding (the god) Hari by a half of his body; who holds faces which are awesome with the brilliance of three eyes resplendent like suns; and who makes the gods shine and is a subduer of the demon Gaja. [1]

स्वर्ग-

L. 3. ङ्गा [1] जलपुण्डरीकममृतप्रापार [2] धारा गृहम्

श्टङ्गारद्रुमपुष्पमीश्वरशिखालङ्कारमुक्तामणिः ।

क्षीराम्भोनिधिजो-

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[1] After my article had been submitted to the R.A.S.B. for printing, Dr. Randle's edition of the plate came out in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 1ff. In addition to checking with the help of the estampage of the Mādhāinagar plate so kindly supplied by Mr. Ramachandran, my edition has therefore the advantage of a comparison with Dr. Randle's reading. Differences are noted in the footnotes. I am glad to find that Dr. N. Chakravarti, editor of the *E.I.*, suggested many improvements which tally with my readings. Dr. Chakravarti's valuable suggestions have enabled me to improve my readings in some important passages.

L. 4. वितं कुमुदिनीवृन्दैकवैहासिको [3]

जीयान्मन्मथराज्य [4] पौष्टिकमहाशान्तिद्विजश्चन्द्रमाः ॥ [2]

Notes:—(1) Metre—*Śārddūlavikrīḍita.*

(2) M reads प्रादार । But the reading here is clearly प्रापार । R reads प्रावार but the 2nd letter cannot be read anything else than प or य । अमृतप्राप gives good sense. I find from the estampage of the Mādhāinagar plate that the reading there also is प्रापार ।

(3) M reads वैहासको, but the reading वैहासिको is clear on the estampage.

(4) M reads राज, but राज्य, is clear on the estampage.

Translation:

May that moon-god prosper, who is a lotus in the waters of the Heavenly River; who is the reservoir of (i.e. from which flow) the streams that scatter nectar; who is the flower of the tree of love; who is the jewel on the crest-ornament of the lord Śiva; who took his birth from the Kṣiroda Sea; who is the only cheerer of the whole lot of water-lilies and who is the priest performing the great propitiatory rites for increasing the bounds of the kingdom of Love. [2]

त्रिभुवन [1] जयसम्भृ-

L. 5. तानु [2] स्मृतैः

क्रतुभिरवारित [3] सत्निनोऽमराणाम् ।

अजनिषत तदन्वये धरित्री-

वलयविसृदृङ्खलकीर्त्तयो नरेन्द्राः ॥ [3]

Notes:—(1) Metre—*Puṣpitāgrā.*

(2) M reads अव and the reading there is without doubt अव । But it is clearly अनु here. R reads अर्थ—which is not warranted by the estampages.

(3) M reads अबाधित, but the reading there, as here, is without doubt अवारित, as noted by the editor, *E.I.*

Translation:

In his (moon's) lineage were born kings whose fame had run riot over the orb of the earth; kings, who had made the residence of the gods open to them by the performance of sacrifices which were caused by, and followed, their conquest of the three worlds. [3]

L. 6. पौराणीभिः [1] कथाभिः प्रथितगुणगणे वीरसेनस्य वंशे
कर्णाटक्षत्रियाणामजनि कुलशिरोदाम

L. 7. सामन्तसेनः ।
कृत्वा निर्व्वीरमुर्व्वीतलमपि न तरां [2] तृप्यतानाकनद्यां
निर्व्विष्टो येन युध्यद्रिपुरुधिरकणा-

L. 8. कीर्णधारः कृपाणः ॥ [4]

Notes :—(1) Metre—*Sragdharā.*

(2) M and R—अधिकतरां । Dr. Chakravarti, Editor, *E.I.* is right in correcting it to अपि न तरां.

Translation :

In the lineage of Vīra-Sena, whose virtues are recounted in the Pauranic stories, was born **Sāmanta-Sena**,—a garland bedecking the crest of the family of the Kṣatriyas of Karṇṇāṭa; who, not satisfied even after having made the face of the globe bereft of heroes, proceeded to wash in the divine river (Ganges) the edge of his sword besmeared with the particles of blood of the enemies who engaged him in battle. [4]

वीराणामधिदैवतं [1] रिपुचमूमाराङ्गमङ्गव्रत-
स्तस्माद्विस्मयनीयशौर्य्यमहिमा

L. 9. हेमन्तसेनोऽभवत् ।
क्षीरोदाधरवाससो वसुमतीदेव्या यदीयं यशो
रत्नस्येव सुमेरुमौलिमि-

L. 10. लितं क्षौमश्रियं पुष्यति ॥ [5]

Note :—(1) Metre—*Śārddūlavikrīḍita.*

Translation :

From him was born **Hemanta-Sena**, who was an object of worship (like a god) to the heroes; whose mission in life was the destruction of the forces of his enemies; who was endowed with astonishing prowess and majesty; and whose fame shines like a jewel and thus appears like the silken scarf on the Sumeru-crest of goddess Earth, whose lower garment is made up of the Kṣīroda Sea. [5]

अजनि [1] विजयसेनस्तेजसां राशिरस्मात्
समरविह्मराणां भूभृतामे-

L. 11. कप्रेषः ।

इहं[2] जगति विषेहे येन वंशस्य पूर्व्वः

पुरुष इति सुधांशौ केवलं राजशब्दः ॥ [6]

. *Notes* :—(1) Metre—*Mālinī*.

(2) Read इह ।

Translation :

From him was born the mass of energy (which was) **Vijaya Sena,** the last among the princes whose custom it was to go out on military expeditions. He tolerated the epithet king to cling to the Moon alone, because he happened to be the progenitor of his family. [6]

भूचक्रं[1]

L. 12. कियदेतदावृतमभूद्यद्वामनस्यांघ्रिणा

नागानां कियदास्पदं यदुरसा[2] लङ्घन्ति गूढाङ्घ्रयः ।

एकाहा-[3]

L. 13. द्यदनूरुरश्नुति कियन्मात्रं तदप्यम्बरं

यस्यातीव यशो क्रिया त्रिभुवनं व्याप्यापि नो[4] तृप्यति[5] ॥ [7]

Notes :—(1) Metre—*Śārddūlavikrīḍita*.

(2) M reads व्याभ्युदयैसुरसा, which is well-corrected by the present reading of R, which is the reading on both the plates.

(3) R. D. Banerji (*J.A.S.B.*, 1909, pp. 467ff.) correctly read एकाहाद् which M needlessly corrected to एकाह्नेद् ।

(4) M व्याप्यापि. R व्याप्यापि, which is the correct reading to be found on both the plates.

(5) The translation of the *Śloka* offered by R is far from happy. The intended sense is the smallness of the three worlds and consequent shame and dissatisfaction on covering such small areas.

Translation :

Very small indeed is the orb of this earth, which became covered (even) by the foot of the Dwarf: very small also must be the abode (nether region) of the snakes, which is covered even by those with hidden legs (i.e. the snakes), crawling on their breasts: and the heavenly sphere, again, must also be very small, which even the Thighless One traverses in the course of a day. (This is why) his profuse fame, even after encompassing the three worlds, does not feel satisfied through shame (of having not done enough.) [7]

तस्मादशेष-[1]

L. 14. भुवनोत्सवपार्व्वणेन्दु-[2]

र्व्वल्लालसेनजगतीपतिरुज्जगाम ।

यः केवलं न खलु सर्व्वनरेश्वराणा-

मेकः स-

L. 15. मग्रविदुषामपि[3] चक्रवर्त्ति[4] ॥ [8]

Notes:—(1) Metre—*Vasantatilakā.*

(2) M reads कारणेन्दु । R also makes out the correct reading पार्व्वणेन्दु, which is also the reading on the Mādhāinagar plate.

(3) M reads विबुधाम्, but the reading on the Mādhāinagar plate is also विदुषाम् ।

(4) Read चक्रवर्त्ती. The Mādhāinagar plate has the correct reading.

Translation:

From him was born **Ballāla Sena,** the master of the earth, —a festival-creating moon who was the source of endless rejoicing in the worlds,—who was a lord not only over all the other kings, but over the entire circle of scholars as well. [8]

परापरान्तः[1] पुरमौलिरत्नं[2]

चालुक्यभूपालकुलेन्दुलेखा ।

तस्य[3] प्रियाभू-

L. 16. दजमानभूमि-

र्ल्लक्ष्मीपृथिव्योरपि रामदेवी ॥ [9]

Notes:—(1) Metre—*Upendravajrā.* The correct reading is probably धराधरान्तः—, which the Mādhāinagar plates has and which M reads. But the reading here appears to be परापरान्तः—. But प and ध are easily confused on this plate. There is no justification for reading धराधरान्तः—, as Dr. Chakravarti proposes in E.I.

(2) R notes the correct reading रत्नं.

(3) तस्या, as read by M is clearly wrong. Noted also by R.

Translation:

His beloved wife was **Rāmadevī,** the crest-jewel of the king's seraglio, a streak of moon from the family of the Chālukya

king,—a lady beloved and deeply respected by even (her co-wives) the goddess of Fortune and the Earth. [9]

एताभ्यां [1] वसुदेवदेवकसुता देहान्तराभ्यामिव श्रीमल्ल-

L. 17. क्ष्मणसेनमूर्त्तिरजनि क्ष्मापालनारायणः ।

चक्रे यन्मयजन्मनिस्तृहमिलन्निद्रानुबन्धच्छलात् दुः-

L. 18. खेनाधिपयोधि कञ्चुकमिव त्यक्तं [2] प्रसुग्धं वपुः ॥ [10]

Notes.—This *Śloka* was only partly deciphered by B and M. R also has not been able to make much of the last two lines. The suggestions of Dr. C have clarified the meaning to some extent. There is no doubt that the reference is to the birth of the Lord Narāyāṇa under painful circumstances, and from the analogy drawn with the birth of Lakṣmaṇa Sena, it would appear that his birth also was equally painful. This strangely supports the story recorded by Minhajuddin, author of Tabaqāt-i-Nāsiri, that the birth of Lakṣmaṇa Sena was attended with extraordinary happenings and the queen-mother was enveloped in eternal sleep in giving him birth. The meaning of the last two lines, all the same, is rather hazy. I have attempted a translation, but am not quite satisfied with it.

(1) Metre—*Śārddūlavikrīḍita.*

(2) The word reads like त्यक्ता; if so, it should be corrected to त्यक्तं.

Translation:

From them, as if from the bodies of Vasudeva and the daughter of Devaka, the figure of Lakṣmaṇa Sena, the Nārāyaṇa, sprang forth. (That Nārāyaṇa) united that (figure) for the purpose of a painful (मय) birth, and when taken away (हृष्ट), it left the dazed body under cover of sleep in the manner of the corset (on the breast) of the Sea of pain (fallen off during sleep).

दृप्य [1] द्गौड़ेश्वरश्रीहठहरणकला यस्य कौमा-

L. 19. रकेलिः [2]

कालिङ्गेनाङ्गनाभिः प्रतिसदनपदाश्वक्रिरे [3] यस्य यूनः ।

येनासौ काशिराजः समर-

L. 20. भुवि जितो यस्य निस्त्रिंशधारा-

भीरुः प्राग्ज्योतिषेन्द्र [4] स्वरणजरजसा निर्म्ममे कार्म्मणानि ॥

[11]

Notes.—This *Śloka* was only partially deciphered by B and M. The attempts of R and C leave the second line unsatisfactory, while great credit is due to R for reading प्राग्ज्योतिषेन्द्र in the last line, which I failed to read. The *Śloka* as now read above, will, I hope, give complete satisfaction.

(1) M reads आसीद्गौडेश्वर; but the present (as also made out by R) is undoubtedly the correct reading. प्य of दृप्यद्—is very clear even on the Mādhāinagar plate.

(2) Metre—*Sragdharā*. M gives the metre as शार्दूलविक्रीडित, which is wrong.

(3) This is undoubtedly a better reading than those proposed by R and C. प्रतिसदन means 'abhorrence', and the word पद, ordinarily neuter, is also rarely used in the masculine gender, as here.

(4) This excellent and consistent reading was made out by R.

Translation:

His juvenile prank was the forcible seizure of the Fortunes of the haughty Lord of **Gauḍa**. Feelings of (veritable) abhorrence (for women) were engendered in him in his youth by the (conquered) king of **Kaliṅga** by (a too profuse supply of) women. That (well-known) king of **Kāśī** was defeated by him in the field of battle. The king of **Prāgjyotiṣa**, afraid of the edge of his sword, worked magic with the dust of his feet. [11]

आकौ-

L. 21. मारं[1] समरजयिना कुर्व्वतोर्व्वीमवीरा-

मेतेनामी कथमिव दिशामीसितारो[2] विमुक्ताः ।

युद्धोद्दीप्ते व-[3]

L. 22. पुषि कलया तस्य तेष्ठौ[4] प्रविष्टाः

प्रक्षीभूते[5] प्रभवति नहि क्षत्रियाणां कृपाणः ॥ [12]

Notes.—This *Śloka* was only partially and defectively deciphered by B and M on the Mādhāinagar plate. Of the text deciphered here, the first two lines appear to be sure and correct. The remaining two lines also yield good sense.

(1) Metre—*Mandākrāntā.*

(2) Read ईशितारो. The Mādhāinagar plate has the correct spelling.

(3) These five letters at the end of line 21 are very much rubbed off and the reading proposed is only a tentative one.

The fourth letter is either ते or म्ने and not ङ्के, as made out by R and C. I first read त्तब्धीभूते but would prefer the present reading युद्धोद्दीप्ते, which yields better meaning.

(4) वपुषि and तेष्टौ are good readings made out by R.

(5) प्रह्वीभूते or प्रह्लीभूते, the first suggested by C, yields excellent meaning.

Translation:

By him, who had been the victor in battles from his boyhood and had exterminated heroes from the face of this earth, why (it may be asked) were those (अमी) Lords of the Quarters allowed to go scotfree? Those Eight (Lords of the Quarters) artfully entered (i.e. took shelter) into his body energized by battle and (it is well known that) the sword of the Kṣattriya does not function against the submissive. [12]

यत्रारामद्रुमदलह-
L. 23. चा[1] शैवलिन्यऋ्गन्ति[2]
सस्यव्याजाज्जयपदगुणो[3] येषु रोमाञ्चिता भूः ।
प्राणान्मुञ्चन्त्यवनिपतयो
L. 24. नो च नयॆाननेन[4]
ग्रामास्ते ते सपदि ददिरे कोटिशः शासनानि ॥ [13]

Notes.—Of this *Sloka*, only two fragments were deciphered by B and M. Engraver's mistakes have added to the difficulties of a correct decipherment.

(1) Metre—*Mandākrāntā.*

(2) शैवलिनी has to be taken at its simple meaning of 'moss'. No river of that name appears to be intended. Of ऋगन्ति, the first letter is very peculiar. Metre requires a short syllable here. The reading proposed is probably correct and gives good sense. The readings proposed by R and C cannot be accepted or justified. The second letter ग is clear in the impression and C recognises this fact. Probably *rhhr* is the correct reading and not simply *rhr*.

(3) My reading agrees with that of C except जयपद for his जनपद. The letter after ज cannot be न. It is clearly य or प.

(4) C suggested नयॆावनेन, i.e., नयौँ+अनेन । But the third letter is certainly न. Therefore I agree with R in reading

नर्य्याननेन, i.e., नर्य्यान्+अनेन. नर्य्यान् is the plural of नर्य्य in the masculine, meaning manly qualities. The plain meaning is,—kings give up प्राणान् but not नर्य्यान्.

Translation:

Where the mosses play hide-and-seek by the side of the beauty of the trees of the pleasure resorts; where the thrill of victory (prosperity) of the earth is expressed in the guise of (shivering) corn plants; (where) princes give up their lives, but not their manly qualities; (where) were quickly given diverse villages by crores (i.e. in large numbers) as grants to Brahmins,—[13].

ते खलु[1] धार्य्य[2] ग्रामपरिसर स-

L. 25. मावासित श्रीमज्जयस्कन्धावारात् परमेश्वर-परमसौर-[3] परमभट्टारक-महाराजाधिराज-श्री वल्ला-

L. 26. लसेनदेवपादानुध्यात-निजभुजमन्दरामन्दरप्रमथिता-सीमसमरसागरसमासादितगौड़लक्ष्मी-वीर-

L. 27. सकल[4] कुशेशय[5]विकास[6]वासरंकर-गौडेश्वर-परमेश्वर-परमनारसिंह परमभट्टारक-महारा-

L. 28. जाधिराज-श्रीमल्लक्ष्मणसेनदेवपादा विजयिनः।

Notes:—(1) M reads....निर्गते खलु. This is a mistake. The last letter नि of the last *Śloka* and the succeeding ‖ (double full-stop) were mistaken for निर्ग. The real reading is as given above.

(2) R throws doubt on the reading धार्य्यग्राम, the name of the capital. But the reading is fairly clear on the Mādhāi-nagar plate, as well as here. The name may be धार्य्या and not धार्य्य.

(3) R reads वैष्णव. The letters are corroded, but appear to read सौर.

(4) R reads सेनकुलकुशेशय.

(5) Read कुशेशय, meaning lotus.

(6) Read विकाश। R fails to read most of line 26 and first half of line 27. C suggests better readings. But the reading offered here will, I hope, be found satisfactory.

Translation:

Verily from the victorious camp pitched across (that) Dhāryyagrāma, the victorious and illustrious lord **Lakṣmaṇa-**

Sena-Deva, who meditates on the feet of the illustrious Ballāla-Sena-Deva, the great lord, the great worshipper of the sun-god, the great worshipful one and the great paramount sovereign; who acquired the Fortunes of Gauḍa by churning furiously the boundless sea of war by the Mandara (churning rod) of his own arms; who is the sun which makes all the lotuses viz: heroes, to bloom forth; the lord of Gauḍa; the great lord; the great worshipper of the Man-lion incarnation of Viṣṇu; the great worshipful one; the great paramount sovereign—

समुपगताशेषराज राजन्यक राज्ञी राणक रा-

L. 29. जपुत्र राजामात्य महापुरोहित महाधर्म्माध्यक्ष महा-

सान्धिविग्रहिक महासेनापति महामुद्राधिकृ-

L. 30. तान्तरङ्ग बृहदुपरिक महाक्षपटलिक महाप्रतीहार-

महाभोगिक महापीलुपति महागणस्थ दौः

REVERSE.

L. 1. साधिक चौरोद्धरणिक नौबलहस्त्यश्वगोमहिषाजावि-

कादिव्यापृतक गौल्मिक दण्डपाशि-

L. 2. क दण्डनायक विषयपत्यादीन् अन्यांश्च सकलराज-

पादोपजीविनोऽध्यक्षप्रचारोक्तानिहाकीर्त्ति-

L. 3. तान् चट्टभट्टजातीयान् जनपदान् क्षेत्रकरान्

ब्राह्मणान् ब्राह्मणोत्तरान् यथार्हं मानयन्ति बोध-

L. 4. यन्ति समादिशन्ति च मतमस्तु भवताम्

Translation:

[Thus] suitably persuades, explains to, and commands all the (following) endless (people) who make a living depending on the king's feet (i.e. the royal officers) [viz:]—

राज = Princes (probably dependent princes).

राजन्यक = Assemblage of Warriors.

राज्ञी = Queens.

राणक = Members of the king's family or kinsmen of the King.

राजपुत्र = Sons of the King.

राजामात्य = Ministers of the King.

महापुरोहित = The High Priest.

महाधर्म्माध्यक्ष = The Supreme Judge or Chief Justice.

महासान्धिविग्रहिक = The Supreme Minister for Peace and War.

महासेनापति = The Commander-in-Chief.

महामुद्राधिकृत = The Lord Privy-Seal.

अन्तरङ्ग = The Private Secretary (?).

बृहदुपरिक = The Rulers over large units like the Divisions of modern days.

महाक्षपटलिक = The Chief Record-Keeper.

महाप्रतीहार = The Lord Chamberlain.

महाभोगिक = The Chief Lord of Stables.

महापीलुपति = The Chief Lord of Elephant Stables.

महागणस्थ = The Divisional Commander of Forces.

दौःसाधिक = One who performs difficult tasks, probably, the Head of the Intelligence Branch of the Police.

चौरोद्धरणिक = The police officer in charge of investigation into cases of theft. A thief-extirpator. A thief-catcher. (Monier-Williams.)

व्यापृतक = Officers in charge of (the following):—

नौ = Boats. बल = Forces. हस्ती = Elephants. अश्व = Horses.

गो = Cows. महिष = Buffaloes. अज = Goats. अविक = Sheep.

गौल्मिक = Superintendent of Outposts.

दण्डपाशिक = Holder of noose to catch offenders. Police Chief. (Monier-Williams.)

दण्डनायक = Rod-applier or Judge. (Monier-Williams.)

विषयपति = District Officers.

—and all other (officers) included in the List of Government Officials, but not mentioned here, (as well as) regular and irregular members of the Police Force and the tillers of the soil, the Brāhmaṇas and (members of society) other than the Brāhmanas. —let the consent of your honoured selves be (to the following transaction):—

L. 4 (*Continued*). यथा श्रीपौण्ड्रवर्द्धनभुक्त्यन्तःपाति वाराहनाहृत्यन्त-
र्गतवसुश्रीचतु-

L. 5. रके पूर्व्वे पोञ्चेघादारिडसीमा दक्षिणे जलदारिडसीमा
पश्चिमे मजनदीसीमा उत्तरेऽपि तथा

L. 6. सीमा इत्थं चतुःसीमावच्छिन्नं कविल्की चुम्बली गाण्डोली
देहियाखण्डक्षेत्रसमेत राय

L. 7. स्वकोटमजगहत्तराक पूर्व्वे गुडहासम्बन्धिभूक्षेत्रदयं सिंह-
आविल्की तथा केमतग्रावाटिपश्चिमका

L. 8. खिडस्तथा जलदाखिडसम्बन्धीयचतुःसूत्रमध्यजलनिर्ग्गमजाणः सीमा
दक्षिणे जलदाखिडसीमा

L. 9. पश्चिमायाञ्च जलदाखिडसीमा उत्तरे वानहार नदः सीमा।
इत्थञ्चतुःसीमावच्छिन्नौ मा

L. 10. दिमाहंसग्रामकियदेकदेशः इत्थमेतावूपरिलिखिताभूसीमा-
वच्छिन्नौ द्वात्रिंशतिहस्त-

L. 11. परिमितनलेन तलवर्त्तसमेत काकिन्यष्टाविंशति षष्ठाधिक
पाटकौ[1] समेत द्रोणैकान्वित-

L. 12. समुदयभूपाटकात्मकाः सम्वत्सरेण कपर्द्दकपुराणशतचतुष्टयोत्-
पत्तिकखण्डक्षेत्रचतुष्टय स[2]

L. 13. समेता वासुमण्डण[3]मादिमाहंसकियदेकभूभागौ सझाटविट-
पौ सजलस्थलौ सगर्त्तो-

L. 14. षरौ सगुवाकनारिकेलौ सह्यदशापराधौ परिहृतसर्व्वपीड़ा-
वचट्टभट्टप्रवेशावकिञ्चित्प्र-

L. 15. ग्राह्यौ तृणपूतिगोचरपर्य्यन्तौ क्षणादेवशर्म्मणः प्रपौत्राय जयदेव-
शर्म्मणः पौत्राय महादेव-

L. 16. देवशर्म्मणः पुत्राय मोद्गल्य[4]सगोत्राय और्व्वच्यवनभार्ग्गवजामदग्न
आप्नुवान् प्रवराय सामवेदकौथुम-

L. 17. शाखाचरणावध्यायिने पाठकश्रीपद्मनाभदेवशर्म्मणे पुण्ये अहनि
विधिवदुदकपूर्व्वकं भगव-

L. 18. न्तं श्रीमन्नारायणभट्टारकमुद्दिश्य महादेवी प्रदया[5] देवी महादेवी
कल्याणदेव्याः भूतिपोष्टिनि-

L. 19. मित्तं वास्तुगोचराद्यां सम्वर्षेण शतचतुष्टयोत्पत्तिकां भूमिमुत्क्ट-
ज्याचन्द्रार्कक्षितिसमकालं यावत्

L. 20. भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेन ताम्रशासनीकृत्वा प्रदत्ता अस्माभिः।

Notes.—The proper right side of the plate has suffered severely by corrosion, with the result that it is very difficult to decipher about a quarter of all the lines in the beginning. Some geographical names occurring in this obscure quarter

could not, therefore, be satisfactorily deciphered. The doubtful names and portions have been underlined in the text. The name of the आवृत्ति I have made out as वाखड्न and that of the चतुरक as वसुश्री. The latter name can be also read as वसुश्री. Names ending in श्री and its corruption षी are rather common in Bengal. The name of चन्द्रश्री, now called चांदषी, a well-known village of the Bakarganj district, may be recalled in this connection. Many names ending in श्री are also to be found in the region where the plate was found, showing that the names were given to the villages by the early Aryan colonisors who had a keen aesthetic sense and a genius for poetical nomenclature.

R reads some of the proper names differently, as corrosion makes taking of different views possible. But his failure to read the identifying name of the river वानहार is regrettable. C has not failed to suggest the correct reading.

(1) Read पाटक.

(2) Delete this redundant स.

(3) The name of the first village, part of which was granted, is provisionally deciphered as वासुमखड्न. This name probably occurs at the end of line 6 and beginning of line 7, where the letters deciphered give no sense. These letters may, after all, be simply वासुमखड्नग्रामकियदेकदेशः.

(4) The name is spelt मोद्गल्य and not मौद्गल्य.

(5) The name can be read nothing else than घट्या. On this point, the note added by C (*E.I.*, XXVI, p. 9, n. 3) is illuminating.

Translation:

Whereas in the **Bhukti** (Division) of **Pauṇḍravardhana,** in the Āvṛtti (Circle or Enclosure) of **Bāṇḍana,** in the **Chaturaka** (Quadrangle) of **Vasu-Śrī,** (the village) Rāpaśvakoṭa—Majagaharttarāka(?) with detached plots of (the villages of) Kavilkī, Chunchalī, Gāṇḍolī and Dehiyā, bounded as follows:—

To the East, the boundary of Poñchesādāṇḍi;
To the South, the boundary of Jaladāṇḍi;
To the West, the boundary of the dried up river;
To the North, the same; (and)

a part of the village of Mādisāhaṁsa, bounded as follows:—

To the East, the canal (outlet) for the flow of spill-water skirting two sides of the (village of) Guḍahāsa and slipping off the four sides of (the villages of) Siṁhajāvilkī, Kematagrāvāṭi, Paśchimkāṇḍi and Jaladāṇḍi;

To the South, the boundary of Jaladāṇḍi;

To the West also the boundary of Jaladāṇḍi;

To the North, the boundary of the river **Bānahāra**;

These two plots of land, bounded as above, measured by the *Nala* (reed) measuring twenty-two cubits in length, and including the attached low land, (of the total area of) six *Pāṭakas* increased by one Drona and twenty-eight *Kākinis*,—the entire land annually producing four hundred *Kaparddaka-Purāṇas*,—(viz:) parts of the villages of Vāsumandana and Mādisāhaṁsa with four detached plots of land.—

With all the shrubs and trees, with all dry land and water, with the ditches and fallow land, with the betel-nut and the coconut trees, with the toleration of (i.e. unforfeitable in spite of) the Ten offences, relieved of all taxes, (oppressive impositions), unencroachable by Chaṭṭas and Bhaṭṭas (regular and irregular Police Force) free from all (state) demands, even with the grass, wild herbs and pasture,—this land annually producing four hundred *Kaparddaka-Purāṇas* and consisting of habitable land and pasture, etc., has been given by us in dedication, by the promulgation of a copper-plate, in perpetuity to last as long as the Sun, the Moon and the Earth lasted,—duly consecrated with (holy) water and on an auspicious day, for pleasing the illustrious god Lord Nārāyaṇa, and for the welfare and advancement of the **major queens Śryā Devī** and **Kalyāṇa Devī**.—

To the Reader (of holy texts) Śrī Padmanābha Deva-Śarmman, son of Mahādeva Deva Śarmman, grandson of Jaya Deva-Śarmman and great-grandson of Kṛṣṇa Deva-Śarmman belonging to the clan of Modgallya and with the (five) *Pravaras* Aurbba, Chyāvana, Bhārggava, Jāmadagna and Āpnuvān, versed in a quarter of the Kauthuma branch of the Sāma-Veda.

L. 20 (*Continued*). तद्भवद्भिः सर्व्वैरेवानुमन्तव्याः भावि-

L. 21. भिरपि भूपतिभिरपहरणे नरकपातभयात् पालने धर्म्मगौरवात् ग्रामनमिदं पालनीयम्। भव-

L. 22. न्ति चात्र धर्म्मानुशंसिनः श्लोकाः। भूमिं यः प्रतिगृह्णाति यश्च भूमिं प्रयच्छति। उभौ तौ पुण्यकर्म्माणौ नि-

L. 23. यतं स्वर्गगामिनौ॥ बहुभिर्व्वसुधा दत्ता राजभिः सगरादि-भिः। यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा

L. 24. फलम्। आस्फोटयन्ति पितरो वल्गयन्ति पितामहाः। भूमि-दाता कुले जातः स नस्त्राता भविष्यति॥ ष-

L. 25. ष्टिम्वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे मोदति भूमिदः आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत्। स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो

L. 26. हरेत वसुन्धरां स विष्ठायां क्रिमिर्भूत्वा पितृभिः सह पच्यते॥ इति कमलदलाम्बुबिन्दुलोलां श्रियमनुचिन्त्य

L. 27. मनुष्यजीवितञ्च सकलमिदमुदाहृतञ्च बुद्ध्वा न हि पुरुषैः पर-
कीर्त्तयो विलोप्याः ॥ अरिराजमद-

L. 28. नशङ्करनरपतिरकरोन्महीशतमुख्यं शङ्करधरमिह दूतं गौड-
महासान्धिविग्रहिकम् ॥

L. 29. श्री नि महासां नि । श्रीमद्राज नि । श्रीमदनशङ्कर नि ।
श्रीमत् साहसमल्ल नि । सं २७ । का दिने ६

Translation:

Therefore this (transaction) should be permitted by all of you venerable gentlemen. By the future kings also, this grant should be respected, as there is religious merit in respecting this grant and the apprehension of falling into the hell in misappropriating the land of this grant. Here may be cited the following religious distiches:—

One who accepts lands granted and the one who makes the grant of land,—both of these persons of meritorious deed constantly find their way to paradise.

Kings like Sagara and others extensively gave away land. Whenever and whoever (subsequently) became the proprietor of the land, the merit of the gift then accrued to them.

The fathers strike their arms (in challenging pride) and the grandfathers dance in joy by saying,—'A giver of land has been born in our lineage (and) he will be our Saviour'.

The giver of land revels in paradise for sixty thousand years. One who destroys that grant or permits such destruction lives in hell for an equal number of years.

One who robs land given either by himself or by others, becomes a worm in ordure and putrefies there with his forefathers.

So, considering that good fortune is unsteady like a drop of water on a lotus leaf, and that human life is equally so, and also comprehending all that has been cited (above), a person should not destroy the good deeds of others.

The King who is called **Arirāja-madana-śaṅkara** appointed plenipotentiary in this transaction Śaṅkaradhara, the exalted among a hundred countries and the chief minister of **Gauḍa** for peace and war.

Endorsed by Śrī (Lord Nārāyaṇa?). By the Mahāsāṁ(dhivigrahika). By the illustrious Sovereign (himself). By the illustrious Madana-Śaṅkara. By the illustrious Sāhasamalla. Year 27. The 6th day of Kā(rttika).[1]

[1] The entire annotated text and translation were very kindly revised by Dr. P. C. Lahiri, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.), Lecturer in Sanskrit, Dacca University, resulting in some important improvements, for which the writer is sincerely grateful to Dr. Lahiri.

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ARTICLE No. 2.

The Gupta Era.

By P. C. SENGUPTA.

(*Communicated by Prof. M. N. Saha.*)

In the present paper it is proposed to determine the beginning of the era of the Gupta emperors of northern India. Dr. Fleet in his great book *Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol III, has published a collection of the Gupta inscriptions. In order to verify the dates in those inscriptions he had the assistance of the late Mr. S. B. Dīkṣita of Poona, and his calculations led Dr. Fleet to conclude that the Gupta era began from 319–321 A.D.[1] This indefinite statement or inference is not satisfactory. Mr. Dīkṣita was also not able to prove that the Gupta and Valabhī eras were but one and the same era.[2] Of recent years some have even ventured to prove that the Gupta era is to be identified with the Saṁvat or Mālava era. Hence it has become necessary to try to arrive at a definite conclusion on this point, *viz.*, as to the true beginning of the Gupta era.

The tradition about this era is recorded by Alberuni, which is equivalent to this:—from the Śaka year deduct 241, the result is the year of the Gupta kings and that the Gupta and the Valabhī eras are one and the same era.[3] Now the Śaka era and the Saṁvat or Mālava era are generally taken to begin from the light half of lunar *Caitra*. As has been stated already, it is extremely controversial to assume if this was so at the times when these eras were started.

From the earliest Vedic times and also from the *Vedāṁga* period, we have the most unmistakable evidences to show that the calendar year, as distinguished from the sacrificial year was started either from the winter solstice day or from the day following it. The so-called *Caitra-śuklādi* reckoning started the year from the vernal equinox day or from the day following it. So far as we can see from a study of the history of Indian astronomy, we are led to conclude that this sort of beginning the year was started by Āryabhaṭa I, from 499 A.D. The great fame of Āryabhaṭa I as an astronomer led all the astronomers and public men of later times to follow him in this respect. We start with

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[1] Fleet—*Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III (Gupta Inscriptions) page 127.

[2] S. B. Dīkṣita, भारतीय ज्योतिःशास्त्र, page 375 (1st edn.).

[3] Sachau's Alberuni, Vol. II, page 7—'The epoch of the era of the Guptas falls, like that of the Valabha era, 241 years later than the Śakakāla.'

the hypothesis that the Gupta era was originally started from the winter solstice day and that initially the year of the era more correctly corresponded with the Christian year than with the *Caitra-śuklādi* Śaka year.

Now the year 241 of the Śaka era is equivalent to 319-20 A.D. We assume that the Gupta era started from the winter solstice day preceding January 1, 319 A.D. The elapsed years of the Gupta era till 1940 A.D. becomes 1,621 years and $1,621 = 160 \times 10 + 19 + 2$. Hence the starting year of the era was similar to 1938 A.D. Now the mean precession rate from 319 to 1938 A.D. $= 50''\cdot0847$ per year. Hence the total shifting of the solstices becomes till 1938 A.D. $= 22° \; 31' \; 27''\cdot54$. Thus what was 270° of the longitude of the sun should now become 292° 31′ nearly—a longitude which the sun now has about the 13th of January. On looking up some of the recent calendars we find that

(*a*) In the year 1922 there was a full-moon on January 13.

(*b*) In the year 1937 there was a new-moon on January 12.

We apply the elapsed years 1,619 (sidereal) backward to January 12, 1937 A.D and arrive at the date:—

December 20, 317 A.D., on which at G.M.N. or Ujjayinī, mean time, 5-4 P.M.,

Mean Sun	$= 269° \; 5' \; 11''.26$
,, Moon	$= 272° \; 39' \; 40''.40$
Lunar Perigee	$= 39° \; 50' \; 37''\cdot25$
A. Node	$= 257° \; 44' \; 29''\cdot88$
Sun's Apogee	$= 74° \; 7' \; 25''\cdot16$
,, eccentricity	$= 0\cdot0173808$.
Hence $2e$	$= 119'\cdot5016$
$\frac{5}{4}e^2$	$= 1'\cdot2981$
Appt. Sun	$= 269° \; 37'$
,, Moon	$= 268° \; 52'$ nearly.

The moon overtook the sun in about $1\frac{1}{2}$ hours and the sun reached the summer solstice in about 9 hours. Hence December 20, 317 A.D., was a new-moon day and also the day of winter solstice according to the ordinary mode of Indian reckoning. As this day was similar to January 12, 1937 A.D., *viz* lunar *Agrahāyaṇa* ended, it appears that the Gupta era was started from about the 21st December 318 A.D., and this was the 12th day of lunar *Pauṣa*. It must be remembered in this connection that the distinguishing character of the lunar *Agrahāyaṇa* with which the year ended at the end of a correct luni-solar cycle, was that the last quarter of the moon was very nearly conjoined with *Citrā* (*Spica* or *α Virginis*).[1] In our opinion this character of the month was used

[1] *Cf.* the long. of the moon on January 4, 1937 A.D., at L.Q. with that of *α Virginis*.

for the intercalation of a lunar month at the end of a correct luni-solar cycle. We now proceed to examine the dates given in the Gupta Inscriptions as collected together by Dr. Fleet in his great book on the subject.

(i) शते पञ्चषष्ट्यधिके (१६५) वर्षाणाम् भूपतौ च बुधगुप्ते आषाढ़-मास-शुक्लद्वादश्यां सुरगुरोर्दिवसे [1] ।

The inscription says that the 12th *tithi* of the light half of lunar *Āṣāḍha* of the Gupta year 165, fell on a Thursday. We examine this both by the modern and the *Siddhāntic* methods

(*a*) By the modern method.

The year 165 of the Gupta Kings is similar to the year 1924 A.D., and the date corresponded with July 13, Sunday, of 1924 A.D. The elapsed years till this date = 1,440 sidereal years = 525,969 days. We increase the number of days by 1 and divide it by 7: the remainder is 4, which shows that the inscription statement of Thursday agrees with the Sunday of July 13, 1924 A.D.

We next apply 525,969 days backward to July 13, 1924, and arrive at the date June 21, 484 A.D., the date of the inscription.

This date was 14·15 Julian centuries and 181·25 days before January 1, 1900 A.D.

Hence on June 21, 484 A.D., at G.M.N.:			
Mean Sun	= 91° 12′ 50″·64		
,, Moon	= 235° 7′ 53″·42	Hence :—	
L. Perigee	= 335° 23′ 2″·80	$2e$ =	119′·0564
A. Node	= 277° 14′ 51″·51	$\frac{5}{4}e^2$ =	1′·290.
Sun's Apogee	= 76° 14′ 32″		
,, Eccentricity	= 0·0173175		

From these we readily find the same mean places at the preceding Ujjayinī mean midnight.

Hence on June 20, 484 A.D. at Ujjayinī mean midnight :

Mean Sun	= 90° 30′ 47″·38	Appt. Sun	= 90° 2′
,, Moon	= 225° 45′ 41″·78	,, Moon	= 219° 47′
Lunar Perigee	= 335° 18′ 17″·61		nearly.
A. Node	= 277° 17′ 7″·08		

Thus at the Ujjayinī mean midnight of the day before (Wednesday), the 11th *tithi* was current, and next day, Thursday, had at sunrise the 12th *tithi* of the lunar month of *Āṣāḍha*.

[1] Fleet's Gupta Inscriptions, page 80, Êran Inscription.

(b) According to the method of the *Khaṇḍakhādyaka* of Brahmagupta, the *Kali ahargaṇa* on this Wednesday at the Ujjayinī mean midnight was =1309545.

Hence:— Mean Sun = 91° 3′ 4″
,, Moon = 226° 23′ 17″
Lunar Perigee = 335° 42′ 56″
A. Node = 277° 35′ 17″

The above two sets of the mean elements for the same instant are in fair agreement. Hence the date of the inscription is Thursday, June 21, 484 A.D., and the Zero Year of the Gupta era is thus 319 A.D. We are here in agreement with Dīkṣita's finding.

(ii) The Second Instance of Gupta-Inscription-date.

श्रीविश्वनाथ प्रतिवद्ध नौजनानां बोधक रसुल महम्मद संवत् ६६२ तथा श्रीनृपविक्रमसंवत् १३२० तथा श्रीमद् वलभी संवत् ९४५ आषाढ़ वदि १३ रवौ अद्य इह[1]।

Here the Hizri year 662 shows that the Vikrama Saṁvat is expressed in elapsed years as 1320; and as it is now reckoned it should be 1321. The Valabhī Saṁvat 945 is the same as the Gupta Saṁvat 945, in which the thirteenth *tithi* of the dark half of *Jyaiṣṭha* fell on a Sunday.

Now the mean *Khaṇḍakhādyaka ahargaṇa*=218,878
from which we deduct 30
218,848,

which we accept as the correct *ahargaṇa*, and is exactly divisible by 7, and which was true for Saturday of *Āṣāḍha Vadi* 12 of the Gupta era 945. The English date for this Saturday was May 25, 1264 A.D. On the next day (Sunday) the date was May 26, 1264 A.D. the date of the inscription.

From the above apparent *ahargaṇa* for May 25, 1264 A.D., which was a Saturday, at the Ujjayinī mean midnight we have—

Mean Sun = 1^s 27° 42′ 48″
,, Moon = 0^s 27° 31′ 40″
L. Apogee = 6^s 20° 29′ 1″ (with Lalla's correction)
A. Node = 9^s 29° 53′ 4″ (,, ,, ,,)

Hence:—Appt. Sun = 1^s 28° 21′ 57″
,, Moon = 0^s 28° 8′ 44″
Moon—Sun = 10^s 29° 46′ 47″
= 27 *tithis*+5° 46′ 47″.

[1] Fleet's Gupta Inscriptions, page 84, Veraval Inscription.

Thus at the midnight (U.M.T.) of the Saturday ended, about 11 hrs. of the 13th *tithi* of the dark half of *Jyaiṣṭha* were over and 13 hrs. nearly of it remained. Thus the current *tithi* of the next morning of Sunday was also the 13th of the dark half of *Jyaiṣṭha*, which is called *Āṣāḍha Vadi* 13.

In the present case the Valabhī or Gupta year 945 = 1264 A.D. Hence also the Gupta era began from 319 A.D. and we are in agreement with Dīkṣita.

(iii) The Third Instance of Gupta-Inscription-date.

९२७ वर्षे फाल्गुन सुदि २ सोमे[1] ।

It is here stated that in the Gupta or Valabhī year 927, the 2nd *tithi* of the light half of *Phālguna*, fell on a Monday. The English date becomes 1246 A.D. February 19. Śaka Year was 1,167 years +11 months +2 *tithis*, the Gupta year being taken to have been reckoned from the light half of lunar *Pauṣa*.

The true *Khaṇḍakhādyaka ahargaṇa* becomes = 212,179 at Ujjayinī Mean Midnight of Monday, when

Mean Sun	=	10^s 24° 43′ 44″
,, Moon	=	11^s 24° 26′ 37″
L. Apogee	=	6^s 3° 20′ 53″
A. Node	=	2^s 1° 59′ 40″.

Hence on the same date at 6 A.M. Ujjayinī M.T.:

Mean Sun	=	10^s 23° 59′ 23″
Sun's Apogee	=	2^s 17° 0′ 0″
Mean Moon	=	11^s 14° 33′ 41″
L. Apogee	=	6^s 3° 15′ 52″.

Thus:—

Appt. Sun	=	325° 59′ 2″
,, Moon	=	342° 56′ 51″
Moon—Sun	=	16° 57′ 25″
	=	1 *tithi*+4° 57′ 25″.

On this Monday, the *tithi* was the second of the light half of lunar *Phālguṇā*, while the sun's longitude shows that the Bengali date was the 24th of solar *Phālguna*. We are here in agreement with Dīkṣita.

In this case also calculation by the modern methods is unnecessary as the time was later than that of Brahmagupta. It should be noted that the old year-reckoning from the light half of *Pauṣa* has continued in spite of Aryabhata I's rule of reckoning it from the light half of *Caitra*. Here also 927 of the Gupta era = 1246 A.D.

∴ Zero year of the Gupta era = 319 A.D.

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[1] Fleet's Gupta Inscriptions, page 90, Veraval Inscription.

(iv) The Fourth Instance of Gupta-Inscription-date.

३३० गुप्तसंवत् द्विमार्गशीर्षंसु सुदि २ सोम [1] ।

This states that the Gupta year 330 had at its end the second *Agrahāyaṇa*. Here of the Gupta year 330, up to *Agrahāyaṇa*, the time by the *Caitra-śuklādi* Śaka era would be 570 years +9 months.

According to the *Khaṇḍakhādyaka* of Bramhagupta the total *Kali-solar days* up to 570 of Śaka elapsed +9 months = 1,349,910, in which we get $1{,}383\frac{12}{976}$ intercalary months, *i.e.* 1,383 exact intercalary months by the mean rate, which tends to show that there was a second lunar *Agrahāyaṇa* at this time. But this explanation appears unsatisfactory. If we follow the method of the *siddhāntas*, there can be no intercalary month in the solar month of *Agrahāyaṇa*, of which the length as found by Warren is less than that of a lunar month.[2] We have also examined it carefully and found that in the present case this could not happen. We have then to examine it another way.

On December 20 of the year 317 A.D. there was a new-moon with which the lunar *Agrahāyaṇa* ended and the sun turned north. The character of this lunar *Agrahāyana* was that the last quarter was conjoined with *Citrā* or α *Virginis*. The Gupta era was started one year later than this date, from the 20th December, 318 A.D. The year 330 of the Gupta era was thus the year which ended about December 20 of 648 A.D. and the number of years elapsed was $331 = 160 \times 2 + 11$.

Thus 331 years was a fairly complete luni-solar cycle, and comprised 120,898 days. Again 577,825 days before January 1, 1900 A.D., was the date December 20, 317 A.D. Hence applying 120,898 days forward to this date, we arrive at the date December 21, 648 A.D. But the new-moon happened one day earlier, *i.e.* on the 20th December 648 A.D. with which the lunar *Agrahāyaṇa* ended this year.

Now on the day of the last quarter of this month or the *aṣṭakā* which fell on the 13th December 648 A.D., the moon was conjoined with *Citrā* or α *Virginis*, in the latter part of the night. On this day at G.M.N. we had—

Mean Sun	$= 264° \ 57' \ 0''{\cdot}47$	Hence :—
,, Moon	$= 180° \ 14' \ 22''{\cdot}10$	Apparent Sun $= 265° \ 8'$
L. Perigee	$= 188° \ 32' \ 34''{\cdot}17$	,, Moon $= 179° \ 10'$
Sun's Apogee	$= 79° \ 46' \ 40''{\cdot}79$	Long. of α *Virginis* $= 185°$ nearly.
$2e = 118'{\cdot}7$, $\frac{5}{4}e^2 = 1'{\cdot}298$		

[1] Fleet's Gupta Inscriptions, page 92, The Kaira (22° 45′ N, 72° 45′ E) Grant.

[2] Length of solar *Agrahāyaṇa* = 29 da. 30 n. 24 v. 2III 33IV (Burgess *S. Sidhānta*, XIV, 3.)

Length of lunar month = 29 da. 31 n. 50 v. 6III 53IV according to the *Khaṇḍakhādyaka*.

From these calculations it follows that the last lunar month of the year was the second *Agrahāyaṇa* as this month completed the luni-solar cycle of 331 years.

The date of the inscription being the second (third ?) day of the second *Agrahāyaṇa*, was Monday, the 24th of November, 648 A.D., with this second *Agrahāyaṇa* which ended on the 20th December 648 A.D. the year 330 of the Gupta era ended. It must be admitted that the inscription as it has been read or as it was executed was slightly defective. In this case also Āryabhaṭa I's *Caitra-śuklādi* reckoning is not followed.

Here 330 of the Gupta era = 649 A.D.
Or Zero year ,, ,, = 319 A.D.

(v) Morvi Copper Plate Inscription.

पञ्चाशीत्यायुतेऽतीते समानां शतपञ्चके ।
गौप्ते ददावदो नृपः सोपरागेऽर्कमण्डले ॥
संवत् ५८५ फाल्गुन सुदि ५ ।

This inscription says that on the day of the 5th *tithi* of the light half of lunar *Phālguna* of the Gupta year 585, the King of the place, Morvi (22° 49′ N and 70° 53′ E) made a gift at the time of a solar eclipse, which happened some time before this date, on which the deed of gift, *viz.*, the copper plate in question, was executed.

To find the date of this copper plate had been a pitfall to Dr. Fleet, who mistook that the solar eclipse in question, happened on the 7th May, 905 A.D. Now the year 585 of the Guptas should be 904 A.D. and the date of execution of the plate should be February 20, 904 A.D. We looked for the solar eclipse two lunations 5 days before and 8 lunations 5 days before this date. Although there happened the two solar eclipses at these times, they were not visible in India.

We find, however, that here the Gupta year is reckoned not from the light half of *Pauṣa*, but from the light half of *Caitra* according to Āryabhata I's rule. Here the year 585 of the Gupta era = 826 of the *Caitra-śuklādi* Śaka era = 904-905 A.D., or the zero year of the Gupta era was 319-20 A.D. The date of the inscription corresponds to March 3, 1941 A.D., and the elapsed years till this date = 1,036 years = 12,814 lunations = 378,405 days. The date of the copper plate works out to have been February 12, 905 A.D. The eclipse referred to in the inscription happened on November 10, 904 A.D.,[1] on which at G.M.N. or 4-44 P.M. Morvi time,

[1] Finally accepted by Fleet—Indian Antiquary, Nov. 1891, page 382. S. B. Dīkṣit did actually find it.

Mean Sun	= 234° 22′ 29″·34
Sun's Apogee	= 83° 9′ 18″·32
Mean Moon	= 231° 7′ 21″·80
D. Node	= 246° 7′ 31″·10
L. Perigee	= 162° 10′ 10″·68

The new-moon happened at mean noon, Morvi time, the magnitude of the eclipse as visible at the place was about ·075. The beginning of the eclipse took place at 11-35 A.M. Morvi time. The end came about 12-45 noon, Morvi mean time. Duration was about 1 hr. 10 min.[1]

Secondly, if we use the *Khaṇḍakhādyaka* constants, the *ahargaṇa* becomes for 826 of Śaka era + 8 lunations = 87,528. Hence the mean places with Lalla's corrections thereto, at G.M.N. of the same day become:—

Mean Sun	= 228° 18′ 5″
,, Moon	= 224° 27′ 36″
D. Node	= 239° 44′ 56″
L. Perigee	= 155° 59′ 47″.

It appears that this eclipse could be predicted by the method of the *Khaṇḍakhādyaka*. The gift made by this copper plate was probably a reward to the calculator of the eclipse.

(vi) The Sixth Instance of Gupta-Inscription-date.

षट्पञ्चाशोत्तरेऽब्दशते (१५६) गुप्तनृपराज्यभुक्तौ महावैशाख-संवत्सरे कार्त्तिकमास-शुक्लपक्षतृतीयायां [2] ।

In the year 156 of the Guptas, which was the Jovial year styled the *Mahāvaiśākha* year, the inscription records the date as the day of the 3rd *tithi* of the light half of *Kārtika*.

Now 156 of the Gupta era = 475 A.D.

Julian days on January 1, 475 A.D. = 1,894,552 and

,, ,, ,, ,, 1900 A.D. = 2,415,021, the difference is 520,469 da. which comprise 14·24 Julian centuries + 353 days or 14·25 Julian centuries − 12·25 days. We increase 520,469 da. by 12·25 da. and arrive at the date December 20, 474 A.D., on which at G.M.T. 6 hrs. or 11-4 A.M. Ujjayinī M.T.,

Mean Jupiter	= 170° 54′ 6″·57
Mean Sun	= 269° 47′ 11″·66

[1] The above circumstances of the eclipse have been calculated by my collaborator, Mr. N. C. Lahiri, M.A.

[2] Fleet's Gupta Inscriptions, page 104, the Khôh Grant I.

Hence we calculate that mean Jupitei and mean sun became nearly equal 289 days later, *i.e.* on the 5th October, 475 A.D. at 6 A.M. G.M.T.

Mean Jupiter $= 194° \; 55' \; 34''{\cdot}42$
Mean Sun $= 194° \; 38' \; 19''{\cdot}15$.

It is thus seen that the mean places would become almost equal in 6 hrs more. For the above mean places, however, the equations of apsis for Jupiter and Sun were respectively $-2° \; 6' \; 4''{\cdot}08$ and $-1° \; 45' \; 2''{\cdot}70$. Hence their apparent places become as follows :—

Appt. Jupiter $= 192° \; 49' \; 30''{\cdot}34$
,, Sun $= 192° \; 53' \; 16''{\cdot}45$.

Thus they were very nearly in conjuction at 6 hrs. G.M.T. on the 5th October, 475 A.D.

According to Brahmagupta, Jupiter rises on the east on getting at the anomaly of conjunction of 14°. This takes place in 15·5 days. Hence the date for the heliacal rising of Jupiter becomes the 20th October, 475 A.D. at G.M.T. 18 hrs. when,

Appt. Sun $= 208° \; 45'$
and ,, Jupiter $= 196° \; 20'$ nearly.

Thus Jupiter was heliacally visible about October 20, 475 A.D.

The actual date of the inscription was October 18, 475 A.D.[1]

Here on the day of the heliacal visibility, the sun was in the *nakṣatra Viśākhā* but Jupiter was 3° 40′ behind the first point of the *nakṣatra*-division, the vernal equinox of the year being taken as the first point of the Hindu sphere. According to the rule of naming Jupiter's years as given in the modern *Sūrya-siddhānta* xiv, 16-17, it was sun's *nakṣatra*, on new-moon prior to October 18, 475 A.D., the date of the inscription, which took place on October 15-16 of the year, gave the name of the year. The sun was in the *nakṣatra Viśākhā* and the year begun was consequently the *Mahāvaiśākha* year of Jupiter.

This inscription also shows that the Gupta era began from 319 A.D.

(vii) The Seventh Instance of Gupta-Inscription-date.

त्रिषष्ठ्युत्तरेऽब्दशते (१६३) गुप्तनृपराज्यभुक्तौ महा-आश्वयुज-संवत्सरे चैत्रमास-शुक्लपक्ष-द्वितीयायाम्[2]।

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[1] *Kali ahargaṇa* on the day of the 3rd *tithi* of *kārtika* light half in the Gupta year 156 was 1,306,377, and Julian days = 1,894,843.

[2] Fleet's Gupta Inscriptions, page 110, the Khôh Grant II.

The inscription records the date as the year 163 of the Gupta kings, the Jovial year called *Mahā-Āśvayuja*, the day of the 2nd *tithi* of the light half of *Caitra*.

The year 163 of the Gupta era or 482 A.D. was similar to the year 1941 A.D. and the date to March 30, 1941. In 1,459 sidereal years (1,941—482 = 1,459) there are 532,909 days, which are applied backward to the 30th March, 1941 A.D., and we arrive at the tentative date of the inscription as March 8, 482 A.D. On this date at G.M.N., we had—

$$\text{Mean Jupiter} = 29^\circ\ 58'\ 8''{\cdot}24$$
$$\text{,, Sun} = 347^\circ\ 12'\ 47''{\cdot}11.$$

Here, Jupiter's heliacal setting is yet to come in about 30 days. Hence on April 7, 482 A.D.—

$$\text{Mean Jupiter} = 32^\circ\ 27'\ 46''{\cdot}22$$
$$\text{,, Sun} = 16^\circ\ 46'\ 57''{\cdot}02 \text{ at G.M.N.}$$

Thus the heliacal setting of Jupiter took place in two days more according to Bramhagupta's rule on the 9th April, 482 A.D. and the new-moon happened on the 5th April, 482 A.D. when the sun was on the *nakṣatra Bharaṇī*. Hence the year to come got its name *Āśvayuja* year. But the tentative date of the inscription was obtained as March 8, 482 A.D., which was 28 days before the new-moon, on about the 5th April, 482 A.D. This needs elucidation.

Here by coming down by 30 days we arrive at the lunar month of *Vaiśākha* as it is reckoned now. But in the year 482 A.D., *i.e.* 17 years before the year 499 A.D. when the Hindu scientific *siddhāntas* came into being, the calendar formation rule was different. In our gauge year 1941 A.D. the moon of the last quarter got conjoined with *Citrā* or *α Virginis* on the 20th January before sunrise. Hence as pointed out before in this gauge year 1941 A.D. also, the lunar *Agrahāyaṇa* of the early Gupta period ended on the 27th January, 1941. Thus the lunar month that is now called *Pauṣa* in 1941 A.D. was called *Agrahāyaṇa* in 482 A.D. Hence the lunar *Caitra* of 482 A.D. is now the lunar *Vaiśākha* of 1941.

The date of the inscription is thus correctly obtained as THE 7TH APRIL, 482 A.D.; the Jovial year begun was a *Mahā-Āśvayuja* year. This instance also shows that the zero year of the Gupta era was approximately the same as the Christian year 319 A.D.

(viii) The Eighth Instance of Gupta-Inscription-date.

एकनवत्युत्तरेऽब्दशते (१९१) गुप्तनृपराज्यभुक्तौ श्रीमति प्रवर्धमान-महाचैत्रसंवत्सरे माघमास-बहुलपक्षतृतीयायाम्[1] ।

[1] Fleet's Gupta Inscriptions, page 114, the Mājhgavāṁ Grant.

This inscription records the date as the year 191 of the Gupta emperors, the Jovial year of *Mahācaitra*, the day of the third *tithi* of the dark half of lunar *Māgha*.

We first work out the date on the hypothesis that the Gupta year was in this case also reckoned from the light half of lunar *Pauṣa*. The Gupta year 191, on this hypothesis would be similar to the Christian year 1931 and the date of the inscription would correspond with March 6, 1931. Now this Gupta year 191 = 510 A.D. would be later than the time of Āryabhaṭa I, *viz.* 499 A.D., by 11 years.

The elapsed years (sidereal) are 1,421, which comprise 17,576 lunations = 519,029 days. These days are applied backward to the date, March 6, 1931 A.D., and we arrive at the date, February 12, 510 A.D.

On this date, February 12, 510 A.D., at G.M.N., we had—

Mean Jupiter = 158° 8′ 3″·87
,, Sun = 323° 46′ 13″·72.

We find easily that the sun and Jupiter had reached equality in mean longitude in 183·5 days before, when at G.M.T. 0 hr.

Mean Sun = 142° 54′ 14″·50
,, Jupiter = 142° 52′ 48″·57.

If these were the longitudes as corrected by the equations of apsis, then the heliacal visibility would come according to the rule of Bramhagupta about 15·5 days later. The mean longitudes 15·5 days later become—

For Sun = 158° 10′ 54″·21
,, Jupiter = 144° 10′ 7″·25.

These longitudes corrected by the equations of apsis become—

For Sun = 156° 3′ 27″
,, Jupiter = 146° 16′ 41″.

Hence the true heliacal visibility would come in 4 days more. We have here (1) gone up by 183·5 days and (2) come down by 15·5 days. On the whole we have gone up by 168 days or 5 lunations and 21 *tithis*. Thus on the day of the heliacal visibility of Jupiter, which came in four days more, we would have to go up by 164 days = 5 lunations + 17 *tithis*. This interval we have to apply backward to the 18th *tithi* of *Māgha* and we arrive at the 1st day of *Bhādrapada*. The date of the heliacal visibility would thus be September 1, 509 A.D., and at G.M.N. the sun's true longitude would be 160° 9′ nearly, which shows that the sun would reach the *Hastā* division. On the preceding day of the new-moon, the sun would be in the *nakṣatra U.Phalgunī* and the Jovial year begun would be styled *Phālguna* or the *Mahāphālguna*

year. This result does not agree with the statement of the inscription.

It now appears that after the year 499 A.D. or Āryabhaṭa I's time, the reckoning of the years of the Gupta era was changed from the light half of *Pauṣa* to the light half of *Caitra*, according to Āryabhaṭa I's rule:

युगवर्षमासदिवसाः समं प्रवृत्तास्ते चैत्रशुक्लादेः ।

Kālakriyā, .

'The *Yuga*, year, month and the first day of the year started simultaneously from the beginning of the light half of *Caitra*.'

After the year 499 A.D. all the Indian eras slowly changed their year-reckoning from the winter solstice day to the next vernal equinox day, *i.e.* the year beginning was shifted forward by 3 lunations. Hence in finding in our own time a year similar to the Gupta year of times later than 499 A.D., we have sometimes to compare it to the present-day Śaka year and not to the Christian year.

Hence the year 191 of the Gupta era = the year 432 of the Śaka era. In our times the Śaka year 1853 is similar to the Gupta year 191 and the date of the inscription corresponds to February 24, 1932 A.D. The number of sidereal years elapsed up to this date=1,421 = 519,029 days, which applied backward lead to the date of the inscription as FEBRUARY 2, 511 A.D.

The date of the heliacal rising arrived at before was September 1, 509 A.D. The next heliacal rising would take place 399 days or 13·5 lunations later. The date for it works out to have been October 5, 510 A.D., and the sun had the longitude of 194° 24′ 51″ at G.M.N. At the preceding new-moon, which followed the previous heliacal setting of Jupiter, the sun had the longitude of about 179° and was in the *nakṣatra Citrā* or the Jovial year begun was *Caitra* or the *Mahā-Caitra* year, as it is styled in the inscription.

In the present case the year 191 of the Gupta emperors = 432 of the Śaka emperors = 510-11 A.D. Thus the year 0 of the Gupta emperors = 241 of the Śaka emperors = 319-320 A.D.

(ix) The Ninth Gupta-Inscription-date.

नवोत्तरेऽब्दशतद्वये गुप्तन्टपराज्यभुक्तौ श्रीमति प्रवर्धमानविजय-राज्य-महा-आश्वयुजसंवत्सरे चैत्रशुक्लपक्षत्रयोदश्याम् ।

The year and date as given in this inscription is 209 of the Gupta era, the day of the 13th *tithi* of the light half of *Caitra*. Following the *Caitra-śukla* reckoning, the corresponding date in our time is the 11th April, 1930. We have to apply 1,402 sidereal years, or more correctly, 17,341 lunations = 512,090 days backward to this date of April 11, 1930. We thus arrive at the date of the inscription, MARCH 19, 528 A.D.

On this date at G.M.N,. we had—.

Mean Jupiter	= 347° 37′ 23″·90	Hence :—	
,, Sun	= 358° 53′ 52″·27	Jupiter as corrected by the equation of apsis	= 347° 19′
Jupiter's Perihelion	= 350° 51′ 21″·61	Appt. Sun	= 358° 5′
Sun's Apogee	= 77° 42′ 56″		
,, Eccentricity	= 0·017301		
Jupiter's Eccentricity	= 0·046175.		

It appears that the heliacal rising of Jupiter would happen 3 days later and the preceding new-moon happened 13 days before, *i.e.* on the 6th March, 528 A.D.

For on that date at G.M.N., we had—

Mean Sun	= 346° 5′ 3″·98	Hence :—	
,, Moon	= 343° 5′ 27″·90	Appt. Sun	=349° 4′
Lunar Perigee	= 313° 57′ 36″·84	Appt. Moon	=345° 43′ nearly.
Sun's Apogee	= 77° 42′ 56″		

The new-moon happened at about 8 hours later. The sun was in the *nakṣatra Revatī*, and the Jovial year begun was *Āśvayuja* or the *Mahā-Āśvayuja* year as the inscription says.

Here the year 209 of the Gupta era = 528 A.D. = year 440 of Śaka era.

The Zero year of the Gupta era = 319 A.D. = year 241 of Śaka era.

(x) The Tenth Instance of Gupta-Inscription-date—The Nepal Inscription.

संवत् ३८६ ज्यैष्ठमास-शुक्लपक्ष-प्रतिपदि रोहिणीनक्षत्रयुक्ते मुहूर्त्ते प्रशस्तेऽभिजिति [1] ।

Here the date is stated to have been 386 of the (Gupta) era, the day of the 1st *tithi* of lunar *Jyaiṣṭha* ; the moon was in the *nakṣatra*-division *Rohiṇī* and the 8th part (*muhūrta*) of the day.

The equivalent years are 627 of Śaka era = 705 A.D.; we readily see that the corresponding day in our own time was May 20, 1939. We arrive at the date, April 30, 705 A.D.

Now on April 30, 705 A.D., at G.M.T. 0 hr.		On April 29, 705 A.D., at G.M.T. 0 hr.	
Mean Sun	= 40° 54′ 10″·97	Mean Sun	= 39° 55′ 2″·64
,, Moon	= 62° 0′ 9″·07	,, Moon	= 48° 49′ 34″·04
L. Perigee	=322° 39′ 15″·02.	L. Perigee	=322° 32′ 33″·97

Thus on April 29, 705 A.D., at G.M.T. 0 hr.
Apparent Sun = 41° 12′
,, Moon = 53° 50′.

[1] Fleet's Gupta Inscriptions, page 95.

Hence on this day, at the stated hour, the 1st *tithi* was over; we have to deduct about 3° 3′ from these longitudes to allow for the shifting of the equinoxes from 499 A.D. The date of the inscription is thus April 28, 705 A.D.

According to the *Khaṇḍakhādyaka* calculations, the *ahargaṇa* at the midnight (mean) of Ujjayinī of April 28, 705 A.D. = 14,647. In order to have the mean places at the G.M.T. 0 hr. of 29th April, we have to take the *ahargaṇa* = 14,647 days + 5 hrs. and 4 mins.

The mean places are:—

Mean Sun = 36° 52′ 12″	Hence:—
,, Moon = 45° 43′ 58″	Apparent Sun = 38° 16′ 23″
L. Perigee = 318° 56′ 2″	,, Moon = 50° 44′ 30″
Sun's Apogee = 77° 0′ 0″	

Note.—To the *Khaṇḍakhādyaka* mean places, we have applied Lalla's corrections which are well known in Hindu Astronomy.

Hence on the 29th April at G.M.T. 0 hr. or 5-4 A.M. of Ujjayinī mean time, the 1st *tithi* was over, the sun was in the *nakṣatra Kṛttikā* and the moon in the *nakṣatra*-division *Rohiṇī*, which extends from 40° to 53° 20′ of the Hindu longitudes. The date of the inscription was the previous day, THE 28TH APRIL, 705 A.D., as has been shown before.

Now Gupta year 386 = Śaka year 627 = 705 A.D.
∴ Gupta year Zero = Śaka year 241 = 319 A.D.

(xi) The Eleventh Example of Gupta-Inscription-date.

संवत्सर १०० ९० ९ (१९९) महामार्गवर्षे कार्त्तिक १०[1] ।

The date of the inscription is the Gupta year 199, the *Mahāmārga* Jovial year, the day of the 10th *tithi* of lunar *Kārtika* which corresponds to November 21 of 1939 A.D. of our times. The elapsed sidereal year to this date = 1,421 = 17,576 lunations = 519,029 days.

Hence the date of the Inscription was OCTOBER 29, 518 A.D.[2] On this date at G.M.N.—

Mean Jupiter = 62° 34′ 9″·59
,, Sun = 219° 6′ 50″·17
,, Moon = 332° 22′ 20″·47.

Now 173·5 days before October 29, 518 A.D., the mean longitudes were for—

Jupiter = 48° 8′ 46″·95
Sun = 48° 6′ 14″·86

[1] *Epigraphica Indica*, Vol. VIII, pp. 284 *et seq.*

[2] Kielhorn's approximate date was 518 A.D., October 15 or September 15—*idem*—page 290.

and these are practically equal. Hence according to Brahmagupta's rule Jupiter should rise heliacally 15·5 days later, *i.e.* 158 days before October 29, 518 A.D., *i.e.* on May 24, 518 A.D., when the mean sun had at G.M.N. the longitude of 63° 23′ 54″ and the mean moon, at the same hour, the longitude of 50° 40′ 6″. Thus the new-moon came on the day following, the sun having a small positive equation. The new-moon-sun was in the *nakṣatra* division *Mṛgaśiras* (53° 20′ to 66° 40′ of longitude) and the Jovial year begun was *Mārga* or the *Mahā-Mārga* year as the inscription says.

Thus the Gupta year 199 =518 A.D.
∴ Gupta year Zero= 319 A.D.

CONCLUSION

We have here proved from 11 concrete statements found in the inscriptions which have used either the Gupta or the Valabhī era that—

(1) The Gupta and Valabhī eras were but one and the same era.

(2) It was most probable that the era in question had been originally started by the Gupta emperors and was given a new name by the Valabhī princes who were vassals of the Gupta emperors.[1]

(3) The date from which the Gupta era was started was from December 20, 318 A.D., when began the zero year of the era from the day of the winter solstice.

(4) That the Gupta era agrees with the Christian era from 319 A.D. till about 499 A.D., the date of Āryabhaṭa I, up to which the year reckoning began from the light half of *Pauṣa.*

(5) From some year which was different for different localities, after 499 A.D., the beginning of the year was shifted forward from the light half of *Pauṣa* to the light half of *Caitra*, conformably with Āryabhaṭa I's *dictum* of beginning the year from the vernal equinox day, so that the 'year of confusion' was of 15 or 16 lunations. This is evident from the inscriptions dealt with as Nos. v, viii, x and xi. This change has been noticed in the inscriptions of those localities where Āryabhaṭa I's reputation as the foremost Indian astronomer had been unquestionably accepted. In such cases the Gupta years correspond more conformably to the *Caitra-śuklādi* Śaka years and that the zero year of the Gupta emperors is taken as the Śaka year 241 (*Caitra-śuklādi*) which is the same as the Christian year 319-320 A.D.

To sum up: the zero year of the Gupta era was originally the same as the year 319 A.D. and in times later than 499 A.D.,

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[1] Fleet's Gupta Inscriptions, Plate No. 18, the Mandasor stone inscription of Kumar Gupta and Bandhu Varman will be discussed in a separate paper on the Saṁvat era.

this zero year was in some cases taken equivalent to 319-320 A.D. Further the Gupta and Valabhi eras were the same era. It is hoped that further speculations as to this era would be considered inadmissible.

One point more that we want to lay stress on, is that in verifying the Jovial years as stated in the Gupta Inscriptions, we have followed the *Sūryasiddhānta* rules given in Chapter XIV, 16-17. Dīkṣita, however, appears to have followed the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* rules and was led to conflicting results as to the zero year of the Gupta-Valabhi era as varying from 240–242 of the Śaka years of *Caitra-śuklādi* reckoning. We have shown in this paper that the Gupta Inscriptions using the Jovial years have consistently followed the *Sūryasiddhānta* rules. This work even in its present form has preserved some of the rules which were followed before the time of Āryabhaṭa I.

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ARTICLE No. 3.

Jajnagar Expedition of Sulṭān Fīrūz Shāh—English Translation and Text of an Extract from 'Sīrat-i-Fīrūz Shāhī'.

BY N. B. ROY.

The unique manuscript of *Sīrat-i-Fīrūz Shāhī* in Persian [1], preserved in the Bankipore Library, constitutes a source of first-rate importance for the history of the reign of Sulṭān Fīrūz Shāh of Tughluq dynasty. It was composed by an anonymous author at the dictates of Sulṭān Fīrūz Shāh [2], as is clear from the following verse:—

کتاب سیرت فیروز شاهی   مرتب شد بتائید الٰهی
باملاء شاه جهان شد کتابت   طریق سلاطین و آداب شاهی

It is a compendium of the various activities of Sulṭān Fīrūz's reign, e.g. his campaigns, works of public utility, canals, hospices, hospitals, buildings and monuments. It is written in an elegant and ornamental style. The sentences are short, but often abstruse, and full of metaphors, similies and high-sounding expressions usually characteristic of Persian writers. A singular feature of the work, which gives it a distinctive place in Persian literature, is that though it is written in prose, in places it reads like verse. In addition to the musical swing and jingle of rhythm, characteristic of Persian verse, the author invariably complicates the sense by using almost similar words varying in the number of diacritical marks, and thus renders it difficult to understand even a simple narrative.

The history of Orissa from the earliest times down to the 16th century is wrapped in obscurity. Except for a few inscriptions, there is hardly any historical account which lifts the veil of mist that shrouds the history of this land. The extract from *Sīrat-i-Fīrūz Shāhī* published in the following pages helps materially in clearing up this mist. It supplies us not only with

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[1] No. 547, vol. VII, of the *Bankipore Catalogue*.

[2] According to Shams-ul-Ulema Hidayet Hossain the work was dictated by Sulṭān Fīrūz. He based his opinion on the word *Imlā* which means dictation (*J.R.A.S.B.*, July 1914, XCVIII). The present work, however, deals with such varied and technical topics, e.g. astronomy, pharmacopœia and its stylistic peculiarities vary so widely from those of *Futuḥāt-i-Fīrūz Shāhī*, which was composed by Sulṭān Fīrūz (vide *J.R.A.S.B.*, Aug. 1941) that we have hardly any doubt that the work was written at the dictates but not to the dictation of Sulṭān Fīrūz.

Sīrat-i-Fīrūz (Sir Jadunath Sarkar's copy of Bankipore MS, p. 1).

details about the expedition made by Sultān Fīrūz into this country but also throws light upon the wealth and prosperity of this kingdom, the splendour of the temple of Jagannath at Puri and the peculiar rites of worship that were prevalent there in the 14th century A.D. Of particular interest in this extract is the account of the aborigines of south Bihar and some of the characteristics of these interesting people who have survived in almost inaccessible regions from the dawn of history down to the present day.

The description of the Jajnagar expedition given in this extract is, however, of special interest and importance. In *Tārīkh-i-Fīrūz Shāhī* by Shams-i-Siraj-i-'Afīf, it is merely stated that Sultān Fīrūz marched from Bihar to Cuttack-Banarasi. The account in *Munshāt-i-Māhrū* is more detailed, but it does neither describe the route of Sulṭān Fīrūz's march to Cuttack nor his wide-spread ranging across the country. The present extract surpasses in detail not only all other contemporary and later accounts of the Muslim chroniclers but gives an account of various stages of the Sulṭān's march to Cuttack.

Sulṭān Fīrūz set out on this expedition from Jaunpur towards the middle of October, 1360 A.D.[1] Ascending the throne of Delhi at a difficult time in 1351 A.D., he had restored order and security in the kingdom and recovered the imperial territories from Oudh to the Kusi by defeating Sulṭān Shams-uddīn Ilyās Shāh of Lakhnauti in 1352-1353 A.D. During 1353–58 he recuperated the prosperity of the empire by his beneficent legislation and irrigation activities but the independence of the two eastern kingdoms, Bengal and Orissa, galled his pride. Accordingly he led a second expedition into Bengal in 1358-9 A.D. During his halt at Jaunpur, (July–Sept., 1360), on his return journey to Delhi he conceived the idea of making a lightning raid into Jajnagar from the north. He started from Jaunpur with a light cavalry and reached Bihar about December, 1360. From this place he marched towards modern Pachet through the undulating plateaus of southern Bihar. The area constituted a beautiful landscape of south Bihar, with low hills and dales, dotted with orchards abounding in various kinds of fruits. Game was plentiful in this region, and the Sulṭān indulged his love of chase by shooting various kinds of deer and numbers of strange animals. After a delightful spell of hunting, the Sulṭān burst upon Sikhar in the Manbhum district. The Raja of this place was an important chief with thirty-six minor chiefs as his vassals. The Raja fled on the surprise attack of the Muslim army. The garrison in the capital put up a stern fight, but was overpowered. Thereupon the Muslim army pushed southward and marched through the

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[1] *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī*, B. I. Series, p. 129; *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, B. I. Series, p. 232, gives this date.

defiles of Manbhum and Singhbhum, the track lay through steep plateaus and thick forests skirted by chains of low hills. The Sulṭān had planned beforehand the various stages of journey, but he could not march more than twenty miles a day. The first town of the kingdom of Jajnagar upon which the imperial army broke was Tināmagar. This place had so far been immune from Muslim invasions, but the inhabitants did not submit without a struggle. After the reduction of the town, the imperial army hewed its way to Kinianagar (Khichinganagar) which was a prosperous town mainly inhabited by Brahmins. After a short refreshing halt at this place, Sulṭān Fīrūz made a turning movement southward and sweeping through Keonjhar reached the frontier of the Cuttack district. This movement was so swift as to outstrip the news of the advance of the Muslim army, which had arrived at Saranghar, five miles southwest of Cuttack. The king Bhānudeva III fled from the fortress of Saranghar, leaving the task of defence to the garrison who offered a brave fight but was defeated. As a result of the flight of Bhanudeva the whole country lay at the mercy of Sulṭān Fīrūz. First of all he marched to the royal capital Cuttack and after the occupation of this place sallied forth to Puri.

Here stood the famous temple of Jagannath which has been a hallowed spot of the Hindus for ages. The eternal deep rolled by it; artizans had lavished all their skill in the construction and decoration of this temple. For the celebration of the worship of Jagannath, situated in this exquisite spot on the seashore, the Ganga kings of Orissa had made magnificent endowments: thirty thousand dinars were expended annually on the food dedicated to the deity at the time of worship; daughters of the nobility devoted themselves to menial work in the temple and won favour in God's eyes. Ascetics who had earned spiritual grace by mortifying their flesh, squatted in front of the temple; their matted hair, emaciated body, sallow countenance, and sunken eyes bespoke utter contempt of the world and its vanity. For paying homage to these holy persons, people flocked from far-off places. Here thronged people who sought relief from the sufferings of the earthly tabernacle by most ghastly and revolting orgies. Some earned eternal beatitude by consuming themselves in the flames of fire, others by leaping into the deep sea, others again immolated themselves by slicing off their limbs.

Sulṭān Fīrūz destroyed the shrine, defaced the deity, and obliterated all vestiges of this temple by throwing the debris into the waters of the sea. The region round Puri was studded with many magnificent shrines; there was the temple of Megheś-vara (Viṣṇu) at Bhubaneśvara, built by Svapnesvaradeva during the reign of Anangabhima II[1]. It had a beautiful garden and a

[1] *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. VI, pp. 198–203.

tank within its precints and maintained a seminary for the study of the Vedas. There were other temples, e.g. the famous temple of the Sun-God at Konārak in the district of Puri, erected by Narasingh I [1], (1238–1264 A.D.), the temple of Viṣṇu at Ekāmra (Bhubaneśvara) consecrated to the triple deities of Balaram, Kṛṣṇa and Subhadrā, built during the reigns of Bhānudeva I [2], and the temple of Cateśvara (Śiva) in the Padampur pargana of the Cuttack district.[3] It is not stated whether these temples also were destroyed but that some of the images of the temples in the neighbourhood of Puri were removed and carried to Delhi is explicitly stated.

Scores of thousands of people of Orissa had taken refuge inside the Chilka Lake to escape from the fury of the imperial army. They were attacked in turn and a large number of them were put to the sword, while the rest offered submission. The victorious campaign was concluded by an elephant hunt in Padamtala in the Baramba State of Orissa, and the Sulṭān returned to Kārā via Sambalpur [4] with immense spoils and a long train of captives.

It was an audacious campaign, brilliantly conceived and mightily executed. No other Muslim Sultān had accomplished such a task. The invading hosts had hitherto attacked Orissa, along the sea-coast either from the north-east or from the south-west. No other general ever dared to force his way to Cuttack from the north through the aboriginal tracts and the impenetrable defiles and the dense forests. The successful execution of this campaign testifies to Fīrūz's undoubted skill as a general. This master-stroke, coupled with the equally successful (though hard-won exploit in Sind and in Nagarkot), refute the charge of military incompetence that has been levelled against this Sulṭān by Haig, Lanepoole and Smith.

The account sketched above also removes all doubts regarding the location of the kingdom of Jajnagar and the route of Sulṭān Fīrūz's march to Cuttack. From the meagre account of ʿAfīf, and the names of a few places, e.g. Gadha-Katanka, Ratanpur, and Saranghar, mentioned in *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī* and *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, Major Raverty put forward the incorrect hypothesis that Sulṭān Fīrūz marched from Bihar to Ratanpur in Bilaspur district of the Central Provinces of the present day, and thence through Jajnagar to Puri. This view was supported by R. D. Banerji, and as a result Jajnagar and Orissa were regarded as two separate kingdoms. The detailed description of the stages of the Sulṭān's march would make it

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[1] *Antiquities of Orissa*, vol. II, pp. 145–163.

[2] *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. XIII, pp. 150–155.

[3] *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Old Series, vol. LXVII, 1898, part 1. pp. 317–327.

[4] *Munshāt-i-Māhrū* (Dr. Raghubir Sinh's copy of R.A.S.B. MS., p. 104).

abundantly clear that Raverty not only confused the route of march but made the confusion worse confounded by regarding Jajnagar and Orissa as two separate kingdoms.

In the preparation of this paper, I have received invaluable help from Prof. Mahfuz-ul Haq. Dr. Baini Prashad, the translator of *Qanun-i-Humayuni*, an erudite scholar in Persian, but widely known for his researches in Zoology, had thoroughly revised the English translation for me at an enormous expense of his time. P. Acharyee, Archaeological Officer, Mayurbhanj State, helped me materially in identifying the places mentioned in the text. Sir Jadunath Sarkar, who initiated me into the study of Persian, offered me the use of his MS. of *Sīrat-i-Fīrūz Shāhī*. Dr. Raghubir Sinh, Heir-apparent, Sitamau State, lent me his copy of the MS. of *Munshāt-i-Māhrū*. My grateful thanks are due to all of them.

English Translation.

In 762 A.H. [1] news was brought by travellers of the occurrence of wild elephants—whose form cannot be pictured by imagination—, in the kingdom of Jajnagar [2], which was situated

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[1] According to *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī* (B. I. Series, p. 129) Sulṭān Fīrūz spent the rains at Jaunpur and started from this place in Dhihijjah 761 A.H. which would correspond roughly to October, 1360 A.D., *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī* also supports it (*T.A.*, B. I. Series, p. 232). It appears that Sulṭān Fīrūz started from Bihar in Muharram, 762 A.H. (December 1360).

[2] The description contained in *Sīrat-i-Fīrūz Shāhī* and in *Munshāt-i-Māhrū* and the reference in *Makhzan-i-Afghanāh*, to this kingdom of Jajnagar, refute Raverty's view, that Jajnagar and Orissa were two different kingdoms. In the Eng. trans. of *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* (B. I. Series, p. 588) Raverty wrote, 'Jajnagar appears to have been bounded on the east by the range of hills forming the present west boundary of Udisah-Jag-nathh, Katasin, on the Maha-nadi, being the nearest frontier town towards the Lakhanawati territory. Farther N. it was bounded towards the E. by the river called Braminy by some English writers—. On the W. it does not seem to have extended beyond the Wana-Ganga, and its feeder the Kahan; but its southern boundary was the Gudawuri, and S.W. lay Talinganah'. R. D. Banerji supported Raverty's view. According to him 'Fīrūz Tughluq advanced from Bihar towards Gadhakatanka. Jajnagar lay at the extremity of this province which is the same as the British district of Jubbulpur.. .'. After passing through Jajnagar territories Fīrūz Tughluq entered the kindgom of Bhanudeva III (i.e. Orissa) (*History of Orissa*, vol. I, p. 282). This MS., however, says that Fīrūz marched from Bihar to Sikhar (Sikharbhumi) which is in modern Manbhum district of the province of Bihar. From Sikhar Fīrūz strode forward to the town of Tinānagar, thence to Kiniānagar which appears to be an abbreviation of Khichingānagar, the ancient capital of Mayurbhanj. According to the present MS. Tinanagar and Kinianagar were included within the kingdom of Jajnagar. Thus if R. D. Banerji's opinion is accepted, the kingdom of Jajnagar extended from the eastern boundaries of modern Central Provinces right up to the limits of Bengal. Cuttack, Puri, Lake Chilka were also parts of Jajnagar. Where then did the kingdom of Orissa lie? In *Munshāt-i-Māhrū* (Dr. Raghubir Sinh's copy

along the eastern sea-coast on the extreme border of Hindustan; (they stated that) there were thousands upon thousands of these clever and mighty (animals). In this wilderness are found savages who have never set their eyes on civilized men. They cannot understand the language of the civilized people, nor can the latter comprehend their speech (of the savages). Their dress consists of peacock-feathers, and their food the flesh of buffaloes: the trees are their dwellings, and leaves and flowers their beds [1]; their drinking bowls are the palms of their hands with which they sip water from streams by day and night. They are nude, bare-footed men, devoid of all humane sentiments: they shun the haunts of men. They employ a peculiar signal when they want succour from their own tribesmen, at the time of concentration of troops. (When) bodies of soldiers and men advance to attack them, one of them lops off an earlobe with a sharp instrument, and shows the fellow-tribesmen blood on his person. In a short while, hundreds of men gather together for their help and succour. Like wild elephants, they, with their shouts, cries and calls, hurl back the attacks of furious elephants in such contests, but when they notice the dust raised up by an (attacking) cavalry, and are unable to come up to it, they break up their formations and like monkeys climb up the trees.

If even a single plot of this land covered with the susan flowers were extolled by a thousand tongues, it would not be possible to describe an infinitesimal part of its excellence. All the people of this country are as black as crows, and their dwellings are always located in orchards where they live like crows in their rookeries. All people of this country are warriors and independent, but affable and silly. Their garden walls are made of the black Indian soil. Their complexion resembles that of the Sudanese [2]. What value is there, in their darkness

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of R.A.S.B. MS., p. 90) it is definitely stated that both Jajnagar and Orissa were identical. *Munshāt-i-Māhrū* says:—

دوم فتح شهر .... که از احصار اعظر .... ملک جاجنگر

است و ولایت او اڈیسه میخوانند ء

The account of *Makhzan-i-Afghanīh* (Sir Jadunath Sarkar's copy) also corroborates our view.

[1] The attraction of the Santhals for woods and aversion to settled habitation is borne out by Dalton, 'In marked contrast to the Kolarians of the Munda and Ho divisions, the Santhals, as a rule, care little for permanently locating themselves. A country, denuded of the primeval forest which affords them the hunting-grounds they delight in and the virgin soil they prefer, does not attract them (quoted in the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, vol. XII, Old Edition, 1872, pp. 238–246).

[2] The people referred to here are evidently the Santhals, the pitch darkness of whose complexion is attested by Dalton, in the *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*. 'The Santhals' according to him belong to the dark races of India. The Cheros, Hos and Mundas are, on the whole, fairer. Mr. Mann remarks of them, that their cast of countenance almost approaches the Negro type.

having an affinity with that of the Sudanese; the seed of darkness pervades their minds, and their temperament is so malevolent that it would not wear off even by constant association with Christ, the son of Mary; all that is called black (Sawda) is held dear by them. Their palms dyed with myrtle appear as if they have been stained with the blood of the lover and that of the heart of the beloved.

Verses.—

They have tinged their hands with the blood of their dear ones,
Their finger-tips they have stained with the colour of the red-berry;
Their faces beam with joy; smile and laughter are patent on their lips;
Their minds overflow with love; their heads are full of youthful intoxication.
How (beautiful) are the faces, how (lovely) the locks of their hair;
The former (faces) are the harbingers of a happy life, the latter (hairs) an excuse for enjoyment.[1]

In every orchard are found various kinds of trees, and such varieties of fruits and ripe pomegranates, as (human) eyes have never beheld anywhere. Oranges so beautiful in colour, and which have never borne the hardships of transit since the beginning of the world, have neither been seen nor tasted by anybody. Every cocoa-nut tree vies in height with the sun; the sickle of the moon does not reach the fruits, and they are safe from the hands of thieves. It is a straight, slender tree and its branches are so high that they do not recline like the sun and the moon. There are other kinds of edible fruits in Hindustan, but the cocoa-nut surpasses all of them and is never niggardly in its yield. They rest underneath the shade of a (natural) basket which has been constructed without the help of the tools of a basket-maker or of a potter's wheel. They are filled with a sugared drink and are, as it were, the breasts of the orchard, which like a kind foster-mother suckles

[1] Regarding their locks of hair, Col. Dalton remarks. 'The heads of young girls are generally uncovered, displaying a mass of black, rather coarse, but sometimes wavy hair, gathered into a large knob at one side of the back of the head ornamented with flowers or with tufts of coloured silk'. Their delight in dancing and playing the flute is well known. Col. Dalton remarks, 'The sound of their flutes and drums attract the maidens, who smooth and adjust their long hair, and, adding to it a flower or two, blithely join them'. Then begins a hilarious dance in which are seen 'the maidens decked with garlands of flowers and peacock's feathers, holding their hands and closely compressed, so that the breast of the girl touches the back of the man next to her, going round in a great circle, limbs all moving as if they belonged to one creature, feet falling in perfect cadence, the dancers in the ring singing responsive to the musicians in the centre'.

the people promptly and eagerly. Sucking the human breast after two years and a half, which marks the time for weaning, is forbidden and unlawful, but sucking the breast of the garden at all ages is lawful and permissible. The offspring of Adam does not obtain milk from the mother's breasts without crying, but this breast readily offers its milk of its own free will. The human nurse is stingy with her milk but the motherlike cocoa-nut tree offers liberally her milk. The milk of women is sticky and thick, that of the cocoa-nut is transparent and thin. Sucking the milk provides sustenance for the children (only), but the drinking of the cocoa-nut juice is permissible for all women and men. In addition to these trees, there are others which are peculiar and indigenous to the country of Hind, as for example, the areca-nut palm, in search of which denizens of the world would even give their life. Each nut (of this palm) hangs like a pearl in the ear of the straight cypress-like tree, or each of them is enclosed like the grain of life in the sheath of the heart. To exhilarate the spirits of their dear ones, lively-tempered persons crack the nuts into bits, and powder them like alkali in the mill of their teeth, and until its particles are leavened with the green leaf (betel), the lips of the moon-faced (beloved) do not become rosy, and the teeth of the coquettes do not take on the red tint. The palm trees, which have their heads lifted to the sky, on a dark night appear as if veiled. Their trunks stand out in the groves of the orchards like the columns of the royal court and their leaves are woven (as it were) into a green brocade with the warp and woof of the carded cotton thread.

The flowing streams are the cheer of life and spirits; the towns are flourishing, there are majestic edifices, goods beyond enumeration, property without limits; such is the country of the unbelievers [1]. By universal agreement, the imprisonment and massacre of the inhabitants of this land is permissible. The inhabitants of this country are polytheists; they are always sunk in a state of drunken stupor and given to idol-worship. They constitute a distinct tribe of Mulhids and Ibahiyats. They have made the idols the objects of their worship and have erected temples in every town; the most famous of these is the shrine of Jagannath, like that of Somnath on the coast of the Arabian sea, Lat, Ujja and Minat in Arabia; every temple has its special store of treasures, and there is a manufactory for every special commodity attached to each.

When the news of the charms of this tract was conveyed to the royal ears, it was honoured by his attention, and the attention of his gracious mind was focussed on journeying

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[1] All the contemporary chroniclers speak in eloquent terms about the prosperity of this country, 'Afif (B. I. Series, p. 165), *Munshāt-i-Māhrū*, pp. 101-102.

towards that quarter, with a view to extirpating Rai Gajpat, massacring the unbelievers, demolishing their temples, hunting elephants and getting a glimpse of their enchanting country.

Verse.—

When I heard that the country of Jajnagar is endowed with such excellence,
My heart naturally became inclined to hunt in Jajnagar.

When this design became patent in the mind of the world-adorning king, who is the shadow of God, (May through the grace of God, the shadow of his greatness be everlasting !), he ordered that strong armies, and brave regiments (of) stalwart fighters fully versed in warfare, inured to the hardships of marches, possessed of reckless daring, and knowledge of different parts of the world

Verse.—

(Men who are) skilled in warfare; well-versed in the strategy of war.

be assembled. Orders were conveyed to them to follow the gracious royal stirrups, well-equipped and accoutred. And they were directed to relinquish heavy loads and equipment, and carry only a light outfit suited for rapid marches, and they were forbidden to take with them women and children, wives and concubines whose presence in this campaign would be a source of worry; and also they should not try (to carry) large stocks of provisions. Having made these arrangements, he, under the shadow of divine protection, mounted his sturdy charger, and started from Jaunpur with royal pomp,

Verses.—

It (the royal steed) is so light-footed that it does not awaken the sleepers when it scampers over their eyes.
The face of the sky has turned blue from its hoof beats,
The sparks from its shoes have scorched the back of the fish.
By a trick it makes itself hidden under the shadow of the mosquito-wing.
By its skill it runs into the corner of the eye of a flea.
It is so fleet that the earth rocks constantly like drops of quicksilver under its pounding hoofs.
The wind flashes with sparks of fire at the violence of its hoof-beats
The earth becomes crescent-shaped by the marks of its shoe.
At the time of charge it rushes like a shark in the ocean
During attack, it springs like a leopard upon a mountain.
By the stamp of its shoes, it perforates the horn of the cow like the hive of the wasp in the subterranean region.

and set out for Jajnagar. The auspicious standards reached the town of Bihar in the spring, and from this place he gave orders for the successive marches of the royal armies. When he reached the frontiers of the Sikhar [1] country, he enquired about the game animals peculiar to that region. It was reported that a kind of animal found in the valley of this hill is called Gōrkhar, but it can only be captured with great trouble and skill. This animal resembles buffaloes in appearance, has moon-shaped marks on its forehead, is four-footed and has a white tail. From this place he turned back a few miles and hunted a large number of wild deer. On the return journey to Sikhar from this place strange and peculiar animals were bagged on the way. After the armies crossed the hills, they saw a deer [2]. This was an animal, whose flesh in flavour and taste is superior to the meat of every other type of game. Its hide possesses a peculiar virtue, a piece of it worn by any person, whether man or infant, acts as a charm against epileptic fits and possession by genii and ghosts. It is red in colour, resembling the swallow; countless numbers of this species were bagged, and an order was issued to flay them and to preserve their skins, so that the people might be able to use them for their beneficial qualities, and also have a chance of seeing them, because in all our wanderings in search of game such strange animals had never been seen.

Thereafter, attention was directed to the extirpation of the Rai of Sikhar whom thirty-six kings paid homage. Sikhar is a hill whose crest vies with the Pleiades. The mighty armies besieged this hill, and stormed it in a day. Countless unbelievers formed food for the sword, and seventy thousand people with their children were taken captive. The Rai of Sikhar, when he saw the troops closing in upon the hill, fled from the fortress even before the siege had commenced.

Victorious, light of the eye of the kingdom, bud of the garden of sultanate, fruit of the mind of sovereignty, core of the heart of royalty, flower of the garden of Fortune, wholesome water of the fountain of joy, favourite of the king of the world, Shukr Khan [3] was (living) here at this time. Three months

[1] Sikhar was the surname of a ruler of Tailakumpa identified with Telkupi in the Manbhum district. In Ramacharita of Sandhyakar Nandi (*Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. III, No. 1, p. 36, occurs a verse–Vandya-gune-Simha-Vikrama-Sura-Sikhara-Bhaskara-pratapaistai). And in the annotation it is written that 'Sikharaiti Samaraparisara-Visaradarirajaraji-ganda-garva-gahana-dahana-davanalah Tailkumpi ya Kalpataru Rudrasikhara'. In the introduction to the text of Ramacharita, published by the Varendra Research Society, it is stated, p. xxvii, that Rudra Sikhara was the ruler of Tailakumpa, and the region over which he held sway is still known as the Sikharbhum, evidently after the surname Sikhara of the royal family.

[2] The author puzzles the reader by writing مرگی which in Persian means death but in Hindustani, a deer.

[3] Sukr Khan has been held by Raverty and others to be Shukr Khātun, but the present account supplemented by that of 'Afif (B. I. Series, p. 330)

and ten days only had elapsed since the birth of this fortunate prince, when this pearl of the crown of sovereignty, this new moon of the sky of joy was admitted into the light of the cradle of His Majesty's fostering care out of the dark shell of the infidel country. When the mischief-mongering Rai took recourse to flight, this amulet of safety slipped off from his hand. Prosperity and safety, order and security, vanished from the Rai and his country, as a result of this loss and separation (from Shukr Khan).

Verses.—

The mind was full of happiness and free from anxiety
All that belonged to the Rai, passed away from him;
You had been the solace of my mind and the peace of my soul
You went away and all that attended on you also departed.

By God's grace, affection for this fortunate prince obtained so firm a hold in the mind of the Muslim king that he was granted a higher status than most descendants of the Sulṭān. He grew up daily under the fostering care of His Majesty. Fortune and prosperity are always the handmaidens of good name, learning and intellect are the attendants of good fortune. When he was only seven years old he brought down easily, with his immature hand, deer, long and short-footed (deers), chital (guzan), nilgau (blue cow) and gorkhar (wild asses). He felled ferocious tigers on the spot by a single shot. Excellent qualities and laudable traits which Almighty God had bestowed from the treasury of His kindness on this prince were beyond enumeration. After the conquest of the country of Sikhar he set off for Jajnagar along the various stages through a dark waste and desolate region (by a route) which was darker than the moonless night and narrower than the hair of the head; in penetrating through it even ants had to be crowded and snakes were jostled together.

Verses.—

Even keen-witted persons are baffled in attempting to describe it;
By its colour the accursed Devil goes astray;
The air of this deadly region is like the hot *simum*.
Its winds are exterminating like the Simum.
Its pathways are as narrow as the bridge of Maḥshar (the bridge leading to paradise after the Resurrection).
Its defiles are as gloomy as the heart of the Antichrist
The nights in this region are darker than the core of a stone
The gorges (here) are more precipitous than the tip of the (erect) hair.

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leaves no doubt that Shukr Khan was the son of the Rai of Sikhar who fell into the hands of Sulṭān Fīrūz in course of this expedition.

Each stage constituted a day's march of twenty miles; it could only be covered by soldiers marching rapidly day and night. It was a bitter winter. In course of march through these defiles a strange phenomenon was witnessed. In an area, six farsangs long and one mile broad. tall trees were seen strangely overturned. with their trunks uprooted and the tops broken off; some that escaped this fate, kept trees of equal height suspended by their branches entangled with one another. When this devastating landscape which stood out in striking contrast to the neighbourhood presented itself, the soldiers, irrespective of their ranks, gaped with wonder as to how the destruction of so many trees could have taken place in this way. The Brahmins of this country related that two months before the arrival of the Muslim army, the demon of the wind had blown across this tract and tearing up these trees from their roots, had lain them prostrate on the ground. Some trees, however, escaped through resting on others, their dangling branches getting intertwined with one another.

The Brahmins, the sooth-sayers and astrologers had predicted that on the approach of the powerful Muslim army in the vicinity of this kingdom, a terrible calamity would befall the kingdom and that the people would be engulfed in misfortune at the hands of the attacking army. This state of thing came to pass in accordance with the prophecies which were made by them.

From this place. under the sacred divine protection, the auspicious cavalcade with royal pomp reached Tinnanagar. It was one of the virgin towns of Jajnagar, which had hitherto been immune from the assaults of warriors but was now ravished by the invasion of stalwart fighters. The brain of the garrison, which was deranged by the cottonwool of vanity, on the flourish of the sword cast off the cottonwool of pride from the surface of the sore, and their skulls filled with the marrow of vanity were broken to bits.

The army of Islam set out from this place with a rich booty, and passing through the fixed stages emerged on Kinanagar [1]. This is a town which with the cultivated area extended over six farsangs. All its inhabitants were Brahmins, living in ease and plenty and free from fear of attack. Their houses and villas were in the midst of orchards and gardens, fruits and flowers. When the victorious armies (May God help them !) penetrated this region, they importuned the Sulṭān with the request 'we have captured agreeably to our expectation, a town so large, a place so flourishing, with people so amiable and possessed

[1] Kinanagar appears to be Kichhinganagar, the ancient capital of Mayurbhanj State. If Satrubhanja ruled about 1325 A.D. (the Kumurkhela inscription, *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, vol. II, pp. 429–35), his successor Ranabhanja was probably the ruler of Khiching at the time of Sulṭān Fīrūz's invasion.

of such pleasing manners. All of them are endowed with such comeliness that our people are enamoured of them. Their gait and movements have captivated our hearts. For fear of the royal stewards and sentinels we cannot extend our hands against them. If the royal command for plunder is issued, a large booty would fall into the hands of the forces of Islam. The town is flourishing and the honey is without the bees'.

The order was issued 'Our object is the chase of elephants, the demolition of idols and the extirpation of the Rai. These places are only the outposts and dependencies of Jajnagar; the soldiers have marched so far separated from their families, covering so much distance and bearing such hardship; that is our fixed destination. If before the attainment of the principal object we agree to your prayer, and your hands are set to plunder, the (looted) baggage and goods will become an encumbrance for you, and if you are so engaged, our plans for the more important objective are not likely to succeed.

Verses.—

Do not be engaged in a headlong pursuit of the fugitive,
Lest you be separated from your friends.
Do not push forward the troops in pursuit of plunder,
Lest no army be left in the rear of the king.
Better it is for the soldiers to guard the king,
Than to be in the thick of a fight.

Give precedence to that work over this (plunder of Kinanagar), and relinquish this work (of plunder) in preference to that (subjugation of the Rai of Jajnagar). This town lies along the route of the army. When the chief place is taken, the subsidiary areas will automatically follow suit! If God is willing! When, safely and laden with booty, we are on our return journey having gained the longed-for victory and the desired success, all of you along with your camp-followers will be able to capture a great booty and stuff. Due to this admonition against pillage, they deemed it their imperative duty to obey the behests of the Sulṭān, and leaving them to their fate started to march forward from this place. A battalion of the troops belonging to the Rai (of Jajnagar) had advanced to obtain news of the approach of the Muslim army, and was lying in wait on the highway disguised as spies. Believing that they would not come, they had encamped to enquire about their whereabouts from the passers-by and send the news to the Rai. The imperial army took them by surprise; they spied the victorious standards and the birds of life flying out of the cages of their bodies, they were taken prisoners. The Rai trusting to their news had remained in the place, expecting that they would apprise him of the approach of Muslim army. (But) as none of them escaped from the jaws of death, and those who were

guarding the highways were taken prisoners and massacred, the news did not reach the Rai till the dust raised by the (advancing) army and the calamity of the victorious troops reached Kulkulghat which was another name for Kalkal [1] and some thousand farsangs distant from Bastak. The dust raised by the cavalry enveloped the fortress of Saranghara [2], and dust covered the head of the undiscerning Rai.

Verse.—

By the hoofs of the quadrupeds in that spacious plain
The (seven-layered) earth was reduced to six, and the (seven-storied) heaven increased to eight.

Finding no other alternative except flight and no other course to adopt except retreat, he committed the city into the hands of the headman, and slipped alone. When Rai Pirbhandeo [3] beheld the umbrella of His Majesty, who was the shadow of God, he fled towards Chattargarh [4], leaving his troops engaged in the capture of elephants. He sought refuge in the forest in the midst of the elephants so that he might rescue himself by this device from the talons of the royal infantry. When the armies of the Alexander-like monarch having achieved tranquillity

Verse.—

When he strings his bow, yells break forth from the sky.
When he falls upon an ambush, sparks shoot up to the sun.

safely crossed this desolate region, he sent detachments of troops in pursuit of the Rai, and pushed forward his victorious troops in all directions to smite like thunder-clap and lightning, the infidels on the eastern sea-coast and make the polytheists the food for the Islamic sword, take their children into captivity and carry away their goods as spoils. He despatched the

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[1] Kalkala is 15 miles north of Cuttack, lying on the direct road from lower Keonjhur to Cuttack. (*Cuttack Dist. Gazetteer.*)

[2] Saranghar.—After passing through Kalkal, the imperial army marched to Saranghar which was evidently situated near Cuttack. Saranghar was one of the five Kataks (fortress) of Orissa situated 5 miles south-west of modern Cuttack. *Munshāt-i-Māhrū* says that Aḥmad K͟hān let loose his elephants in the jungles of Saranghar before he repaired to the presence to Sulṭān Fīrūz (op. cit., Raghubir Sinh's MS., p. 92). Raverty's identification of Saranghar with a place of the same name in C.P. is, therefore, untenable.

[3] Pirbhandeo is Bhanudeva III, who ruled in Orissa from 1353–70 A.D.

[4] According to 'Afīf, op. cit., *Tārīk͟h-i-Fīrūz Shāhī*, Bhanudeva sailed away by sea to a place of safety. According to *Tārīk͟h-i-Mubārak Shāhī*, B. I. Series, p. 128, *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, B. I. Series, p. 232, Bhanudeva fled towards Telingana. But here Bhanudeva is said to have fled to Chattargarh which may be either Chatterpur in Ganjam district, or Chatterduar, a narrow pass at a distance of 24 miles from Rajamahendri.

warriors in different directions to search out the hunting ground of elephants, and also sent scouts into the forests. They brought the news that they had seen a herd of elephants in a particular spot in a certain forest, (but) that their capture would not be possible without the imperial elephants. Guided by them the body of warriors attending the auspicious stirrups set out in that direction. It was confirmed by the reports of the captives, who were taken on the way, that undoubtedly a large herd of elephants roamed in that area. He ordered a kheda to be erected over an area of six farsangs; accordingly they erected a stockade and built a rampart with logs of hewn trees for the capture of the wild elephants [1]. All round it was so closely beset by the soldiers that it was impossible even for ants to slip out from the inside or for serpents to creep in from the outside. Arrangements were completed within a week. A tumult arose among the people (of Bhanudeva) who were besieged within this enclosure, pangs of thirst and hunger began to tell on their constitution. Swarms of people irrespective of their rank, worried by the situation, with bowls of despair in their hands and ropes of privation and the halters of agony and captivity round their necks, simultaneously raised a chorus of lamentation, saying 'we are dissolving in the crucible of despondency. Our only hope of life lies in the fact, that we be put in chains by the exalted soldiers'.

Verse.—

Every slave, who is set free, achieves happiness
Our happiness, however, consists in becoming your slave.

'Our captivity at the hands of the victorious army would result in our continued existence. It would be kindness towards us if you would enchain us in the train of your prisoners.'

Verses.—

'Wherever there is a prisoner in a cage, he trembles inside the iron bars.
I shall not escape from your cage, so long as I live.
I am obedient to your orders even if you would burn my heart,
I am loyal to your behests even if you ignore me.'

Orders were issued to the effect 'we shall set you at liberty provided you show us elephants inside the kheda'. They agreed, and on this condition were released. They brought intelligence that there were elephants in a certain direction within the enclosure which had not tasted water and forage since the beginning

[1] 'Afīf, op. cit., *Tārīkh-i-Fīrūz Shāhī*, pp. 164-5, describes this elephant hunt. According to him, the kheda was ten yards broad and seven yards high.

of the siege. They occasionally roamed about this place. They were now reduced to such extremities that if even a sheaf of grass is held out to them with the hand, they would meekly follow. Being escorted by this body of men, he (Sulṭān) rode out for the elephant hunt. A beat was ordered inside the enclosure, and mountain-like elephants were captured by such dexterous tricks and artifices as could not be conceived by fancy or imagination. In course of this hunt, news was brought that the Rai had sent a present of elephants and a petition praying 'Resourceless, I have fallen into this strait. I am a humble servant and the son of a servant of the (imperial) court; for generations I have been a faithful servant and a staunch partisan of your cause. My duty is unremitting devotion and fidelity; it is the glory and fortune of this country that your standard is shining over the heads of these slaves'.

Verses.—

'That morning is happy on which you glide away before him
That day is auspicious on which you gaze at him.
That slave is free who attends on thy stirrups
That country is prosperous across which you travel.'

Further it was set forth: 'The victorious troops are laying waste the country and towns; in fear of life I have retreated to this wilderness; all that I possess, I shall lay before you as an offering'.

Verse.—

If you are pleased to order, I shall along with the arrow make an offering of my heart which has been lacerated by your arrow.

'It is patent that from fear of the army I had left elephants in the jungle to capture wild elephants and bring them to my stable. The wild elephants, which I brought with me, have been forwarded to the imperial court along with presents, with only a single exception. If the (gracious) court takes compassion towards this humble slave and spares (my) life, I shall keep this solitary elephant so that by the graciousness of your Majesty, the name of Gajpat handed down to me by my forefathers is not obliterated. And as long as I shall live, I shall send every year lusty elephants to the imperial court'. Before the arrival of the presents from the king (of Jajnagar), one of his ministers named Baki presented himself before His Majesty and petitioned 'For countless years from the time of my ancestors, we have devoted ourselves to the service of the Rai, but he is now oppressing me. When life was endangered and the dagger pierced the bones, I deserted him, panic-stricken and frightened as how long shall I be oppressed by the Rai; to whom shall I represent my situation and complain against the injustice of the Rai. It was my good fortune that the imperial

standards were unfurled at this opportune moment. I have appeared before the court so that I may be spared through the kindness of your sublime court'.

Verses.—

Thy appearance in the kingdom effects a conjunction of the two stars (Jupiter and Venus).
Thy justice prevails in the world of equity.
The arms of thy justice, if they so desire, know how to protect the nest of the turtle-dove from the talons of the falcon and the bills of the eagle.

'At such a moment, your auspicious standards have cast their shadows on this territory.'

Verses.—

Fortune has consigned the reins of the kingdom into your hands
Fortune has mounted the Burāq [1] of your desires
Your scimitar for whose sake the garden of the kingdom was laid out
Has converted the face of the earth into a tulip-garden by the blood of the enemy.
The strength of your arms has proved to the hilt the assertion
Of that person, who extolled Rustam and Isfandiyar, to be a lie.
Your might smote down many lusty elephants
Your majesty hunted down many ferocious tigers.

'If your Majesty be not pleased to order my liberation, the hope of my earthly existence will be extinguished. If I am not favoured even at this time, what hour shall I look forward to. When the Rai of Jajnagar and the Zamindars of this country come to know of my favourable reception at the hands of your Majesty, denunciations against me would be of no avail.'

Verses.—

When they regard me as your slave, they will enthrone me in their eye-ball
Thy kindness which is open to all, has been lavished on me
Otherwise who am I that people should take cognisance of me.

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[1] Burāq was a celebrated animal smaller than a mule and bigger than an ass on which Muhammad is said to have ridden from Jerusalem to heaven, *Persian-English Dictionary* by Steingass, p. 168. *Encyclopedia of Islam*, vol. I, p. 793, says that it was the name applied to the fabulous animal riding on which the Prophet Muhammad performed the journey to the heaven on the night of Ascension.

(The Sulṭān) distinguished him with royal favours and bounty, clothed him with robe of honour and made him the gift of a drum and a standard. While this elephant hunt was in progress, Khan-i-'Aẓam, Khaqan-i-Mu'azzam Āḥmad Khān [1]—who had been expelled from Bengal by Sulṭān Shamsuddīn and had allied with the Rai of Jajnagar—Alas! what amount of atrocities must have been committed by him that these drove the believers (Muslim) to fly from him and seek refuge with the infidels,—

Verse.—

During his reign oppression was so violent,
That death came for succour and began annihilation.

(this oppressed person) left the infidels on the approach of the auspicious standards of the Muslim army and joined the world-protecting court with his troops and followers. His Majesty's kindness is the sustenance of the journey. He obtained according to his expectations many distinctions of rank, horses beyond count and goods beyond enumeration, and enlisted himself in the service of the auspicious stirrups. Thereupon the gracious mind (of the Sulṭān), May his happiness be everlasting! decided on leaving the stores and the army at the village of Gartas [2] in charge of Ibrahīm Ākhūh, who was the Malik, Malik--us-Sharf-ul-Hijab, commander of the age, a strong-bodied warrior (Rustam) of the age, Ulugh-i-'Aẓam, Naib-i-Bārbak, and Bashīr-i-Sulṭānī, who was the Malik, Malik-us-Sharq, commander of the age, brazen-bodied warrior (Rustam) of the age, chief of the army, chief of the department of 'Ariḍ-i-Mumālīk.

The victorious standards now set out for the destruction of the temple of Jagannath. This was the shrine of the polytheists of this land and the sanctuary of worship of the unbelievers of the Far East (China and Mahāchin). It was the most famous of their temples. Its buildings were gorgeous; bright images, and shining figures were carved on their walls. The appearance, dress and visage of the dwellers of this place were different; darkness was stamped on their faces, and thin bodies and eyes were devoid of all lustre. Their bodies were haggard and emaciated; life and spirits were so languid that they were gasping, as it were, even for their last breaths. Thirty thousand silver dinars are spent on the kitchen (of the temple). Bevies of the

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[1] Aḥmad Khān.—According to the *Tārikh-i-Mubārak Shāhī*, Ahmad Khān had taken refuge in the hills of Rantambor. Rantambor has been identified with Ratanpur in the Central Provinces, 244 miles south of Allahabad, but the description of the Sultān's march contained in *Munshāt--i-Māhrū* supplemented by that of the present MS. establish beyond doubt that this Ratanpur was in Orissa. In *Munshāt-i-Māhrū* it is stated that Aḥmad Khan and Baki Pata were entrusted with the command of the army of Jajnagar but they quailed before the onward march of the imperial army (op. cit., Raghubir Sinh's MS., p. 92).

[2] Gartas.—This word may be Karnas or Garnas.

daughters of the Rais and Brahmins, misguided and seduced, throng here from distant parts and places; troops of the followers of the female devil sannyasis who are called Devadasis [1], and garrulous persons who are called Bhurja squat on the ground and lead the people astray. Some shed their own blood, like animals intended for sacrifice, in front of the deity, some attire the limbs of their body with the robe of amputations (slice them off), some fling themselves from the top of an eminence into a remote distance, some drown themselves into the deep sea by a leap from a lofty height, some again setting straw, hay, ricks of faggots ablaze consume themselves in the tongues [2] of the flaming fire. All the unbelievers who live in the country worship this deity. Allah who is the only true God and has no other emanation, endowed the king of Islam with the strength to destroy this ancient shrine on the eastern sea-coast and to plunge it into the sea, and after its destruction, he ordered the nose of the image of Jagannath [3] to be perforated and disgraced it by casting it down on the ground. They dug out other idols which were worshipped by the polytheists in the kingdom of Jajnagar, and overthrew them as they did the image of Jagannath, for being laid in front of the mosques along the path of the Sunnis and way of the musallis (the multitude who offer their prayers), and stretched them in front of the portals of every mosque, so that the body and sides of the images might be trampled at the time of ascent and descent, entrance and exit by the shoes on the feet of the Muslims. By the grace of Almighty God, after the attainment of the object, the return journey was safely concluded from the eastern sea-coast. Some of the commanders of the army, who had been deputed for pillage and plunder, sent news that there was an island near the sea-coast, having a broad and long pool of water [4] in which nearly one hundred thousand men of Jajnagar had taken refuge with their women, children, kinsmen and relations. Each figure was (radiant) like the moon and the sun, but notwithstanding this appearance, they were crouching in water like the fish. It was stated that Shamsuddīn, the ruler of Lakhnauti had besieged them on this sea-coast, but with all his forces, he could not gain the

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[1] Devadasi.—The word in the text is *masawasi*.

[2] The word in the text is ظلمت but لطات gives it a better meaning.

[3] Jagannath.—Muslim iconoclastic fury was particularly directed against this temple of Jagannath. According to *Makhzan-i-Afghanāh* (Sir Jadunath Sarkar's MS., p. 121) Sulaimān Karārānī destroyed the temple, and reduced the statute of Krishna which was studded with jewels and diamonds to fragments. According to *Riyāḍ-us-Salāṭīn* (B. I. Series, Persian text, p. 302) the Raja of Puri removed the image of Jagannath to the top of a hill on the other side of Lake Chilka during the commotion in Muḥammad Taqī Khān's time (1733-1734 A.D.).

[4] Pool of water.—This is undoubtedly the Chilka Lake where the aristrocracy of Orissa is said to have often sought refuge during the time of Muslim invasions.

upper hand over them and had returned empty-handed. On receipt of this news the auspicious stirrups were turned in that direction, and troops were so distributed on all sides that they might converge at a point and convert the island into a basin of blood by the massacre of the unbelievers with the sharp sword. When the auspicious, victory-proclaiming standards, which were the fountain-head of auspicious stars, appeared on the shores of this lake, with a mighty army,

Verses.—

The earth through the weapons became (bespangled) like the face of the sky,
The face of the heavens was overspread by dust like the surface of the earth
The mountain was converted into a cavern by the hoofs of the cavalry
The cavern was converted into a mountain by the heaps of the slain.

Eternal Almighty God struck terror into the hearts of these vanquished people. When at daybreak their gaze fell on the shining points of the victorious spears and the drawn scimitars of the vanguard and the wings, they rent the air with a loud outcry, and exhibited their helplessness by casting their swords, shields, arrows, bows, and suits of armour into the water,

Hemistich.—

You are to strike with the sword, and we to wield the shield.

and bent their refractory heads on the ground. Ere long the soldiers surged round from all sides and by strokes of swords flashing like lightning on the heads of the fugitives and the infidels on the eastern sea-coast, they plunged them in the ocean of their own blood; and their persons, which had defied the command of the Sulṭān, were turned into food for the fish and the crocodiles.

Verse.—

The seven oceans were connected together by the effusion of blood
And the earth projected out of them from another angle.

Captive women of all descriptions, young, middle-aged, and old, maidens and married, women bearing only male children, those bearing only female ones, women with a few and many children, widows, bashful women, chaste ladies, women endowed with natural beauty were pressed, as slaves, slave maidens, maid servants, female singers, nurses and midwives, into service in the house of every soldier. The rest of their women were taken

captive along with the elephants; women with babies and pregnant ladies were haltered, manacled, fettered and enchained and no vestige of the infidels was left except their blood.

Verse.—

Whoever saw asked: What is it blood or water?
The reply was: It is an island reeking with human blood.

From this place, triumphant and victorious, elated and jubilant, (His Majesty) returned to the place where the heavy baggage had been left, and all the armies from various sides joined His Majesty, laden with rich spoils. From this place they set out for Padamtala [1], which was the haunt of wild elephants, and skirting along the bank of the Mahanadi where elephants countless like stars prowled about, (they) came across elephants beyond enumeration and bagged a large number of them in the valley of a hill. Elephants as ponderous as hills were felled by the shots of arrows, and by God's grace all yearnings for the realization of which His Majesty's stirrups had turned in that direction were fulfilled according to his expectations.

Verses.—

Your achievements have become known all over the world!
The heavens are laid low as a result of your expeditions!
The world is singing praises for you;
The heavens have girded up their loins to serve you.
Glory is the associate of your illustrious armies,
Victory accompanies your fortunate troops.

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[1] *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī* (B. I. Series, p. 129) also says that the Sulṭān hunted in Badmavati and Baramtalaoli which by a slight variation of diacritical marks would become Padmavati and Padamtala of our MS. Padmavati is situated within the Khandpara State, about 50 miles west of Cuttack and was an important centre for trade in that part of Orissa. The opposite bank of the river Mahanadi which lies within the jurisdiction of Baramba State, has been used for elephant kheda for ages (*Orissa Feudatory States Gaz.*, p. 345).

در شهور سنهٔ اثنی و ستّین و سبعمائه جهان گشتگان نشان دادند که در اقصیٔ هند بساحل دریایٔ شرقی در ملکِ جاجنگر افیالِ و حش که مثالِ آن تمثال در نقشِ خیال صورت نه بندد. هزاران هزار از هشیار و مست هست، و در آن بیابان آدمیان اند وحشی که هرگز مردم مدنی را بچشم ندیده‌اند، ایشانرا زبانِ مردم معلوم نه، و زبانِ ایشان مردم را مفهوم نه، لباسِ ایشان ازریشِ طواویس و طعامِ شان لحومِ جوامیس، کاخِ ایشان اشجار، مفرشِ شان اوراق و ازهار، مشربهٔ شان کفِ دست که بدان در لیل و نهار آبِ انهار اغتراف کنند، حفات عراتِ بشر و لیکن از بشریّت عاری، مدام ایشانرا از عمرانات بیزاری، علامتِ استنصار ایشان از قبائلِ خویش هنگامِ ازدحامِ لشکرها آنست که (چون) لشکری و جماعتی بمحاربهٔ ایشان درآید شخصی از احادِ ایشان نرمهٔ گوشِ خود را بآلت جارحهٔ قطع کنند تا آن گروه درو دمِ او معاینه کنند در یکدم صد هزار مردم بتناصر و تعاضدِ ایشان فراهم آیند، چون پیلانِ و حش ایشان بنعره و فریاد و صیاح در مسا و صباح مکابره کنند، و بدان عربده صولتِ پیلانِ با مهابت را دفع گردانند، لیکن چون گردِ نعالِ مراکبِ لشکر بینند گردِ آن نتوانند گشت و از جماعت فرد فرد شوند، چون قرد بر درختان بر روند ٭

اگر از قطعِ متجاورات اراضیِ آن یک قطعهٔ سون زار را بهزار زبان صفت کنند یکی از هزار و اندکی از بسیار بیان نکرده باشند، جملهٔ مردمِ آن زمین سیاه چون زاغ و اوطانِ شان همه در باغ: ✡ مصرع ✡

همیشه باشد، آنجا زاغ در باغ

همه خلقِ آن دیار حربی و باغی امّا لطیف طبع و لاغی، سورِ بستاتینِ ایشان از گلِ هندیٔ اسود، و بیاض النّاسِ شان از سوادِ سودان آن سواد (sic) و سوادِ آن قوم از سوادِ سودان بلاد، ولی چه سود که حبّة السواد قلوب اهل دارد و حُبِّ ایشان چنان غلیلست که بملازمت مسیح مریمی[1] انفکاک نه پذیرد، بر هر چیز که نام سودا اطلاق کنند محبوب گیرد، کف را از حنا خضاب داده چنانستی که از خونِ عشّاق و دل مشتاق رنگ داده‌اند: ✡ بیت ✡

بخونِ عزیزان فرو برده چنگ
سر انگشت‌ها کرده عنّاب رنگ
در روی شان شادی، در لب نشاط و خنده
در دل هوای عشرت در سرمیٔ شبانه
روی چگونه روی، زلفی چگونه زلفی
این عمر را بشارت وان عیش را بهانه

و در هر چمنی انواعِ اشجار و الوان اثمار اند، و انارِ پخته[2] که قوّتِ باصره از احاطتِ آن قاصر گردد، نارنج که از تاریخِ بنای جهان نارنجِ سفر دیده با رنگ بچنان رنگ کسی ندیده باشد،

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1 Text: لائمی.

2 Text: انار پخته.

و یانع بخشیده، و نخلِ جوز هر یکی در صعود با خور تقابل نموده که بثمارِ آن منجلِ ماه نرسد و از جورِ قطّاع ایمن، نبات با لبینت منصوب، فرع چنان مرفوع که چون ماه و خور مجرور نگردد و صرف نپذیرد. اگرچه فاکهۀ دیگر را در هند صرف است امّا جوز هم برآن حرفست و در نثارِ اثمار بخل ندارد، ثمرۀ آن زیرِ مظلّ مفقاعیست که بی واسطۀ اسبابِ قفاعی و بی ازدحامِ انقابِ کلال، مملوست بشرابِ نبات و پستانِ مرضعۀ بستانست که بی غفلت و نسیان آدمی‌زاد را چون ظئیر مشفقه مثل دهد، نعم از پستانِ انسانی بعد حولین و نصف که آوانِ فطامست رضاع لایجوز و حرام امّا از پستانِ بستانی رضاع حلال و یجوز مدام، و از ثدیِ آدمی ولدِ آدم بی بکا شیر نیاید لیکن آن پستان ناخواسته با رضاع شتابد، و دایۀ بشر در ادرارِ لبن بخل ورزد لیکن دایۀ نخل با شیر پستان بخشد، در آن شیر همه از وحنت و غلظت درین شیر همه صفوة و رقّت، مشرب آن همه وظیفۀ اطفال و مسِ این مباح بر نسوان و رجال، و غیر این اشجارِ دیگر که مخصوص و منصوب اند در بلادِ هند چنانکه سُپاری که جهانیان در طلبِ آن جان سپاری میکنند، هر دانه دُریست در گوشِ سرو قدی آویخته یا مهرۀ جانست در غلافِ دل پیچیده، عفّص مزاجی که برای تفریحِ قلوبِ عزیزان تنِ خود را بانکسار دهد و برخی اسنان چون اُشنان طحن پذیرد و تا اجزای او در اوراقِ خضر مخمر نشود لبِ ماه رویان محمر نگردد و دندانِ نازنینان رنگ نگیرد، و درختِ تار که پنجه بر ارخای سما زده است در شبِ تار

ستاره می‌نماید. اصول او چون اساطینِ بارگاه سلاطین در چمن بساتین منصوب، و فروعِ او بی قطنِ محلوج بتارپود، دیباجِ اخضر منسوج و منسوب، آبهای رواں راحتِ جان و روان، و شهرهای پرنعمت و قصرهای با رفعت و اموالِ فراوان و اسبابِ بی پایان، دار حربیست بالاتّفاق جایز الاسر و القتل علی الاطلاق، اهلِ آن بلاد همه مشرک که مدام بمدام مست، خمر خوارِ (و) بت پرست، قومی اند علاحده اباحتی و ملاحده، اصنام را اله خود ساخته، در هر شهری معبدی پرداخته، مشهورترین شان جگنات چنانکه[1] در ساحلِ دریای غربی سومنات و در زمینِ عرب لات و عزّی و منات، هر بتخانه را خزانهٔ خاص و هر متاعی را درو کارخانهٔ بالاختصاص *

چون خبرِ لطافتِ آن ارض بموقفِ عرض رسانیدند و بشرفِ استماع مقرون شد، هوای طوفِ آن طرف بر رای همایون برای قلعِ رای گجپت[2] و قتالِ اهل شرک و تخریبِ معابدِ ایشان و صیدِ پیلان و نظّارهٔ آن مقامِ بانضارت ازدیاد پذیرفت:

بدین صفت که شنیدم دیارِ جاجنگر
کشید دل بهوای شکارِ جاجنگر

بر رای جهان آرای ظلّ الله ابد الله ظلالَ جلاله، عزمِ کارِ آن طرف مصمّم شد، فرمود تا از عساکرِ قاهره و افواجِ جرّاره مردانِ جنگی غزا دیده و مشاقِ سفر کشیده و جرات ورزیدهٔ جهان گردیده که:

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[1] Text: جنکنان چنانکی.   [2] Text: کجهت.

٭ بیت ٭

سخت دانند حرب را تدبیر نیک دانند جنگ را هنجار

بگزینند، و بر ایشان فرمان رسانید تا مرتّب و مستعد جریده بمتابعتِ رکاب همایون باشند و از احمال و اثقال در خورِ مسارعت و قدرِ مسافرت سبک‌بار باشند و از نسوان و اطفال و حرایر و جواری که مصاحبتِ ایشان درین مهاجرت مادّهٔ خواریست با خود نیارند و در ازدیاد زاد نکوشند، برین ترتیب در کنفِ عصمتِ الٰهی با کوکبهٔ پادشاهی از جونپور خُنگِ جهان نورد را زیر رکاب آورده: ٭ بیت ٭

سبک‌تگی که نگردد ز سمّ او بیدار
گرش بباشد[1] در چشمهای خفته گذار
که کرد[2] روی فلک را ضربتِ گامش کبود
که کرد[3] پشت سمک را آتشِ نعلش کباب
از حیل پنهان شود در سایهٔ پر پشّه
وز هنر جولان کند در گوشهٔ چشم ذباب
تگاوری که زمین از تحرّک سم او
بود چو نقطهٔ سیماب دایما زلزال
مقطّر از اثرِ گامِ او هوا بشهاب
منقّش از اثر نعلِ او زمین بهلال
نهنگ‌وار گه پویه در رود به بحار
پلنگ‌وار گه حمله بر رود بجبال

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[1] Text: نباشد.   [2] Text: کند.   [3] Text: کند.

سرون گاوِ ثری همچو خانهٔ زنبور
گه دَرنگ مشبّک کند بمیخِ نعال

بر صوبِ جاجنگر نهضت فرمود، در ایّامِ بهار راياتِ همايون[1] در شهرِ بهار وصول شد از آنجا بكوچِ متواتر موكبِ همايون را ركضت فرمود، چون بر سرحدِ ولايتِ سيكهر رسيد جانورانِ شكارى كه مخصوص بدان ولايت اند استكشاف فرمود، گفتند كه در سهل[2] اين جبال جانورانند كه آنرا گورخوانند امّا بصعوبت و حيل دست آيند، صورتِ آن جانوران بجاموس مانند، ماه پيشانى باشند و قوايم اربعه و دُمِ سپيد دارند، از آنجا عنانِ مركب را چند ميل ميل فرموده و بسيار گور دركار روزى شد، چون از آنجا بجانبِ سيكهر عزيمت شد در اثناى راه جانورانِ عجيب و غريب در صيد آمدند، چون موكب از كوه بدرآمد[3] لشكرِ ايشانرا مرگىْ[4] پديد آمد و آن حيوانيست بقياسِ حلوانى و لذّتِ طعمِ او چنانكه هيچ گوشتى از لحومِ صيد بدان نرسد، و از خواصِ پوستِ او آنست كه بر هر كسى و هر طفلى كه پارهٔ از آن بندند او را بار صرع نيايد و از حركاتِ جنّ و شياطين ايمن گردد، رنگ او سرخ، و همچنين درّاجانِ لعل كه رنگ آن برنگ طيراً ابابيل ماند، ازين جنس دركار بسيار و بى‌شمار روزى شده، فرمان شد تا آنرا سلخ كنند پوستهاى آنرا نگاه دارند، تا مردم از آن انتفاع گيرند

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1 Text: .رايات همايون را

2 Text: .سهد

3 Text: .مركى كه بدرآمد

4 Text: .مرگى

و بینند، زیراکه تا در طلب کار می‌کردیم اینچنین جانور نادر دیده نشده است *

از آنجا باستیصالِ رای سیکهر که سی و شش رای او را خدمت میکردند اشتغال اتّفاق افتاد، سیکهر کوهیست که شاهقِ آن با ثریّا همسری دارد، عساکرِ قاهره آن کوه را گرد گرفت، در روز فتح شد، کفّار بیشمار علفِ تیغ شدند و هفتاد هزار مردم و ذراریِ ایشان اسیر شد، رای سیکهر چون احاطتِ افواج را معائنه کرد پیش از احصار از آن حصار راهِ فرار گرفت، مظفرِ (با) سعادت، نورِ حدقهٔ مملکت، و نورِ حدیقهٔ سلطنت ثمرهٔ باغِ جهانداری، ثمرهٔ فوادِ شهریاری، گلِ بستانِ دولت و زلالِ چشمهٔ عشرت، برگزیدهٔ شاهِ جهان، شکر خان در آن ایّام و در آن مقام بود، از ولادتِ آن صاحبِ سعادت سه ماه و ده روز برآمد که آن درّهٔ تاجِ جهانبانی و غرّهٔ سپهر شادمانی از صدفِ ظلماتِ کفرستان بنورِ حجر تربیّتِ همایون مقاربت یافت، چون رای بد رای راهِ گریز گزید آن عوذهٔ امان از دستِ او افتاد، هرآئینه دولت و امن و انتظام[1] و التیام از رای و بلادِ رای بفقدان و افتراقِ او اعراض نمود:

بود در دل خوشی نبود غمی
رفت از رای هرچه بود نبود

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[1] Text: انتظار.

آرام دل و راحت جانم تو بدی
رفتی تو و با تو هرچه بود هست برفت

بعنایت سبحانی مهربانی بدل پادشاه اسلام در حقّ آن صاحبِ دولت بمثابهٔ تمکّن یافت که از اکثرِ اولاد عظمتِ او ازدیاد پذیرفت، و هر روز که بتربیّتِ حضرت نشو و نما می‌یافت[1] بخت و دولت معاً معاً بنیک نامی ناشی و نامی شد[2] و علم و هنر با بخت قرین، در هفت سالگی آهو و گز پا و کوتاه پای و گوزن و نیلگاؤ و گورخر بتیسر نیم شکاری در شکار انداخت و شیرِ شرزه بیک سهمِ او بر جای افتاد، خصائلِ حمیده و فضائلِ پسندیده که باری تعالی بدان صاحبِ سعادت از خزائنِ کرمِ خویش عطا کرده از حدِّ احصار بیرونست ❊

بعد فتحِ بلادِ سیکهر توجّه بمنازلِ صوبِ جاجنگر شد بمهامه و فیافیِ ظلمات که از شبِ دیجور تاریک‌تر و از موی سر باریک‌تر بود بر مور مرورِ آن مقتضی ازدحام بودی و بر مار دخولِ آن موجب اقتحام:

بوصفش اندر طبعِ کریم گردد کُند
برنگش اندر دیوِ رجیم گردد ضال
سموم وار بود بادهای آن محرق
سموم وار بود بادهای آن قتّال
طریقهاش بباریکیِ پلِ محشر
مضیقهاش بتاریکیِ دلِ دجّال

[1] Text: یابد.
[2] Text: است.

شبی از دلِ سنــــگ تاریک‌تر
رهی از سرِ موی باریک‌تر

هر منزلی را سبیل هر روزی بیست میل بسرعتِ لیالی و ایّام سیرِ افواج، در سردیٔ سرما بودی، در احشایٔ سبیل و اثنایٔ طریق در آن ممرِّ مضیق عجب حالی مشاهده شد، مقدارِ پنج فرسنگ طول و یک میل عرض اشجارِ طوال اعجازِ خاویه گشته. از اصول سقوط و از رؤس هبوط یافته و بعضی که قائم مانده درختی هم قدِ وی برو معلّق، بالاتّفاق اغصان هم دیگر دربافته، چون هیأت آن قطعات خلافِ متجاورات مشاهده شد خاص و عامِ لشکر متعجب گشتند که برین نوعِ انکسار این مقدار اشجار را چه سان طاری شده، براهمهٔ آن بلاد گفتند که پیش از قدومِ اقدامِ لشکرِ اسلام دو ماه دیوی از باد درین حدود افتاد، این درختان را از بیخ و بنیاد بر کند و بر زمین انداخت، و بعضی درخت را بر درخت ایستاده شاخ در شاخ پیچیده و معلّق ساخت، براهمه و کاهنه و اهلِ طیره تطیّر کردند که قریب الایّام از قهرِ لشکرِ اسلام در نواحیٔ این مملکت وقوعِ دواهی خواهد بود و از دست جحافل و سرایا بلاها بر سر خواهد رسید، هم بدان قال که فالِ ایشان بود این حال در آن محل حالّ شد ٭

چون از آنجا در کنفِ عصمت الٰهی موکبِ همایون با کوکبهٔ پادشاهی در تینه نگر که شهریست از شهرهای جاجنگر از توطیهٔ رجالِ غزا بکر مانده (برسید) بدخول مردانِ جنگی ثیّبه گشت، و دماغِ اهل آن قلعها که به پنبهٔ تکبّر خلل پذیرفته بود به تنبیهِ

تیغ پنبهٔ غرور از سرِ جراحت افگند وکاسِ راس او را با مغزِ نخوت در هم شکست ❊

لشکرِ اسلام با غنایمِ کثیره از آنجا روان شده بمنازلِ معتاد بکنیا نگر رسید، شهریست که عمراناتِ او شش فرسخ زمین است. سکّانِ او همه برهمنان با ترفه و تنعّم، از خوفِ غارت بیغم، مساکن و مواطنِ شان در حدائق و بساتین فواکه و ریاحین. چون در خلال آن دیار لشکرهائ منصور نصرهم الله درآمد التماس نمودند که شهری با چنین عظمت و مقامی چنین پرنعمت آدمیان خوب با صورِ مرغوب بر حسب مطلوب دریافته ایم، هر یکی بدین صفت موصوف و مردم بمحبّتِ او مشغوف، حرکات و سکناتِ شان دلهای ما را ربوده است، از خوفِ نقبای درگاه و رقبای با جاه دست بر ایشان دراز کردن نمی‌توانیم اگر فرمان شود اغتنام نمائیم و غنایم کثیره بر دستِ لشکرِ اسلام افتد، شهریست معمور و شهدیست بی زنبور، فرمان شد مقصدِ ما مصاید پیلان است و کسرِ بتان، و استیصالِ رای، این مواضع از مضافات و توابع است، شهرِ مشهور و بلدِ معمور پیشتر است که آنجا کثرتِ پیل و مال و غنم و بقر است، و آنجا مقرّرای جاجنگر است، و لشکر را که جریده چندین راه بریده و مشقّت بسیار کشیده اینجا رسیده، نیّت و قصد همین است، اگر پیش از وصول بمقصد اجازت کنیم دست بغارت برند، اثقال و احمال دامن‌گیرِ ایشان شوند، اگر مشغولِ آن گردند تمنّای چیزی که اهم است بدامنِ شان نرسد:

٭ بیت ٭

بسی در قفای هزیمت مران
مبادا که دور افگنی یاوران
بدنبالِ غارت نرانده[1] سپاه
که خالی بماند پسِ پشتِ شاه
سپه را نگهبانئ شهـــریار
به از جنگ در حلقهٔ کارزار

از آن کار این کار را مهم دار، ازین کار انکار کن انکار، که این شهر در گذرگاهِ لشکر بیفتاد، چون اصل بر دست افتد فرع تابعست، انشاء الله تعالیٰ چون سالم و غانم بعد فتحِ مقصد و نجحِ مقصود مراجعت شود، تراهمه با همه[2] اَتْباع اِتّباعِ[3] فواضل و غنائمِ زواید اثقال خواهند بود، بوجوه[4] موعظت از غارت ایتمارِ امرِ حضرت واجب شناختند، و آنرا همچنان برهمان گذاشتند، از آنجا عزمِ پیشتر شد، فوجی از رای برای استخبارِ ورودِ لشکرِ اسلام آمده بود، برسبیلِ عین در عینِ طریق پناه گرفته، بگمانِ آنکه در نخواهد آمد مسکنِ خود ساخته، تا از واردی مردی و طارقی فردی استکشاف حال کنند و خبر بسوی رای برند، بیگمان بر شان لشکر فجأةً در رسید، راياتِ ظفر آيات را دیدند، مرغِ جان از قفصِ قالب شان پریده با جمعهم اسیر شدند، چون رای بر اعتمادِ اخبارِ شان پای بر جای مانده بود مترصّد آنکه

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[1] Text: نراند.
[2] Text: تراهمه برهمه.
[3] Text: اتباع.
[4] Text: بوجود موعضت و غارت.

از وصول لشکر اسلام انهای آنها خواهند کرد، چون هیچ یکی
از ایشان از کمند اجل نجسّت و نخست هم ایشان که عین راه بودند
با سر و قتل مبتلا گشتند خبر برای نرسید تا غبارِ افواج و عثارِ
لشکرِ منصور در کُل کُل گهاتی که آن کل کل ست و ستک (sic)
ازو هزار فرسنگ است رسید، و گردِ نعالِ مراکبِ لشکر در گردِ
حصارِ سارنگ گهر چون گردِ باد درآمد و خاک بر سرِ رای
بد رای افتاد: ٭ بیت ٭

ز سم ستور آن دراں پہن دشت
زمیں شش شد و آسماں گشت هشت

چارهٔ خود از جای قرار جز فرار نیافت و از گریز گریز
ندیده ده بدهقان سپرد و راه فرار گرفت، چون رای پُربهاندیو
چتر همایونِ ظلّ الله را معائنه کرد بجانب چتر گهر گریخت، و القاء
خیل بر غارت پیلاں کرد، و درمیانِ افیالِ وحشی در جنگل
اسراع نمود تا گر بدین تعبیه از چنگلِ رخِ پیادگانِ شاه رهائی
یابد، چون موکبِ سکندرِ ثانی با حصولِ امانی انک: ٭ بیت ٭

ز چرخ ناله برآید چو او کشید کماں
بمهر ذرّه در افتد چو او کشاد کمین

از آن ظلمات عبور فرموده سُریهٔ لشکر را بتعاقبِ رای گسیل کرد،
و افواجِ منصور را بهر سمتی وجهتی فرستاد تا در سواحلِ دریای
شرقی چون صاعقه و برق بر کفّار زنند و اهلِ شرک را علفِ
شمشیرِ اسلام کنند، و ذراریٔ ایشاں اسیر سازند و اسباب
و املاکِ ایشاں را غنیمت گیرند و ارسال کتائب باطراف

و جوانب به تتبّع شکارگاه پیلان فرمود، و متجسسان در آجام فرستاد، خبر آوردند که در فلان جنگل در موضعی گلّهٔ پیلان دیده‌ام، جز پیلانِ شاه اخذِ ایشان میسّر نشود، بدلالتِ این گروه حرّبِ[1] رکابِ همایون بر آن سمت شد، و اسیرانی که در اثنای واه ماخوذ شده بودند از اخبارِ ایشان محقّق شد قطعاً و یقیناً جمعی پیلان در آن جای هستند، این شکارگاه را بدورِ شش فرسنگ فرمود تا از کندهٔ درختانِ برکنده برای پیلانِ زنده حصنی ساختند، و سوری پرداختند، و اطرافِ آنرا افواجِ لشکر محیط شد، چنانچه مور را از داخل خروج و مار را از خارجِ آن دخول ممکن نه گردد، در هفت روز مرتّب شد و بهائی که درونِ دائرهٔ آن سور محصر شده بودند شور در ایشان افتاد، و سوز عطش وجوع در جوفِ ایشان اثر کرد. جوق جوق باکی و شاکی کاسِ یاس بر دست و رسنِ محن و طنابِ اضطراب و اسیری در گردن، از صغار و کبار بیکبار فریاد برآوردند که بی‌قوّت شدیم و اولاد و احفاد را که زمرّد و یاقوت بوده‌اند آتشِ نامرادی در بوتهٔ بلا گداز میدهد رجای بقا در آن داریم که در سلکِ اسرای امرای لشکر باشیم: ٭ بیت ٭

هر بنده که آزاد شود شاد شود
من شاد برآنم که ترا بنده شوم

اسیریِ ما بدست لشکرِ منصور موجبِ بقای ما ست مرحمت در حقِ ما محبوسان آن باشد که در سلسلهٔ اساری مسلسل گردانند:

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[1] Text: هرب.

درون قفص طپد هر کجا گرفتاریست
من از کمند تو تا زنده‌ام نخواهم جَست
مطیعِ امرِ تو ام گر دلم بخواهی سوخت
اسیرِ حکمِ تو ام گر تنم بخواهی خَست

فرمان شد امان دهیم لیکن بشرط آنکه پیلانی که درین محوطه در اند بما نمائند، قبول کردند، و بدین شرط خلاص یافتند، خبر آوردند که درون این دائره در فلان ناحیه پیلان هستند از گاهِ احصار آب و کاه نیافته و گاه و بیگاه درین جائگاه در میشوند، چنان عاجز شده‌اند که اگر دستهٔ کاه بر دست گرفته بدیشان می‌نمائند با مردم الفت می‌ورزند، همان گروه را دلیل ساخته بشکارِ پیل سواری شد، و درونِ آن محوطه تفتیش فرمود، بلطائفِ احتیال پیلان همچون جبال و فطنت و حیال چنانکه در فکر و خیال کسی صورت نه بندد در قید آورده، هم در اثنای شکار خبر آوردند که رای چتر گهر نیز فرار نموده، پیلانِ خدمتی و عرضه‌داشت رفع کرده که بی‌توشه درین گوشه افتاده‌ام، بنده و بنده‌زادهٔ درگاهم، از آبا و اجداد خدمتگارِ مخلص و دولت خواهم همیشه کارِ ما بندگی و خدمتگاریست و سعادت و دولتِ این دیارست که اعلام بر سرِ این بندگان طالع شده است :

فرّخ صباح آنکه تو بروی گذر کنی
فیروز روز آنکه تو بروی نظر کنی
آزاد بندهٔ که رود در رکابِ تو
خورّم ولایتی که تو آنجا سفر کنی

و باز نموده که ولایت را و شهر را لشکرِ منصور بتاراج
می‌برد، من از خوفِ جان گریخته در بیابانی خزیده هرچه دارم
خدمتی پیش آرم : = بیت =

گر بکوئ دل که از تیر تو خست
خدمتی بیرون کشم پیکان بهم

پیدا که از بیمِ لشکر در جنگل گذاشته بودم تا پیلانِ وحشی
بشکارِ پیلخانهٔ خاص جمع خواهند آمد . و پیلانِ وحشی با خود
آورده بودم، تیمار با خدمتّیات پیشِ درگاه فرستاد (م) جز یک پیل
که داشته‌ام، اگر در حقِّ این بنده و بنده‌زاده از درگاه مرحمت
شود و جان را امان باشد بدارم تا بمرحمتِ حضرت نامِ گجپتی
که اباً وجداً بارث رسیده است بر نیفتد، و تا زنده باشم همیشه
پیلانِ زنده هر سال ارسال نمائم، و پیش از[1] رسیدنِ خدمتی
رای باکی نام وزیرِ او بحضرت آمد و باز نمود که سالها
از ابا و اجداد رای را خدمت کردم، این زمان بیجرمی مرا ایذا
میکند. چون کار بجان و کارد باستخوان برسید روی ازو تافتم.
از رای باکی و شاکی که تا کی مظلوم رای باشم، و حالِ خود
باکه گوئم، و از ناپاکئ رای باکه حکائت کنم. بختِ من بود
که رایات بر سرِ وقت من رسید. پیشِ تخت آمدم تا بنیلِ مراحمِ
درگاه استظهار یابم :

ای سپهرِ ملک را اقبالِ تو صاحب قران
وای جهانِ عدل را انصافِ تو مالک رقاب

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[1] Text: سار.

دست عدلت گر بخواهد آشیان داند نهاد
کبک را در مخلب شاهین و منقار عقاب

در چنین محل که رایاتِ همایون بر سطحِ این بلاد ظلیل گشته است: ✡ بیت ✡

دولت عنانِ ملک بدستِ تو باز داد
اقبال بر براقِ مرادت سوار کرد
تیغت که باغ ملک برایش نهاده اند
روی زمین ز خونِ عدو لاله زار کرد
با زورِ بازوی تو مقر شد بافترا
آنکس که وصف رستم و اسفندیار کرد
بس پیلِ مست را که نهیبت فرو شکست
بس شیرِ شرزه که شکوهت شکار کرد

اگر استخلاص نفرمایند انقطاعِ رجای بقا روی نماید:

درین ایام اگر دولت نیابم بامید کدام ایام باشم

و چون رای جاجنگر و زمین دارانِ این ولایت (مرا) برکشیدهٔ حضرت دانند فضولِ شان را با من اثری نماید: ✡ بیت ✡

زانروی که بندهٔ تو بدانند مرا بر مردمکِ چشم نشانند مرا
لطفِ تو که عامست عنایت فرمود ورنه چه کسم، کیم، چه خوانند مرا

او را برحمتِ پادشاهانه و عاطفتِ خسروانه مخصوص گردانید، و خلعتِ تشریف پوشانید و مراتبِ طبل و علم داد و بر صفحهٔ امنیتِ او رقمِ انجاح کشید، هم در آوانِ شکارِ فیلان خانِ اعظم خاقانِ معظم احمد خان که از مملکتِ بنگاله از دستِ ظلمِ سلطان

شمس الدّین بیرون آمده بود و بر رای جاجنگر پیوسته ، سبحان الله تا چه غائت ظلمِ او سرائت کرده باشد که مؤمنان ازوی گریخته پناه برِ کفار آرند:

ستم در عهدِ او زان گونه خونی شد که هر ساعت
اجل بهرِ شفاعت آید و دستِ ستم گیرد

آن مظلوم برسیدنِ رایاتِ همایون با لشکرهای اسلام از کفّار بیرون آمد و با خیل و تبع خویش بدرگاهِ جهان پناه پیوست ، مرحمت حضرت چتر سبیل چنانکه آرزو و امید داشت با مراتب و اسپانِ بسیار و اموالِ بیشمار یافت ، و ملازمت رکاب همایون گزید ، از آنجا رای همایون لازال مسرور این اقتضا کرد که بنگاه[1] و لشکر را بموافقتِ ملک ملوک الشرف و الحجاب سپهکشِ زمان تهمتنِ گیهان الغ اعظم نائب باربک ابراهیم اخوه و ملوک الشرق سپهکشِ زمان تهمتنِ گیهان قهرمانِ العساکر صاحبِ دیوان عرضِ ممالک بشیر سلطانی در موضع گرناس و رایاتِ ظفر آیات بقلعِ بتخانهٔ جگنات توجّه فرمود ، و آن معبد مشرکان آن زمین و معتقد کافران چین و ماچین است ، و مشهورترینِ معابد ایشانست ، نباهای با تکلّف کرده و تمثال دمیه و صورتِ جلیه بر جدران و حیطان نگاشته ، و سکنهٔ آنرا هیئت و شاره و زیّ نوعی دیگر و در صفحه وجوه شان ظلمه پیدا ، و نورِ عرض ای رونقِ ابرو ندیده ، و حسم و شخص نحیف ، و جثّه و جرم و جسد ضعیف ، و از نسمه و جو (sic) ای نفس و روح چنانستی که حشاشه

[1] Text: بنگاله.

و رمق مانده است، سیصد هزار دینار نقره سالی در مطبخِ
آن صرف میشود، و از اقصیٔ جوانب و اطراف ابنا و بنات
رایات و برهمناتِ ضال و مضلل از گمراهی پویان، و جماعتی اتباعِ
شیاطین از زنانِ وسواسی که آنرا دیوداسی[1] میخوانند، و مردان
بهرزه زدن که ایشان را بهرزه خوانند، نشسته خلق را اضلال
میکنند، بعضی چون ذبائح خونِ خویش را پیشِ بت اهراق میکنند،
و بعضی اجزای اعضای خویش را خلعِ تقطیع می‌پوشانند،
و بعضی از ربوهٔ رفیعه و شواهقِ منیعه در مکانِ سحیق و میاهِ عمیق
بهبوط غریق، و بعضی باستیقادِ اضغاث وقود و ابابیلِ حطب
در ظلماتِ لهب حریق میگردند، و جملهٔ کُفّار که در آن دیار هستند
بت رامی پرستند. معبود بحقِ لا اله الا الله وحدهُ لا شریك لهُ
پادشاه اسلام را موفّق گردانید تا این بتخانهٔ قدیم را که بر لبِ دریای
شرقی بود خراب کرد، بعد تخریبِ بدریا غرق گردانید و بتِ جگنات
را فرمود که سوراخ در بینی کَردند و بذّلِ خرور مخرور گردانیدند
و با اصنامِ دیگر که در بلادِ جاجنگر مشرکان معبود ساخته بودند
با تمثال جگناته بمثالِ ملقیاتِ کواسده[2] برکنندند. تا در عتباتِ مساجد
اسلام بر ممرِ سنّیانَ[3] و راه گذرِ مصلّیان افگنند و در آستانه
هر مسجدی شان بخسپانند تا در صدور و ورود و دخول
و خروج صدور و اضلاعِ این اصنام بنعالِ اقدامِ اهلِ اسلام
سوده گردند، بعنایت حقّ جلّ و علا، بعد حصولِ این مرام
از لبِ دریای شرقی عود اتّفاق افتاد، بعضی از سرانِ افواج

[1] Text: مسواسی.   [2] Text: کواسنده.   [3] Text: سنیات.

که برای نهب و تاراج نامزد بودند خبر فرستادند که نزدیک ساحلِ دریا جزیره ایست و در و آب گیریست طویل و عریض که مقدارِ صد هزار مردمِ جاجنگر آنجا[1] پناه گرفته با زن و فرزند و خویش و پیوند، هر صورتی چون ماهی و آفتابی برین صورت چون ماهی در چنین آبی مانده‌اند، و گفتند سلطان شمس الدّین ضابطِ لکهنوتی با جمله لشکرِ خویش درین ساحلِ دریا محیط شده بود بر ایشان قدرت نیافت و صفر الیدین بگذشت، باستماعِ این خبر رکابِ همایون را رکضت بدان سمت شد و افواج را بر سمتِ هر رکنی تعیّن کرد تا از هر طرف درآیند و جزیره را بشمشیرِ آبدار از قتلِ مشرکان طشتِ پرخون سازند، چون اعلامِ ظفر اعلامِ همایون مطالعِ سعد و اختر میمون با لشکرهای دریا جوش بر ساحلِ آن جزیره طالع شد:

زمین چو روئ فلک گشته از سلاح
روی فلک چو پشتِ زمین گشته از غبار
از سمِّ مرکبان شده مانند غار، کوه
و از شخصِ کشتگان شده مانند کوه، غار

قادرِ لم‌یزل و لایزال رعب در قلوبِ آن جمعِ مغلوب القا کرد، چون مدِّ بصرِ ایشان بر شعاع اسنّهٔ رماحِ نصر مفتاح، و سنای سیوفِ مسلولهٔ مقدّمه و جناح وقت الصّباح رسید صیاح برآوردند در لجّهٔ دریا بالحاحِ عجز با جمعهم تیغ و سپر و تیر و کمان و جوشن و زره در آب افگندند:

شمشیر زدن از تو، از ما سپر اندازی

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[1] Text: آنرا.

و سرِ رقیب بر زمین نهادند و پیش از آن لشکر از هر طرفی
و جائی درآمده بود و تیغِ برق صدمت را بر فرقِ لاجیانِ دریای
شرق و فرقِ بد دینان را بدریای خونِ شان غرق کرده و تنهای شان
را که از انقیادِ امرِ شاهی آبی بوده‌اند لقمهٔ ماهی و طعمهٔ
شیرِ آبی گردانیده: ٭ بیت ٭

ز خون هفت دریا برآمد بهم زمین از دگر سو برون داد نم

از هر جنس عاتق و عذرا ای بکر و نصف، و عوان ای میانه سال
و عروس و عجوز و غروب و شیب ای شو دیده و مذکار آنکه
همه نرزاید و منیاث آنکه همه ماده زائد و نزور ای اندک زائنده
و نثور ای بسیار زائنده و ارمله و بیوه و ایّم ای بی‌شوی و خریده
ای شرمگین و جواری نیکوخوی و غانیّة ای زنی آراسته بی‌آرائش،
در خانهٔ هر لشکری و عسکری و تابع ای چاکر ازین غنیمت
عبد و غلام و أمه و وقنسیه ای خنیاگر و ظیر ای دایه و حاضسه
ای پیشکاره بخدمت مشغول، و بقایای ما قیل را اسیر کرد،
و نسوان شان را از مرضعه و حبلیٔ هر خیلی مطوّق و مسلسل
مقیّد و مغلغل گردانید، از کفّار جز خونِ شان نشان نمانده:

پرسید هرکه دید تو آبی و یادمی
گفتا جزیره ایست پر از خونِ آدمی

از آنجا مظفّر و منصور مرفه و مسرور در مقامی که بنگاه مقام
کرده بود نزول شد و مجموع افواج از جوانب با مغانمِ کثیره
بحضرت پیوست، از آنجا بر سمت پدم تلاؤکه که مسکنِ پیلانِ
وحشی است بشکار عزیمت شد، در کرانهٔ لبِ آبِ مهاندی

که پیلان بعدد ستاره در و سیّاره اند بقصد قتل فیل تتبّع آثار کرده پئ پیلان بیعدد یافته، آنجا در دامنِ کوه شکارِ پیل حاصل گشت، پیلان کوه شکوه را بزخم تیر انداخته جمیع اماّنی که برای حصول آن نهضتِ رکاب بر آن سمت شده بود بعونِ ربّانی بر حسبِ ارادت میسّر شد:

ای از مکارمِ تو شده در جهان خبر
افگنده از سیاستِ تو آسمان سپر
گیتی زبان کشاده بمدحِ تو و فلک
بسته ز بهرِ خدمتِ تو درمیان کمر
با موکبِ جلالتِ تو هم کَتَف شرف
با موکبِ سعادتِ تو هم عنان ظفر

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Dharma Worship.

BY K. P. CHATTOPADHYAY.

The worship of Dharma is an old cult in Bengal, and has produced a number of works in verse describing the origin and merits of Dharma Pūjā. Some of these narratives, known as Dharmamaṅgala have been published. Others still remain as manuscripts.[1] A somewhat different class of work is the Śūnya Purāṇa, which resembles the Maṅgala works. At the same time it is more archaic in character and refers more to the details of worship.[2] Another work, the Dharma Pūjābidhān, is an account of the mode of worship.[3] The literature of the Dharma cult has been examined by various scholars and there are a number of valuable articles[4] on this subject. The editors of

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[1] I have consulted the following published works of this category:—

(*a*) Śrī Dharmamaṅgala by Māṇik Ganguli, edited by Mahāmahopādhyāy Haraprasād Śāstrī and Śrī Dīneścandra Sen. Calcutta, 1312 B.S. (=1906 A.D.). Sāhitya Pariṣat publication.

(*b*) Śrī Dharmamaṅgala by Mahākabi Ghanaram Chakrabarti, Kabiratna. Calcutta, 1318 B.S. (=1912 A.D.).

(*c*) Śrī Dharma Purāna by Mayurbhaṭṭa, edited by Śrī Basanta Kumar Chattopadhyay. Calcutta, 1337 B.S. (=1931 A.D.). S.P. publication. This account is based not on any old manuscript but a modern revised version.

(*d*) Anādimaṅgala bā Śrī Dharma Purāṇa by Kabi Rāmdās Ādak, edited by Śrī Basanta Kumar Chattopadhyay. Calcutta, 1345 B.S. (=1939 A.D.). S.P. publication.

I have not consulted any manuscripts but used summaries noted about those writings by various authors, quoting such references, cf. Sahadeb Chakrabartir Dharmamaṅgal by Śrī Ambikācaran Gupta, *Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrikā*, Calcutta, 1304 B.S. (=1898 A.D.).

The account of Ruparām was heard by me in Midnapur at a celebration of Dharma Pūjā.

[2] Śūnya Purāṇa by Ramāi Paṇḍit (?), edited by Śrī Nagendranath Basu. Calcutta, B.S. 1314 (=1908 A.D.). S.P. publication.

[3] Dharma Pūjābidhān by Ramāi Paṇḍit (?), edited by Śrī Nanigopal Bandopadhyay. Calcutta, B.S. 1323 (=1917 A.D.). S.P. publication.

[4] Most of the important articles have been published in the *Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrikā* (the journal of the academy of Bengalee literature), and a few also in the *Prabāsī*. Only the important articles have been mentioned. I have avoided unnecessary multiplication of references which would have occurred if I had included all the notes contributed on this subject. The important articles will be found in *S.P.P.*, Vols. 4, 12, 13, 15, 16, 36, and 38. Valuable discussions are to be found in the introductions to Śrī Dharma Purāṇa by Mayurbhaṭṭa, Anādimaṅgala bā Śrī Dharma Purāna by Kabi Rāmdās Ādak, Śūnya Purāna by Ramāi Paṇḍit (?), and Dharma Pūjābidhān by Ramāi Paṇḍit (?), noted above.

the Śūnya Purāṇa consider that work to be the oldest account in verse of the worship of Dharma and the associated traditions. The manuscripts consulted by the editors were not older than three hundred years, but the editors place the date of composition in the eleventh century A.D. An able critic, Śrī Jogeś Rāy, has shown that there is a good case for placing it about two centuries later. The dates of the Maṅgalas have also been disputed. But some of them were undoubtedly composed in the sixteenth century while the last of these works was written in the eighteenth century.

Whatever be its exact date, the Śūnya Purāṇa and some of the Maṅgalas have preserved for us an account of Dharma worship, and details of the Dharma cult, which must of necessity have been based on lost prototypes dating from the 13th or 14th century and describing a well-established practice and tradition of that period.[1]

In the Śūnya Purāṇa the poet starts with a description of creation. There was nothing but empty space, and in it was the *Prabhu* (Lord) alone. The Lord thought, ' Whom shall I create ? ' First came from him air or breath or wind. Then the Lord created his own body. From the yawn of Lord Dharma (now mentioned by this name) was born the owl who was fed with his spittle. A part of it fell and became the primeval waters on which the Lord and the owl floated. From a feather of the owl was born the goose. Next came the tortoise from a touch of the Lord's hand on the waters. Attempts had been made by the Lord to rest successively on a bubble, the owl, the goose and the tortoise. But the bubble broke and the animals each in its turn became tired of His weight, after a time. So now, on the advice of the owl, the Lord threw on the waters his golden sacred thread, tearing it up. It became at once the great thousand-hooded snake Bāsuki. His ornaments

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1 The Origin and Development of the Bengali Language, by Sunīti Kumār Chatterji. Calcutta University Press, 1926.

Ramāi Panditer Dharmamaṅgal, by Śrī Haraprasād Śāstrī. *S.P.P.*, Vol. 4, B.S. 1304.

Do. Pariśiṣta, by Śrī Benodebihārī Kābyatīrtha. *S.P.P.*, Vol. 4 (1898).

Sahadeb Chakrabartir Dharmamaṅgal, by Śrī Ambikācaran Gupta. *S.P.P.*, Vol. 4.

Māṇik Gāngulī o Dharmamaṅgal, by Śrī Brojosundar Sanyal. *S.P.P.*, Vol. 12.

Dharmamaṅgal, by Śrī Dīneścandra Sen. *S.P.P.*, Vol. 13.

Dharmamaṅgal praṇetā Māṇik Gāngulī, by Śrī Jogeścandra Rāy, *S.P.P.*, Vol. 15.

Śūnya Purāṇa, by Śrī Jogeścandra Rāy. *S.P.P.*, Vol. 16.

Śūnya Purāṇa sambandhe Mantabya, by Śrī Nagendranath Basu, *S.P.P.*, Vol. 16.

Dharmamaṅgaler ādikabi Mayurbhaṭṭa, by Śrī Basanta Kumar Chattopadhyay. *S.P.P.*, Vol. 36.

Śūnya Purāṇa, by Śrī Jogeścandra Rāy. *S.P.P.*, Vol. 38.

similarly became frogs and supplied food to the snake. Now the Lord rubbed his hand on his own throat and put the little dirt that had gathered there, on the snake's head. This became Basumatī or the Earth. Now waters were moved to three sides of the Earth, and the Lord and the owl went to see the earth. The exertion caused them to perspire. The Lord wiped off the sweat of half his body (one side only) and from it was born Ādyā Śakti. She was left behind and the Lord created the river Ballukā, on the banks of which is placed the traditional site of origin of Dharma worship. There the Lord remained in contemplation. By this time Ādyā Śakti had become a young woman and she felt desire. Kāmadeba or the god of love was born at once and he went with her message to the Lord and the owl. The Lord put Kāmadeba in a pot of earth and it became full of poison. Then they came and saw Ādyā but did not know where to find her mate. The pot of poison (Kāmadeba) was left in her care and they went back to Ballukā ostensibly to find her a groom. Ādyā became despondent and swallowed the poison. She conceived in consequence and three blind sons came out of her body, Brahmā through the fontanelle, Viṣṇu through her navel, and Śiva through the vagina. The Lord now came floating as a putrid corpse to the three brothers as they sat in contemplation. Brahmā and Viṣṇu failed to recognize the Lord and pushed the corpse away. But Śiva wondered how there could be death before there was birth of any other besides themselves. He saw through the deception and pleased Dharma by his homage. The three gods now got their eyes through the Lord's favour, and were allotted their duties, usual to them in other traditional accounts. Brahmā would create, Viṣṇu would protect and nourish. Śiva would destroy. Ādyā Śakti would live in all creatures as the female organ and Maheś (Śiva) would marry her in another birth. Dharma himself remained in space on the owl.

Next follows a description of worship of Dharma, beginning with drawing of water for the sacred pot. Dharma is now to be bathed and the devotees make sandal paste for *ṭikā* or initiation. Flowers are gathered, Gaṇeśa is offered worship first and then Dharma. The ceremony is stated to be performed by king Haricandra (Hariścandra) and his queen Madanā for the birth of a son. A new *maṇḍap* (shed) is stated to have been set up and four doors (on four sides) are opened for the queen successively. The conventional 'house' of Dharma is now shown to the royal worshippers. There is a repetition of the description and a reference to the merits of Dharma worship. The devotee is to observe habiṣya (a special restricted diet) on a Friday and offer pūjā on Saturday. There is a reference to the great respect in which Dharma is held in Ceylon. The temple (house) of Dharma is described in detail. Stones are dressed, wooden pillars are put up and toddy palm poles and

areca poles are split, apparently for the roof. Peacock feathers are to cover the roof of Dharma's house. An *ālam*, or bamboo cut ceremonially, is stated to be placed by each door, and the *pādukā* (sandals) of Dharma are worshipped. The offerings to Dharma are now described—plantain and other fruits, milk, clarified butter, honey, curds and *ātap* rice. The whole of the food offerings is known as *manui*. It is followed by betel leaves for 'cleansing the mouth' as it is termed. The sage Mārkaṇḍeya is stated to have offended Dharma and become a leper; he was cured when his wife thus offered worship to Dharma. Incense is now burnt probably for the swinging of devotees over its flame; but this is not stated. A horse is also said to be saddled for Dharma.

There is a description of worship and cutting of the *Gāmbhāri* or *gāmār* (*Gmelina arborea*, Linn.) tree. The wood is sent to the blacksmith to be dressed and made properly, i.e. fitted with nails. A fresh description of the rites starts here, of the bathing of Dharma, his worship and other details. A horse is again mentioned as drawing the car of Dharma. In this portion of the book is described the placing of sacred sand from Ballukā, and of coral, pearls, silver and gold, and *ātap* (sun-dried) rice on the back of the tortoise-shaped deity Dharma. A ceremony called *muktiṣnān* is also mentioned. After this, however, comes a story of Śiva working the plough—a golden plough with a share of silver. Paddy is stated to have originated from sexual desire of Śiva, from his semen. A fresh start is again made to describe the rites, and the tying of an armlet as part of the initiation of the devotee is mentioned. Another brief reiteration of the mode of worship occurs. The armlet is now stated to be of copper. There is mention of animal sacrifice before the Devī, and also further on, the origin of the goat from incest.

In the Dharma Pūjābidhān, first of all elaborate rituals are mentioned, with incantations in Sanskrit for setting up the Dharma deity and other deities and worshipping them. There are at the same time verses in Bengalee which are to be recited at the time of the worship. There is clear mention of worship by a Brāhmaṇ (Devaśarmā) in this description of the *gṛhabharan* type of Dharma pūjā. Formal inclusion in the group of worshippers now takes place of (*a*) the Dhāmātkarṇi or Dharmādhikaraṇa, who is in charge of the cooking of offerings, (*b*) the singers of the songs of Dharma, (*c*) the *grahavipra* and then others including the *deul sanyāsi* and the *pāṭbhakta*. Twelve *sanyāsis* must be included, and they are each given a piece of cane to hold in their hand, after they have put on the *uttarīya*. Worship is offered first to Gaṇeśa, Sūrya, Viṣṇu, Śiva, Durgā, and after that to Dharma. Then follows worship of Kaminyā—the female devotee companion of Dharma. Next are worshipped Lakṣmī, Manasā, Bhairaba, Bāsuli, Sara-

swatī, Kuvera, Ṣaṣṭhī, Bhagavatī and finally the divine keepers of the doors. In the second part of the work, the mantras are fuller and the rites noted carefully. Mention is also made of worship of Dharma's owl after the worship of Dharma, and of Basumatī, i.e. Earth, after Lakṣmī. Worship is also offered to Brahmā, his consort, to Ananta, Garuḍa and Viśwakarmā, to Bāneśwar and minor deities, including the *grahas*. In a third portion of this work, the description of rites starts from the beginning but passes on quickly to worship of the *gāmār* tree and bathing of pearls represented by rice grains. There is mention of *hindol*, i.e. fire-swing of devotees, of the sacrifice of a goat, of the placing of the head in a pot and invoking its resuscitation. Next follows a shorter version of the so-called Śūnya Purāṇa.

In the Dharmamaṅgalas of Māṇik Gāṅgulī, of Ghanarām, and the Anādimaṅgala of Rāmdās Ādak, there is a tale of creation, and an account of the worship of Dharma by King Hariścandra and his wife. The king and queen were childless, and worshipped Dharma for a son. The boon was granted, according to one account, only when the king and queen offered their lives to Dharma by falling on a razor-sharp weapon. They were brought back to life and given the boon of a son, on condition that the son would be sacrificed to Dharma. The son was named Luicandra. When the boy was twelve years of age, Dharma came disguised as an ascetic, and asked the king and queen to kill and cook their son as food for him. Promise bound, this request was complied with; but in reality it was an illusion. Dharma was merely testing their worth. This anecdote was related to Rañjābatī, queen of Karṇa Sen, when she lamented her childless state. She offered worship to Dharma at Cāmpāi-ghat on the banks of the river Dwārkeśwar. Ramāi Paṇḍit was the priest who performed the rites. Rañjābatī performed all the rites, including the swing over fire, head downwards, and the fall on *kāṭāri* (curved knives) fixed on plantain stems. Finally she threw herself on sharp iron spikes and died on them. She was now brought back to life by Dharma and granted her boon. This son, Lausen, is the hero of the Maṅgala literature of Dharma.

In the Dharma Purāṇa of Mayurbhaṭṭa, the first part relates the origin of Dharma worship and the reason why the image of Dharma is of stone. The deity Dharma is frankly identified with Viṣṇu and rationalizations are put forward to cover anomalies or obscure points and events in the genuinely older versions. The account begins not with the usual tale of creation, but the narration of accidental killing of a Brāhman by Dharma Sen, grandson of Lāusen already mentioned above. There is a long account of the origin of Ramāi Paṇḍit and the adventures of his son Dharmadās. There is an obvious rationalization (on Pauranic lines, no doubt) of the anomaly of the

claim of Brahmanic descent by Paṇḍits and their actual social rules. The worship of Dharma by a king Rañjit Rāy is described and an account of the adventures of Lāusen promised in the second part. This portion of the work has not so far been found.

According to the traditional accounts preserved by the Dom Paṇḍit who worships Jātrā-siddhi-rāy, i.e. Dharma, at Maynāpur in Bankura District[1] as well as the narrative of Mayurbhaṭṭa, Ramāi is stated to be of Brahmanic descent but brought up in the Dharma cult after he lost his parents in childhood. He received copper initiation at the age of fifteen. He had a son by Keśabatī who was born from the foot of Dharma. In the account from Bankura, Ramāi stated that the son would be initiated, i.e. given a copper ring and armlet, at the age of fourteen years and fourteen days. In the published narration of Mayurbhaṭṭa this is directed to be done, by Dharma. The son was named Dharmadās; he married a Dom's daughter according to the traditions obtained in Bankura and became the founder of the line of Dom Paṇḍit priests. The narrative of Mayurbhaṭṭa describes a marriage with a Brāhmaṇ girl. The armlet mentioned is worn on the right arm. The Dharma Paṇḍitsare not, however, the only worshippers of Dharma. The *graharipras*, i.e. Ācārya Brāhmaṇs, were apparently once serious rivals to the Paṇḍits, as they are referred to as having wrongfully taken up this worship, in the traditional account. In actual practice many lower castes supply priests to Dharma. This will be apparent from the accounts of the Dharma cults in different districts. Even some of the purer castes, however, sometimes act as devotees and worshippers. Thus in the Dharmamaṅgala of Ghanarām (p. 29, *ibid.*), a Bārui of name Sukhadatta is mentioned as having come to Maynā, carrying the footwear of Dharma in a golden seat on the head.

The Dharma deity known as Jātrā-siddhi-rāy, worshipped in the village Maynāpur in Bankura District, is revered by all castes including Brāhmaṇs. The priest is a Dom known as Paṇḍit. They do not accept water from other Doms who are not Paṇḍits, but serve as priests to them at marriage, funeral and other rites. The Paṇḍits accept cooked rice only from Brāhmaṇs and are endogamous. Although, like other Doms, they are held to be impure, yet at the worship of Dharma the sacred offerings of water are accepted from them even by the highest caste of Brāhmaṇ. The copper ring is stated to be worn on the index finger and this initiation takes the place of Upanayana or sacred thread ceremony among Brāhmaṇs.

The image of this and several other Dharmas are said to be of stone and shaped like a tortoise, about 4″ to 6″ long. The

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[1] Ramāi Paṇḍit o Maynāpurer Jātrāsiddhi, by Benodebihārī Kābyatīrtha Bhaktibinode. *S.P. Patrikā*, Vol. 13. See also Śūnya Purāṇa, *ibid.*, introduction.

worship is stated to start on the Aksaytrtīyā, i.e. third day after new moon in Baiśākh (April-May), and ends on the full-moon day. The ceremony is not described but stated to be like the *gājan* of Śiva, i.e. the rites followed at Caḍak festival. During these twelve days offerings are cooked by Brāhman women. At other times offerings are made by the Paṇḍit priest, but cooked rice or any cooked food is not included.

According to Śrī Jogeścandra Rāy[1] the images are mostly tortoise-like in shape, and all have tortoise backs. The priests in Bankura are known as Pāṛit. But priests may also be of Bāgdi, Namaśūdra, Kaibartta, Jugi, Tānti and other castes. According to the Gazetteer of the Bankura District[2] the most ancient Dharma 'is said to be Briddhaksha who is enshrined at Sankaripara in the town of Bishnupur. The name Briddhaksha means "the old-eyed one" and the god who is commonly known as Bura Dharma is represented by a piece of stone covered with vermillion and having metal eyes. . . . . It is said that the worship of this deity goes back to the days before the establishment of the Bishnupur Raj, i.e. over 1,100 years. . . . . Other representations of Dharma-raj of some celebrity are the following: . . . Bankura Rai of Indas is represented by a piece of stone. . . . The idol of Rupnarayan of Mangalpur is a piece of stone emblematical of the tortoise incarnation of Visnu'. Several other similar emblems are described.

Most of the images of Dharma which the writer of this paper observed in the districts of Birbhum, Midnapur and 24-Parganas were shaped like tortoises. In one case it had a tortoise back only. But the size, though generally as noted above, varied. At Labhpur in Birbhum, the deity measured about a foot each way. In Midnapur, the priests of the Dharma worship centres visited were all Paṇḍits (Dom) by caste. In Midnapur, like Bankura, they are termed Pāṛit. In Birbhum other castes like Kaibartta, Swarṇakār and Barṇa Brāhmans also have charge of Dharma temples. In Labhpur, the deities were originally in charge of a Keot (Kaibartta) family; but as misfortunes befell them, they made over charge to another family of the Swarṇakār caste. It appears that first a cow of the Keot died; then the man lost his son. Finally, he himself died. This was stated to have happened about twenty years ago. In Raipur, Śrī Kālīmohan Ghosh states[3] that a local Brāhmaṇ performed the usual worship and that 'he

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1 Śūnya Purāna, by Śrī Jogeścandra Rāy. *S.P. Patrikā*, Vol. 16. Śūnya Purāṇa, by Śrī Jogeścandra Rāy. *S.P. Patrikā*, Vol. 38.

2 Bengal District Gazetteers, Bankura, by L. S. S. O'Malley. Calcutta, 1908.

3 Raipur, by Kālīmohan Ghosh. Sriniketan, Birbhum, 1933. (Visvabharati publication.)

was looked down upon by the rest of society'. Evidently, he was either a *Barṇa Brāhmaṇ* or a *grahavipra*. Some of the shrines are specially venerated and visits are paid by sufferers from rheumatism, the specific cure for which, according to the Birbhum District Gazetteer, is believed to be a pilgrimage to these shrines.[1] In 24-Parganas, including Calcutta and suburbs, the priests are of various castes. In Dhakuria, Garia and Bosepukur, the priests are Dom Paṇḍits. In Bhawanipur (in Calcutta), the priest is an Ācārya Brāhmaṇ (*grahavipra*) while in Chetla, there is a Jugi priest.

The worship of Dharma is of two kinds—the regular daily offerings, generally on a very modest scale, of *bātāsa* and flowers, and the annual celebration. A third kind of worship may be offered on occasions for vows made. This last variety of worship is also mentioned in the Śūnya Purāṇa. The rule noted there is to fast on a Friday and make offerings on a Saturday.

In 24-Parganas, I was informed that the usual practice is to make a vow to offer worship when cured; and if the desire is fulfilled, to carry out the pledge at the next full-moon day. Generally people make vows for cure of eye troubles. Gold or silver eyes are offered to the Dharma deity. On the day preceding full moon, the devotee keeps to a vegetarian diet. Next day, a fast is observed and the offerings are made. The vow may include burning incense, as it is termed. This is done by lighting charcoal in an earthen *mālsā* (hemispherical bowl) and throwing incense on it when the fire has blazed up. The pot is kept on the head, on each palm and also on the chest. Some devotees vow and offer blood from the chest by pricking the skin. Others again circumambulate the place of worship on their breast. The metallic eyes offered are fixed to the deity by means of a paste of resin (gum of *śāl* tree), vermillion and a little mustard oil.

The priest in charge of the place of worship and the deity is known as Devāṁsi in Western Bengal. The daily offerings are made by him. But for the annual celebration, in Birbhum at least, a low caste Brāhmaṇ is employed. This is done at Labhpur and, according to Śrī Kālīmohan Ghosh (*ibid.*), at Raipur. The temple of Dharma may be of brick or a shed. In Dhakuria in 24-Parganas, and in Labhpur in Birbhum, the deities were housed in a mud and bamboo structure with a tiled shed and a corrugated iron roof respectively.

In Calcutta and suburbs, the worship has lost most of its special features. In the town, the annual worship starts five days before the full moon in Baiśākh. The rites are similar to those for the *gājan* of Śiva, i.e. the Caḍak festival as performed

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[1] Bengal District Gazetteers, Birbhum. Calcutta, 1910.

in this area, in Central Bengal.[1] The ceremony could not be performed in Monoharpukur in 1934-35 and subsequently owing to lack of funds. The annual celebration was formerly a regular feature in this locality, but the bustee (hut clusters) in this area has been broken up by the Improvement Trust and their place taken by brick-built houses of the higher caste people, some of whom are non-Bengalees. So the festival has died out, as it cannot be celebrated without sufficient funds which have to be raised by subscription from local residents. Also, devotees are not available in the locality. In Dhakuria, the priest Akṣoy Paṇḍit who is over fifty years of age informed me that formerly there was a *gājan* like that of Śiva in this area. But it is no longer celebrated. He has seen it when a boy. *Hindol*, *Kāṭā jhāp*, *Bāṭi jhāp* and piercing with arrows all used to be performed at Bosepukur. Canes were carried by devotees who were initiated five days before the final rites, and invested with *uttarīya*. He had heard that a goat used to be sacrificed only if any one had promised it. He has never seen it done.

The Paṇḍit stated that their family has been among the earliest settlers in this part of the country, 'clearing the forest'. In the old days, the deity Dharma was held in great respect. Nowadays, the respect has decreased, and people sometimes make mistakes. Such lapses are, however, avenged by Dharma promptly. A Bhakta, who does not observe the rules carefully, dies within the year. This, stated the Paṇḍit, has happened several times within the past few years. In consequence people do not dare become devotees. In 1939 the celebration had to be carried out without any Bhakta. If there are devotees, Uttarīya is given on *dwādaśī*, i.e. fourth day prior to full moon. The loin-cloth and body-cloth are of ochre colour; and a sacred thread with kuśa root is also worn. There is no *deul* Bhakta or *koṭāl*. The ceremony nowadays starts on the day before full moon. A lamp is lighted with clarified butter and cotton wick before the deity and a *baran-ḍālā* or tray of *baran* used at weddings is placed in the shed, near the deity. It has on it wristlets of lac, conch shell bracelets, an iron wristlet, thread on a winder, a necklace, Ganges clay, betel leaf, areca nuts and other requisites. The *maṅgala hāḍis*—earthen pots, three or five in number—containing turmeric, baiḍā (Terminalia belerica), haritaki (Terminali chebula), areca nut, cowry shell and *ātap* rice coloured with turmeric paste, are also kept there. Next day, at midday, women who have fasted since morning bathe. Dharma is carried in a basket known as *dhucuni* to this tank by the Paṇḍit; the

[1] A Short Account of the Carak Puja Ceremonial, by Ram Comal Sen *Journ. A.S.B.*, 1833.

Ādyer Gambhirā, by Śrī Haridās Pālit, B.S. 1319 (= 1913 A.D.). Chapter VI.

The Caḍak Festival of Bengal, by K. P. Chattopadhyay. *Journ. and Proc. A.S.B.*, 1934.

women rub the deity with oil and turmeric and bathe it. The deity is now brought back to the temple, placed on the earthen seat in the basket and worshipped with flowers.

In Birbhum, the ceremony starts five days before the final celebration. The Debāṃsi, however, starts *habiṣya* from Akṣay-tṛtīyā, and on the last four days takes only fruit and milk. Bhaktas or devotees are initiated only four days before full moon. Among touchable low castes, people like Sadgopes, Suṇḍis and Sekras, and impure groups (using these terms in the sense in which they were used by the orthodox Hindu of an earlier generation) like Keots and Bagdis, contribute devotees. Each man is invested with a bunch of threads termed the sacred thread, worn round the neck. Each devotee also puts on a new cloth, ties a *gāmchā* (body-cloth used as towel for rubbing the body also) round the waist and carries a cane with a curved end like the chief devotee of Caḍak. On the first day, the devotees perform *habiṣya*, prepare the 'sacred thread' from purchased thread by twisting and are invested with the same by the Debāṃsi. There is a chief Bhakta, known as *pāṭ* Bhakta. At Labhpur, this function is performed by the descendants of the former Keot Debāṃsi who gave up charge of the Dharma deities to the goldsmith. On the first day, the Debāṃsi takes the deity *Bāneśwar* who is also kept in the temple of Dharma to a tank near the village boundary. This deity is made of wood and shaped as shown in the figure like a post with a conical head, resembling a bulbous spear-head (Fig. 1). It is studded with a number of iron nails generally. After the deity has been worshipped the devotees are initiated, i.e. have the thread put on. They now return to the temple. Dancing and drumming occurs on both journeys.

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FIG. 1. Spear-like image of Bāneśwar, Birbhum.

The next day the Bhaktas fast. In the evening they proceed to the tank, carrying Bāneśwar, to bathe him and also themselves. The deity is now taken back to the temple of Dharma, with the usual drumming and dancing. At night only fruits and milk are taken. On the third day, in the afternoon, the deity Dharma is placed on a wooden *dolā* (shaped partly like a throne, but carried on shoulders), and this is placed on a ceremonially cleansed piece of ground before the Dharma shed (temple). Beginning from the door, but north of it, the devotees lie down head to east on their face, the feet pointing west. The Debāṃsi puts on a new *gāmchā* as a *pugree* (turban) and takes up one deity at a time on his head if there are several Dharmas in the temple and walks on the bodies of the devotees and comes back

also in the same way. At Labhpur, I noted seven deities but was able to obtain the names of only four. These were: (*a*) Dharmarāj, (*b*) Dāmodar, (*c*) Khijurāi, (*d*) Bilweśwar. When this ceremony is over, the deities are put on the *dolā* and carried by the devotees round the village and finally to the tank. At the *ghāt* (bathing place or getting in place), the deities are put in a small bamboo basket of the type known as *dhucuni*, brought by a Dom (basket-weaver) of a family enjoying the hereditary right to do this duty. The basket must be woven by a woman who is living with her first married husband. The Dom gets two seers and a half of rice (parboiled and husked, not *ātap*) for his services. Now a devotee of a particular family goes into the tank with the basket, until the water rises to his chest. In Labhpur, this duty was formerly performed by a Sundi family. But that family is now extinct and the prerogative has passed to a goldsmith family. The other devotees now pour milk and water (sacred water) on the deity. An earthen pot (*kalsi*—narrow-necked vessel) is held under the deities and the water is caught in it. It is then filled up with tank water if not quite full and taken with a twig of mango on it. The deities are then bathed and taken back to the temple. The prescribed mantras are uttered, *āsan śuddhi* and other rites are performed and ceremonial offerings are made of rice and other food as laid down in the sacred texts of Dharma.

This is followed by *hindol sevā* or *dhunābān*. Wood of *pākuḍ* (*Ficus infectoria*, Roxb.), *bael* (*Aegle marmosa*) or *śāl* (*Shorea robusta*) are heaped in a small hole below a swinging platform exactly similar to that described for Caḍak and the ceremony is also the same. The platform is erected in front of the temple. In Labhpur, the Dharma deity is placed outside the temple on a *gāmchā* twisted into a circular coil. As incense is burnt on the fire below, the devotee swings backward and forward, head downwards over it. He takes flowers in his hands and swinging forward holds them over the incense and then offers the same to Dharma. Early next morning, i.e. on the full-moon day, a big fire is built up of the logs, so that embers form quickly. Worship is now done to Dharma, the embers spread with cane and the Bhaktas dance on the embers until the fire is put out. Arrangements are now made for a *homa* (sacred fire offerings) ceremony by a Brāhmaṇ.

In the meanwhile each Bhakta fills an earthen pot with water at the tank and takes it to the house of a Sundi (wine-distiller by caste). Here each man puts a few drops of newly distilled wine from a new pot into his vessel. This is called *bhāndār bhorā* or 'filling the pot' (really 'larder' or 'store'). The Debāṃsi now offers worship to these pots at the Sundi's place. The devotees now proceed dancing round the village and finally return to the place of the Dharma deity. By this time the Brāhmaṇ priest will have finished his *homa* ceremony. A he-goat

is now sacrificed in places where this is customary. The devotees now break their fast. On this night, as on preceding nights, songs of Dharma usually from the Maṅgala books are sung, with dance and a certain amount of dramatizing. Next morning the 'sacred thread' is taken off and the whole ceremony is over.

At Labhpur, I noted two wooden horses inside the temple. The smaller horse is carried by devotees on shoulder when the deity Bāneśwar is taken out. When Dharma is taken out and bathed, the deity Bāneśwar and both the horses are also carried out and bathed. In the village of Bhastar, several miles from this place, the devotees still pierce their sides and tongues with iron spears. This is, however, not done at Labhpur or other villages in the neighbourhood. This piercing ceremony is performed on the morning of the full-moon day, as described later.

In 24-Parganas, the ceremony is now very much attenuated as noted before. The only feature that has remained is the bathing of the deity, and placing it in a *dhucuni* as elsewhere. The *dhucuni* has certain designs on it drawn in vermillion. A photo of it inside the temple of Dharma in Dhakuria is shown (Plate 3, Fig. 2).

In Midnapur, the ceremony known as *gṛhabharaṇa* in the Dharma Pūjā Paddhati (*ibid.*) is celebrated with pomp in many villages.[1] It is not an annual village festival, but is said to have been originally held at intervals of twelve years. There is now no hard and fast rule regarding the interval. It depends on the prosperity of the villages to a certain extent. Usually four years elapse between two celebrations. In the area, where the writer observed the ceremony, the different groups of villages hold this festival in different years, so that practically this celebration falls due every year in one or other of the group of villages which possess Dharma temples. In this ceremony it is the rule to have twelve men devotees and four women devotees. Nowadays it is difficult to get so many devotees. In the ceremony observed in 1939, there were only seven men and four women devotees. There must be a chief devotee termed *pāṭ* Bhakta, a *deul* Bhakta and a *koṭāl*, who are expected to be supplied by certain families. The *pāṭ* Bhakta in Birsinha village has to be furnished by the Guṭi family of Sadgope caste. But they do not any longer discharge this religious duty. The elders are either in official service or in the professions followed by educated men in this country. The boys are students in school or college. In 1939, a villager of the same caste was persuaded to act as substitute on behalf of the family in lieu of payments made out of the general fund raised by subscription. The *deul* Bhakta comes from another educated Sadgope family, of surname

[1] See also Appendix to Mayurbhaṭṭa's Śrī Dharma Purāṇa (edited by Śrī Basanta Kumar Chattopadhyay) for a description of *grahabaran* obtained from a priest in Bankura District.

Pānja, of an adjacent village (Mahmudpur). Here also a substitute is offered at present. When the *deul* Bhakta is initiated, he goes to a clump of bamboos and calling on Dharma and worshipping a bamboo, cuts it. He now returns to the *maṇḍap* with this bamboo known as '*ālam bās*' and, when a red cloth pennant has been fitted to the top, fixes it in the ground by the shed. The *koṭāl* is a villager of Dolui caste. The *dhāmātkarṇi* is a Brāhmaṇ by caste. A Brāhman priest (*grahavipra*) performed those rites which require the services of a Brāhmaṇ as noted before. The Dom Paṇḍit performed the rest of the ceremony. The principal Dom priest was assisted by his brother. The Nāpit (barber) looked after the dressing of fruits and arranging offerings, of lighting the fire for swinging and finally shaving the devotees. The songs of Dharma were sung (with dance and dramatic gestures) by Umapati Chakravarty, a Vyāsastha Brāhmaṇ, explained as one who serves Kaibarttas (fishing Kaibarttas).

In this village, the Dharma deity is of name Bānkurā Rāy, and is housed in a brick-built temple. The worship is not, however, celebrated in the temple, but in a *maṇḍap*, i.e. shed, put up to the north of it and facing south. In the temple originally there was Dharma and his Kāminyā. About two generations ago the Guṭi family discovered under earth an image of Kālī through a dream. They had this image placed by Dharma's side in the temple, to his left like a wife by her husband. There are other deities in the temple. They are: (*a*) eleven other Dharma images, (*b*) Śitalā, and (*c*) Manasā. There is also a horse of Dharma and the remnant of a chariot of Dharma. Daily worship is offered to these deities by the Dharma Paṇḍit.

On the Akṣaytṛtīyā, the Paṇḍit proceeds with the Brāhmaṇ priest with the *ghaṭ*, i.e. earthen pitcher, to a deep tank on the outskirts of the village. No one is allowed to use this tank on this day or until the festival is over. The term 'ākāṭā pukur' used for such tanks means a natural pool. The priests are accompanied by villagers, some of whom dance and make displays of quarterstaff play, and by drummers. The *ghaṭ* is filled up and brought back to be put in the *maṇḍap*. There are placed in this pot the usual *pancaratna* or five precious metals and jewels, and the *pancapallava* or five kinds of twigs; also one *haritaki* (*Terminalia chebula*, Roxb.) nut. On the mouth of the pot is now placed an earthenware *sarā* (a concave plate). A seer of *ātap* rice is poured on it and on it is placed a green coconut. Some paddy and *durvā* grass (*Cynodon dactylon*) are put on it. Vermillion marks have already been made on the surface of the pot after daubing it with rice flower solution. It is now decorated with artificial lotus flowers. The Dharma deities in the temple are worshipped, and then the Kālī image. The deities are now installed in the *maṇḍap*. Usually an earthen platform is raised

for the deities at the back, i.e. northern extremity of the shed. But a bamboo platform may also be made and covered with beaten earth. This was done at Birsinha. The arrangement of the deities (Plate 3, Fig. 1) was as follows, from west to east:—

1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9.

(1) Manasā, (2) the other Dharmas, (3) the horse of Dharma, (4) image of Kāli, (5) Bānkurā Rāy, the principal Dharma deity, (6) a trident, to represent Bāneśwar (?), (7) Kāminyā of Dharma, (8) Śitalā, (9) the chariot of Dharma.

It is to be noted that at this festival, the intrusive deity Kālī was not placed to the left of Dharma.

A little in front of the deities was the *dhucuni* with the designs as indicated. The basket was of bamboo slips about half an inch wide, twilled in four right from the bottom. The base had four pointed corners. The top rim was strengthened by a strip of bamboo. The dotted lines shown represent vermillion marks. Five conventionalized human figures said to represent the five Kaśyapas are also drawn (with vermillion) with a trident between each pair. At the bottom are drawn images of the wheel of Dharma (*dharmacakra*) (Fig. 2). The basket was in front of the principal Dharma, who rested on a throne. When offering worship the priests sat facing east, i.e. sideways to the row of images.

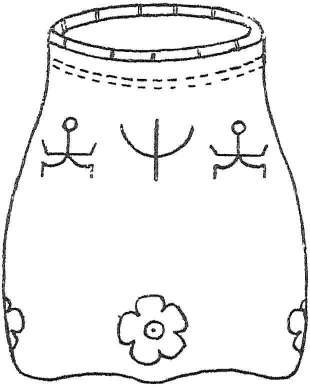

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FIG. 2. The basket, *dhucuni*, with drawings on it, used at *grahabaran*, Birsinha, Midnapur.

People may become Bhakta on the Akṣaytṛtīyā. This is the rule laid down in the book of procedure and was followed formerly. But nowadays in actual practice, devotees come only five days before full moon. They may also come seven or nine days before full moon. In any case, the would-be devotee abstains from flesh food and observes continence the day before his initiation. Next morning he bathes, listens to a recital of Dharma's glory, and is invested with 'sacred thread' with a kuśa root and copper ring tied to it and is given a bunch of five canes or one cane curved into a loop at top. Women devotees are known as Āmins. In this village at the time of initiation they put on a copper ring. It was reported by a priest that in some places 'Sacred thread' is put on women. In the published

account[1] the women are stated to be invested exactly like men. The devotees now fast during the day time. At sunset they bathe, make an image of a female genital near the tank, call it Hara Gaurī (Śiva and his wife) and offer worship to Sūrya on it, with *jabā* flower (*Hibiscus rosasinensis*), milk, honey, ghee and *haritaki*. If other materials are lacking, only water may be offered. Then they come to the *maṇḍap*. To the south of this shed is an image of a female genital in stone, known as Hara Gaurī. Here again worship is done. The devotees now wait for the adoration of Dharma with lamps (*ārati*). When this is over they offer flowers to Dharma represented by two silver *pādukā* on a plate of copper or brass placed in front of the principal deity. On this are now placed also the canes of the devotees. They now circumambulate the *maṇḍap*. The two posts, which had been used for the *hindol* or fire-swing for the celebration of the ceremony in a former year and had been left in water thereafter, are taken out on Akṣaytṛtīyā and set up in a line north to south in front of the shed, a little to the west of the phallic image mentioned. Vermillion figures of men are drawn on the posts and oil and turmeric are rubbed at the base. This *hindol* frame is used for a swing over fire every night by the Bhaktas in this area after they have worshipped Dharma as described.

In the evening, the singer of the song of Dharma starts his dance, acting and song, with his assistants, a little after dusk, commencing from Akṣaytṛtīyā. Each night he recites a portion of the Dharmamaṅgala from one of the recognized versions, increasing the duration of it on successive evenings. On the twelfth, i.e. last, night it lasts the whole of the night. In the ceremony observed, the Paṇḍit at an interval of the song performed *ārati* with his lamps, with flowers and *cāmar* (yak tail). A conch shell was blown and bells and a gong sounded. The drums went on all the time any ceremony was performed. After the *ārati*, the devotees who had been resting in the shed shouted, 'We adore the feet of Dharma; we adore the feet of the old goddess Kali'. The Dom priest and his assistant prostrated themselves before these deities and then circumambulated the deities thrice, uttering mantras in Sanskrit. Next the priest recited Bengali verses referring to different deities and Paṇḍits being at different doors. The assistant repeated the verses after him. This is known as the *Kāhinī* or narrative. A portion of the recital was stated to be taken from Śūnya Purāṇa. The singer's version was said to be based on the Dharmamaṅgala of Ruparām.

The important rites commence from the third day prior to full moon. On the evening of this date the ceremony known as

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[1] Śrī Dharma Purāṇa by Mayurbhaṭṭa, edited by Śrī Basanta Kumar Chattopadhyay. Calcutta, 1337 B.S. (= 1931 A.D.). (S.P. publication.) This account is based not on any old manuscript, but a modern revised version.

Muktaghar and *Muktucāl* is performed. As stated in the published account [1] the place from which the consort of Dharma has to be fetched is arranged beforehand. The correct form of the consort's name is *Muktā*, meaning pearls, and not *Mukti* meaning salvation as stated in the printed account. This term *Muktā* is used in the Śūnya Purāṇa (*ibid.*, p. 98) and the rice poured into the basket is also known as 'pearl'. The name of this paddy is stated to be *muktā hār* or row of pearls also in the published account. The orthodox procedure (as noted in the account from Bankura) is to carry the plate with the *pādukā* of Dharma with pomp to the residence of the consort. Here offerings are made of five seers of rice as stated. The party now return to the *maṇḍap*, the Paṇḍit reciting the *Kāhinī* about coming of *Muktā* and the origin of paddy. Certain figures are, however, drawn and a basket is used to hold the rice—not a pot as stated in the account. The additional details are noted below. In Birsinha, the usual custom was that this rite was performed at the house of a villager of the hamlet of Pāthrā who offered the rice for this ceremony. But owing to a quarrel between villagers, the Pāthrā people refused to join the celebration in 1939. They had it separately on an humble scale. As the expenses of the rite are not very small—about rupees seven—no other villager volunteered to take up this function. In order to get over the difficulty, it was decided by the villagers that the expenses should be met from the general fund created by subscriptions raised in the village. But in such a case no villager can claim the honour of having the rite performed in his house. So it was carried out in the temple (not the shed) as representing the village. The *pādukā* of Dharma was taken there; but afterwards a visit was paid to all the houses in the village as all had contributed to the expenses.

The *Muktaghar* was made as follows. Five kinds of coloured powders were first prepared of pounded *ātap* rice, mixed with (i) turmeric for yellow, (ii) vermillion for red, (iii) leaf juice for green, (iv) charcoal for black, and (v) the base as such for white. A lotus-like figure *a* was drawn with these powders, and a central heap *b* made to represent the tortoise shape of Dharma. First white, next yellow, then black red and finally the green powder is used to make these outlines. The figures *c*, *d*, *e* are drawn with vermillion (mixed with a little mustard oil), and the drawings *f f* are made with *ābir* powder (red powder used for holi festival). The wide rectangular figures *f f* were said to represent Ballukā and Cāpāi rivers. The conventionalized human figure *d* is Setāi Paṇḍit, whose name always comes first in the reference to Paṇḍits in the Śūnya Purāṇa. The figure *e*

[1] Śrī Dharma Purāṇa by Mayurbhaṭṭa.

is of the *cakra* of Dharma, while *c* represents the seat of worship of the nine *grahas* or planets (Fig. 3).

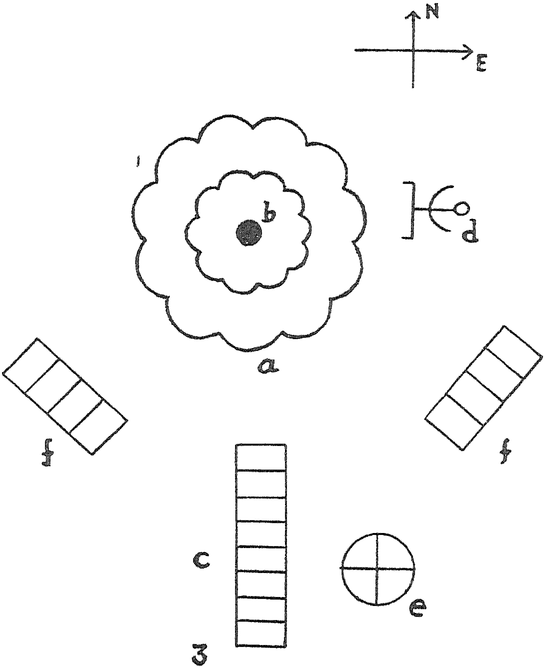

FIG. 3 *Muktaghar*, Birsinha.

The basket (*dhucuni*) was placed on the heap *b* inside the figure *a*. In front of it, on *e* was placed a copper plate (*thālā*) with a strip of *celi* (red cloth worn by bride at marriage). *Pancaratna* (five precious metals or gems) should be placed in the basket. Owing to lack of funds, this was not available. The deficiency was partly met by coins of copper and silver. Four reeds (such as grow in swamps or by rivers) are to be stuck, two on each of the diagram of the rivers. No reeds grow near this village. Their place was taken by four bamboo twigs cut to size and fixed on small mounds of clay. The top ends were cleft and in each was inserted a strip of palm leaf cut like feathers. The sticks are now known as 'śar kāthi' which may mean arrow shafts as well as reeds. Thread spun on the wheel (*carkā*) is tied to a reed and taken thrice round the whole group.

Five seers of *ātap* rice are now placed in the basket along with a coconut, plantain, *haritaki*, areca nut and two varieties of cardamom. A tinsel lotus garland is put on it, as also a bridal red cloth. The Dom priest utters incantations in Sanskrit and offers flower and water accompanied by ringing of the hand-bell.

The *Kāhinī* is now recited and *ārati* performed. Drummers drummed a special beat. The Bhaktas (seven men and four women) now held canes to form a ring, each holding the end of the cane of the next devotee. Inside this ring stood the chief devotee with the *dhucuni* on his head. Another devotee led the Loue goat. In this fashion the devotees went round the village. On their return, the basket was placed in the *maṇḍap*, in front of Dharma, but a little to the left. The copper plate with *celi* was also put down and on it were placed the canes by the Bhaktas as they returned after bathing to offer flowers to the deities. A plate of *ātap* rice with a green mango on top, lotus flowers, and *bael* leaves were offered to Sūrya, Dharma, Kālī Kāminyā, the Paṇḍits and other deities in accordance to the orthodox procedure, the incantations being in Sanskrit. While the *pāṭ* Bhakta was making his offerings, the others sat on small bundles of straw (about a cubit long and two inches diameter). At about this time a party of mummers came dressed up as Muhammadans, with beard and *loongi* (striped loin-cloth, not tucked in between the legs), carrying an imitation *tājiā* and shouting 'Hassen Hossain'. A spirited display of sword and stick play was also given.

Worship being over, the devotees performed *sevā*, i.e. lay down at full length, got up and lay down again after stepping forward to where the head had reached. In this way they went round the *maṇḍap*. Formerly some of the men used to roll round this circuit. This is not done nowadays. Having completed a circuit they got up and offered flowers to the stone genital known as Hara Gaurī. At this time the copper plate with canes by the Dharma *pādukā* rested on this structure, a little to its side. A fire was now lighted under the *hindol* posts in a hole of size one foot square and six inches deep. Mango wood (any flower wood will do I was told) was burnt, and the fire poked to make it blaze up. A *gāmchā* (body-cloth and towel) was held by the hand, as high as possible, to the west of the trapeze-like structure for *hindol* (Fig. 4). A loop was tied to the bar of the trapeze and all the devotees put up their canes to rest the end on it. The copper plate was placed to the east of the fireplace. The Dom priest now uttered a long list of names of the deities, the Paṇḍits

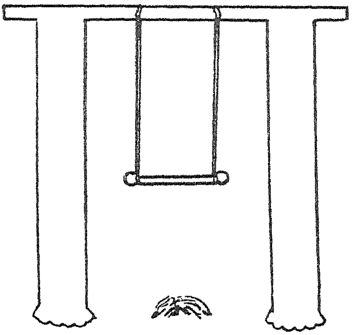

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FIG. 4. Swinging post for *Hindol*, with trapeze like arrangement.

and also holy places. At each pause after a name the Bhaktas (only men) cried 'We bow to Dharmarāj'. All the devotees now put their canes back on the copper plate. The *pāṭ* Bhakta now inserted his feet in the loop and swung head downwards, facing west. The minimum number of swings is three, but I did not find any devotee content with it. One man swung seventy-five times, remaining head downwards, for over fifteen minutes. The record, I was told, is held by a former devotee who had swung thus for a full hour measured by a watch. While the swinging was going on, 'Kavilarāi' or 'tarjā' commenced. In this display, two parties described various things and events, in verse, each trying to surpass the other. Satires and criticisms of village notables and of current events were also included.

After the fire-swing, the Bhaktas broke their fast by taking first of all a flower from the place of worship. It was followed by fruits and milk.

A reference has been made to the Loue goat in the previous description. It is a male kid, now full grown, which had been dedicated to Dharma and liberated at the end of the previous festival. An iron ring is fitted at that time to the left foreleg. This goat wanders about freely, grazing at will, unmolested by any one for the entire period of several years' interval until the next ceremony occurs. The Loue is caught and kept tied at the southern extremity of the *maṇḍap* from the first day usually. It is bathed and conveyed in a procession with drumming and dancing by the Bhaktas (Plate 4, Fig. 5). If, however, the Bhaktas are initiated late, the Loue may be brought at that time. A small kid, known as Kol Loue, is also kept tied by the side of Loue. The goats must be completely black, without any white hair. Both these goats are sacrificed to Dharma on the day after the full moon, and certain rites, described hereafter, are performed with the head. A woman devotee has to perform those rites and bear the expenses. They are carried out for the birth of a son. In view of the expenses and the poverty of the villagers, there was some difficulty in 1939 in getting a woman to act as 'mother' to the Loue as this devotee is termed. In the old days women would beg for this honour and many were disappointed. A son was said to be born if the rites were correctly performed (leaving an ample loophole in case of disappointment). The name given to the son was Luidhar, Lāusen or the like. The son of the king Hariścandra of the Dharmamaṅgalas was named Luicandra, while the son of Rañjāvatī was known as Lāusen. The names suggest that the Loue rite was performed in both cases. Śrī Jogeś Rāy (*S.P.P.*, Vol. 38) has suggested the derivation of the term from *Lauha*, meaning iron. According to him, the form Lāusen is a corruption of *Lauhasen*, and Luidhar of *Lauhadhar*. A boy who has lost an elder brother is sometimes made to wear an iron anklet after worshipping Dharma on a Saturday. According to Śrī Jogeś Rāy, the boy may be compared to the Loue goat. He

is also known as Loue and is given a name of that type. Whether the original derivation of the term Loue from Lauha is correct or not, the boy is named after the sacrificial animal. The people who join the rite say that the name is given as the son has been obtained by taking Loue on the lap.

The derivation of the name Lui or Loué from iron has been objected to by Śrī Basanta Chattopadhyay in his introduction to Anādimaṅgala.[1] It is stated by him that the ancient practice was to place a copper anklet on the foreleg of the goat, and that this is done even now in many places. No authority is, however, quoted or place-names noted by him. It is, however, pointed out by him that the term Lauha, which now means iron, originally described a metal of red colour, i.e. copper, in the ancient Sanskrit works, quoting numerous references. As the sacred metal of Dharma is copper without doubt, the earlier practice was probably to use a copper anklet. The symbol of initiation even now is the copper ring and armlet. I may note, however, that iron has now at any rate come to be recognized as the proper metal for use in dedicating the goat and marking the child. It appears to me that the sacrifice of Rohitāśva in the story of Hariścandra, the similarity of the mode of placing Dharma's mark on the goat and the child, and the names of the two suggest that the Loue was originally a human sacrifice. This point is discussed later.

In 1939, a woman agreed to act as mother of the Loue of Birsinha only on the evening before the full moon. As she came from a distant village, she was able to reach the place of worship very late. Her husband bathed and offered flowers to Dharma and was then invested with the sacred thread like other Bhaktas. At sunrise, the woman and her husband were formally fetched by the Paṇḍit priest and Bhaktas to the accompaniment of drumming and with a good deal of rejoicing. The woman was initiated after the midday worship, as described hereafter.

On the morning of the full-moon day, the Bhaktas formed a procession, without taking either the basket or the deities. The blacksmith who was to decapitate the Loue went with the procession with his Khāḍā or curved sword. Drummers accompanied them; so did the mummers who had dressed up as Muhammadans. A few also went dressed up as village women. The procession went first to the village Pārule, then to the village Māḍ and finally returned by way of Mahmudpur. At Māḍ they have a Dharma temple, and their *grahabaran* was celebrated in the previous year. They came in a procession to Birsinha on that occasion. This was the return visit. At Māḍ the visitors were offered refreshments. They halted there a little while and then

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[1] Anādimaṅgala bā Śrī Dharma Purāṇa by Kabi Rāmdās Ādak, edited by Śrī Basanta Kumar Chattopadhyay. Calcutta, 1345 B.S. (= 1939 A.D.). (S.P. publication.)

left for the next village. To illustrate the cycle of Dharma worship in this area I may note that another *grahabaran* of the deity known as Jātrā-siddhi-rāi was celebrated at Udayganj, only two miles away, in 1940.

A little after midday, a Śrotriya Rārhi Brāhmaṇ worshipped Dharma. The offerings were made to 'Kāminīsahita Bānkuḍā rāyākhya dharma niranjanāya', i.e. to Dharma along with his Kāminī or consort. The pūjā was being offered on behalf of a villager of position. On previous days such worship had been offered on behalf of the landlord (zamindar) and the village notables.

By the time the worship was over, the processionists had returned from their round of the villages. They now circumambulated the *maṇḍap* thrice, dancing and drumming. The Bhaktas now entered the shed and fell flat on their face, bowing to Dharma and Kālī. A little later flowers were placed on the head of Kālī and this deity was invoked to signify her assent to the tongue-piercing rite with the Hākaṇḍa spear. The flower fell after a time and was acclaimed with shouts of joy.

The woman, who had come to this village to act as Louc's mother, had kept on vegetarian diet with her husband on the preceding day. This day both had fasted. The Paṇḍit now put the copper ring on the middle finger of the right hand of the woman in the name of Dharma. The priests, I noted, had their rings on the index finger. At sunset, the Bhaktas and this woman set out for the so-called 'bath of purification', more correctly the 'bathing of the pearls'. The woman carried the *dhucuni* with rice in it on her head. The *deul* Bhakta was carrying the *ālam* bamboo. The other Bhaktas formed an enclosure with their canes and in this way went to the tank to bathe. The *ālam* bamboo was fixed in the mud, in water, and the woman now waded in with the basket on her head. The Paṇḍit stepped into the water and recited the portion of the narrative referring to this bath. Then he rang a bell with his left hand, and with a copper *kuśi* (spoon-like implement used in worship) poured water thrice into the basket, through the cover of red cloth on its top. The woman now sank down until she and the basket on her head were completely immersed. In wet clothes the party now came back in the same arrangement as before and went round the shed, the priest reciting the verse about Queen Madanā having had a son by Dharma worship. The basket was not restored to the side of Dharma but now placed in the temple on the spot where the *muktāghar* had been drawn the previous day. The devotees now bowed to Dharma and placed the Hākaṇḍa spears, three in number, on the platform before Dharma. The priest performed *ārati* and then he and his assistant recited the narrative regarding 'worship with flowers after plucking flowers'; the appearance of worshippers at different doors and finally of

different kings and sages who had worshipped Dharma. At the end of the recital, some cotton thread spun on *carkā* was dyed with turmeric and short lengths cut off to tie on wrists of devotees. Each bit had a bunch of *durbā* grass tied at its centre with a knot. This thread is known as 'birbal' and is tied to the right wrist of each devotee starting with the *pāṭ* Bhakta. As this was done each devotee shouted in his turn, 'We offer worship to the feet of Dharmarāj, oh Dharmarāj'.

The Bhaktas were now ready for cutting the *gāmār* branch. A brass plate containing *ātap* rice, the copper *kośā*, *kuśi* (boat-shaped pots used in offering water in worship), and a curved knife, the Kātāri, was taken up by the priest. The *deul* Bhakta went carrying the *ālam* bamboo. Arrived at the *gāmār* tree, the priest tied a 'birbal' thread to the tree and another to the branch to be cut. Next a human figure was drawn with vermillion at the base of the tree on its trunk. Resin and turmeric were rubbed on it and a watery solution of a particular kind of nut known as 'ābāṭa' poured on it. Flowers were now offered. Then the priest placed the Kāṭāri against it, touched the knife with vermillion and offered flowers. The Paṇḍit (priest) now recited the verses describing the cutting of *gāmār*, and then reciting the Sanskrit incantations touched the base of the tree thrice with the knife. Now the chief devotee touched the tree with his chest once on each side and cried 'Victory to Dharmarāj, victory to Kālī'; then he invoked Biśwakarmā, the divine artificer and taking up the Kāṭāri cut off the branch at one stroke. The branch was narrow and was steadied with the left hand while cutting it, so that it would not fall to the ground. It was transferred immediately to the head of the chief devotee and brought to the shed with drumming and dancing. The branch was placed behind the deities, after going round the shed. In the old days, a thick branch would be cut and made over to the blacksmith for cutting it into short lengths to stud with sharp iron nails. These were pressed against the chest by the devotees next morning when other such rites were performed. Nowadays it is not performed in this area. The narrative about it was, however, fully recited by the priest.

After placing the *gāmār* branch behind Dharma, the devotees bowed to the deity at full length and proceeded to the cremation ground to collect half-burnt logs left over from funeral pyres. These logs were heaped up at some distance from the fire-swing place. The devotees now bathed, offered worship and swung over fire. Strictly speaking, the logs collected should be fired and a dance over the embers performed by the Bhaktas as at a Caḍak festival. This part of the ceremony was omitted in this village.

Six iron spears known as '*bān*' were brought from the village Boalia, a mile and a half away, by the devotees of that place who generally perform the tongue-piercing there. These

were now placed against a pillar in front of the deities, and the head of each weapon was smeared with vermillion. Very late that night (early next morning according to the European way of counting the day), the final rites for the piercing ceremony were arranged. A human figure was drawn with *ātap* rice, measuring nine poās (poā = half pound), to represent Lāusen who had offered his nine limbs to Dharma. Nine areca nuts were placed on the figure, two on feet, two on hands, two on sides, two more on body and one on tongue (head). Near the upper extremity of the figure was a tripod of bamboo sticks, each six inches long, crossing at top. On it was placed a white round lump and a wick of cotton impregnated with clarified butter. It was said to represent the head of Lāusen. Nine betel leaves and nine copper coins were placed on one side. The figure lay head to the north. The earthen pot for the head of the goat to be decapitated was now made ready. It was a big earthen cooking vessel known as *hāḍi*. The outer surface was daubed with rice-flour solution. The Paṇdit drew with vermillion mystic syllables like *hrī* and also certain figures and diagrams. Thus he drew human figures to represent the Kaśyaps and the Paṇdits; the Kūrma was also drawn, as well as the lotus. A narrow rectangle with nine divisions was also drawn for the nine *grahas*. Similar figures were also drawn inside the pot.

The singer of Dharmāyaṇa now sang of Lāusen's offer of his own body in nine parts, to Dharma. As he mentioned the offering of a limb, the singer gave a demonstration by cutting off that limb of the rice figure of Lāusen with an iron knife. When the nine divisions had been made, the 'body' was covered with a red *gāmchā* and the lamp on the conventional head lighted. A rectangular pit was now dug east to west, to the south of the *maṇḍap*. It was about 6′ long, 3′ wide and a foot deep. Three compartments were made, one for each of the devotees who were going to perform the Hā-kaṇḍa piercing, to emulate Lāusen. Actually, it may be noted only one spear was used—to pierce the tongue—and not nine, all over the body. The Paṇḍit now sat by the pit facing east and uttered mantras and offered flowers. A lamp was placed in the pit, and after worship with rice offerings, and fruit, the priest and his assistant went round it thrice in counter clockwise fashion (west to north) ringing a bell, blowing a conch shell and sprinkling water. The three devotees who are the hereditary performers of the tongue piercing rite in this village, now appeared before Dharma. Each should be given a garland of Ākanda flowers (*Calotropis Gigantea*) but in its absence were given Kṛṣṇacur flowers (*Poinciana Regiaboi*). Then the blacksmith, also a herditary functionary, pulled out the tongue of the devotee in whose name the flower had been offered for performing this rite. After rubbing the tongue with a piece of clean cloth, he pierced it from below upwards, a little to the left of the centre, with a clean and

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polished barbed arrow head of iron, termed *Kālbooth* (Fig. 5). The arrow was pushed through. The Paṇḍit now handed to him his *bān* or spear which was a trident, with three small lamps fixed to the head [Figs. 6 and 6(*a*)]. He put a little clarified butter in these lamps, a plantain on the central point, and two garlands, one of flowers and one of pith, near the cross-bar. The devotee gently pushed the pointed butt of the trident through the pierced tongue, and holding the weapon vertically, started moving it up and down. Unless this is done, the blood will coagulate and the spear get stuck in the wound. Each of the three devotees performed this rite and then they went to the pit termed Hākaṇḍa pit, and sat on the plantain leaves facing Dharma. At the same time the hereditary performers of this rite from other villages who were not entitled to sit in the Hākaṇḍa pit here, had their tongue pierced, outside the *maṇḍap*, and pushed through the wound their spears previously mentioned as placed before Dharma. The diameter of the spears (simple metallic spears) were a little over one-fourth of an inch; the length varied from six to twelve feet.

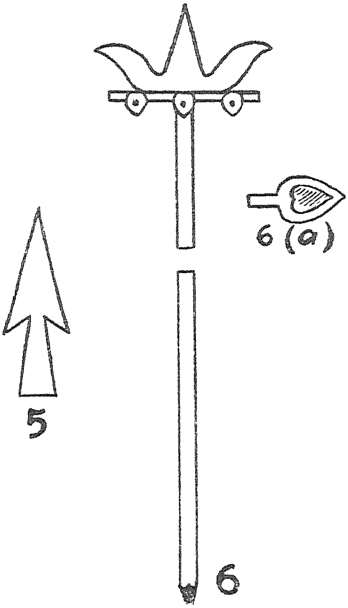

FIG. 5. Arrow-head, known as *Kalbooth*.
FIG. 6. Trident with lamps for passing through the tongue.
FIG. 6(*a*). Lamp with neck, for attachment to the trident.

The tongues were pierced at half past four at night according to the Indian way of counting hours of the night, about half an hour before it became light. As the sky became light and the first streaks of dawn appeared, the priest fired a bundle of straw to the west of the pit. The Bhaktas faced west when this was done. It symbolized 'sunrise in the west' which Lāusen caused to take place by his offerings to Dharma. The drummers now drummed vigorously to a special timing, and the bleeding devotees got up and started dancing. They went round the *maṇḍap* thrice and entered the shed, to take out the spear. The unofficial devotees took off the spears in front of the temple. The smith rubbed the wounded tongue with a little clarified butter. Next the priest gives them the *bael* leaves of worship to chew. This was quickly followed by betel leaves dressed in the usual way with lime, catechu and areca nut.

Although the wound had been rubbed raw for over an hour with the spears, the devotees spoke normally in a few minutes, and come out to dance for some time more.

Another ceremony was performed the previous evening, after the bathing of the basket of muktā rice. With a preliminary worship of the deities drawn, the Pandit made the 'ghar' or house of Dharma known as *melghar* and referred to in the summary of Śūnya Purāṇa. He used white powder of rice, red *ābir*, mica, black *mung kalāi* (*Phaseolus radiatus*, Linn.) powder and yellowish red powder of *khānṛi musur* (*Lens esculenta*, Monch). First he drew with the powder of rice, the feet of Dharma. Enclosing the feet of Dharma was the circle of the lotus or more probably the tortoise. Round it

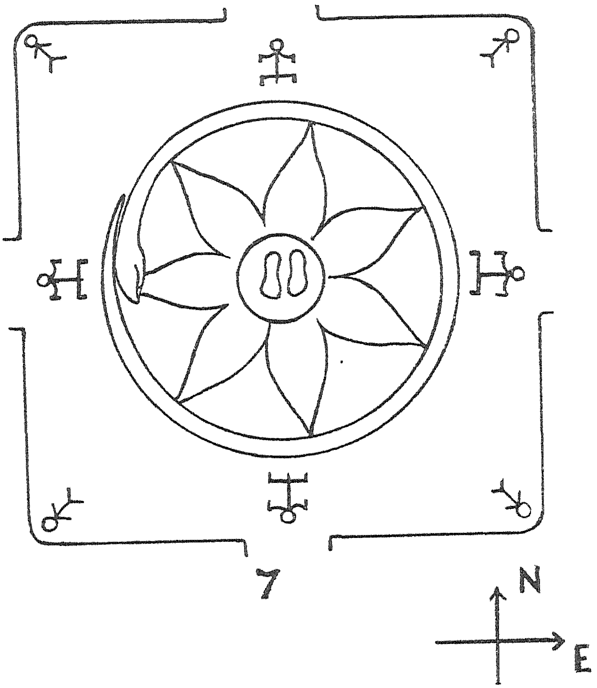

FIG. 7. *Melghar* of Dharma, Birsinha.

were seven petals of lotus, drawn in red. The circular figure round the lotus is of Nāga Bāsuki. The head is inside the tail, signifying a peaceful attitude. The outer enclosure represents the house, with four gates. The human figures at the gates are the four Paṇḍits Setāi, Nilāi, Kāsāi and Ramāi. The human figures at the corners are of women, the four devotees. After drawing the 'house', the Paṇḍit offered worship to Dharma

with sixteen requisites (*ṣoṛaśopacār*) as it is termed; and adored the other deities. It was next covered up with a cloth and the door kept closed. In the published account it is stated that this 'house' is shown after the decapitation of the goat. But in this village it was done before this sacrifice. According to the published account the Loue is decapitated on the full-moon day. Here it was stated very definitely that it is not sacrificed in any village in the neighbourhood on that day. The sacrifice takes place (as it did on this occasion) the day after full moón. It was even urged by a Brāhmaṇ of the *grahavipra* caste that this was really not a part of the 'twelve days' rite' or *bāramati* as it is called. But this view is untenable as the details will show. The published account agrees with what I saw, in that the 'house' of Dharma is viewed on full-moon day. First of all the representative of the family of the headman of the village has to be shown this 'house'. Afterwards others can view it.

Next day, i.e. after the piercing ceremony has been finished, the devotees arrange for the sacrifice of the dedicated goat. The Bhaktas with the woman and her husband take the Loue and Kol Loue to bathe in the tank. Five turmeric pieces, five cowry shells, five areca nuts, two and a half chattacks of *ātap* rice and the same quantity of *biri kalāi* were tied in a turmeric dyed cloth round the body of the Loue. It had an iron bell suspended round its neck and four iron bracelets, one on each leg. Its horns were smeared with vermillion and a body cloth was put on it with incantations. A flower was put on the head of Kālī for decapitation of the two goats, and another for approval of the name of the blacksmith who was to act as sacrificer. The Śrotriya priest was present. The huge curved sword—Khāṛā—was also worshipped and the goats touched with it thrice when the devotees had come back from the bath. The Paṇḍit now muttered mantras into the ear of the goats. The Loue was now freed of the bonds and the iron bell was taken off its neck. It was soothed by gently stroking its back. The hair near its neck was carefully parted and *bael* leaves placed before it. As the goat ate the leaves and in an interval stood straight, on all fours, the smith cut off its head with one stroke. A failure to sever the head at one blow is a bad omen and the blacksmith who bungles his job is sure to fare ill at the hands of the devotees and spectators. Next the Kol Loue was also thus decapitated.

The head of the Loue was now placed in the earthen-pot kept ready for it. It is known as jāghāṇḍi. The head should have in its mouth five fruits and the *pancaratna*. Actually it had there—a plantain, a cardamom (*Ellettaria Cardamomom*), the bigger cardamom (*Amomum Aromaticum*), areca nut, and a nutmeg; also a silver coin, a copper coin and a piece of gold. A chain of iron was also placed in the pot. On the lid was

placed an earthen lamp with mustard oil and cotton wick. This was lit when the head was put inside the pot. It represented the life of the Loue. The pot so prepared by the Paṇḍit was then made over to the 'mother' who sat with it on her lap. The iron bracelet on the foreleg of the Loue will be put on her son's wrist and the iron bell given to him as his plaything.

The head of the Kol Loue was placed before Kālī and a wick lighted with clarified butter, on an earthen lamp on its head. The Śrotriya Brāhmaṇ took some of the blood of the goat collected in an earthen pot and mixed it with a little wine and sweets. While this was done, a *gāmchā* was held up between him and the assembled people, to represent secrecy. The mixture was offered to Kālī and finally ārati performed. The Paṇḍits took no part in this rite. When however it was finished, the Śrotriya Brāhmaṇ and the Paṇḍits dipped a finger in the messy mixture and drew a line from glabella upwards on their forehead, and on that of honoured guests and notables present.

A little later, a *homa* was performed by the Śrotriya Brāhmaṇ on behalf of the 'mother of Loue' at her expense. After *pūrṇāhuti*, i.e. the final full offerings, a plantain was made over to the woman as the 'fruit of her worship'. The woman should have been conducted immediately to the *melghar*. But there was some delay, the reason for which was not apparent. She was eventually conducted in the evening to the temple room where there was the *melghar*, the Paṇḍit reciting in sing-song fashion the narrative about the resuscitation of Lui. The woman sat inside the room, to the west of the designs, facing east, the light burning all the time on the pot with the head inside. The husband and the Paṇḍits remained outside the door. As the night ended and day began to dawn, the woman asked, 'Bābā Loue, have you awakened?' The form of address was that used towards a son in endearment. The head responds, it is said, by waving its ears so that they strike the head, and the sides of the pot with a tapping sound.

Later in the morning occurs the turmeric rubbing ceremony. The *Nāpit* first of all shaves the Brāhman priest and then the Paṇḍits and finally the men devotees. Only the moustaches and beards are shaved. For women, the nails are pared. Some turmeric paste is prepared by the devotees and mixed with a little mustard oil. They put a little of it at the feet of high caste Brāhmaṇs, symbolizing turmeric rubbing on the body, and next proceed to do the same for other village notables. After this is done, they rub each other and villagers in general thoroughly with turmeric and oil.

A *māgur* fish (*Clarias Batrachus*, Linn.) is now released in the *melghar* and destroys the design by its wriggling. It is then caught and carried by a devotee. The woman now puts the Loue pot on her head, the lighted lamp protected by the inverted *dhucuni* which had been emptied of its contents in drawing the

designs Plate 3, fig. 3. The priests carry the four arrows shafts, flowers, etc., from the place of worship. The *Deul* Bhakta carried the *ālam* bamboo, while the other devotees form a ring. The party thus proceeds to the tank by the side of which cremations take place in this village. The priests now chant the story of Madanā wife of Hariścandra who worshipped the deity Dharma for a son. Arrived at the western bank of the tank, the pot is put on the ground, in the soft earth at the water's edge and the Pandit recites a summary of the whole Dharmamañgala.—'At first Setāi Paṇḍit in Satya Yuga worshipped Dharma; next came Nilāi in Tretā Yuga. The Pāṇḍava King Yudhiṣṭhir worshipped Dharma in Dwāparā Yuga; so did Kānsāi Paṇḍit. In the present Kali age it was taken up by Ramāi. Hariścandra sacrificed his son to Dharma; and Rañjāvati was born through the curse of the deity. She married Karṇasen and being childless fell on the *śāl* or spear studded plank. The son thus obtained, Lāusen, spread the worship of Dharma, himself performing the "sunrise in the west sacrifice".' All this time the woman and her husband had been seated facing east; they now began to turn the pot round and round. The lid was taken off, and the fruits, and precious metals taken out of the goat's mouth, leaving only the iron chain inside. The pot was now packed with clay apparently to make it heavy enough to sink. Care was taken to leave the ear, mouth, eye, and head uncovered. Now the lamp was put on the head, facing east, and the lid closed quickly while the light was still burning. The lid was now fixed by a pair of bamboo sticks crossing at the centre of the lid, and tied to the neck of the pot. The devotees had by this time entered the water and fixed the *ālam* bamboo in the mud. The *māgur* fish was now released, still alive, in the water. The woman now waded into the water and with the pot on her head, dipped down and let it go (Plate 4, fig. 4). After letting go the pot, the woman groped in the mud with her hand, under water. Whatever she finds is considered to have come miraculously. She swallows it secretly, with water from the green coconut from the *ghat* or sacred earthen pot. She has also to eat the fruit (plantain) that was given to her by the Brāhmaṇ priest as mentioned before. Both these rites are claimed to give her the son, i.e. cause her to conceive.

On return, the he-goat intended for the next ceremony is bathed, and in the name of Dharma, reciting the narrative of Hariścandra, an iron ring is put on its right foreleg, after smearing vermillion on its horns. It will graze at will, unmolested, for the next few years. The tale of origin of goats is also recited at the time of initiation of the goat as well as at the time of sacrifice. The Bhaktas offer flower to the deity in the *maṇḍap*, for the last time; then they and the Paṇḍits take off the 'sacred thread' saying that they go back to their own caste gotra, leaving the Dharma gotra.

The carcasses of the goats which had been lying so long in the *maṇḍap* were now dressed for cooking. The head of the Kol Loue had however been disposed of previously, by sending it to the house of the Deul Bhakta. The flesh of the two goats was cooked with rice in the compound of the place of worship by the Dharma Paṇḍits, who alone and male agnates can eat it. In the published account it is stated that the devotees share it. But this was contradicted by priests, devotees, and villagers in the area where I observed the festival.

The correct procedure is to serve the cooked food in bamboo basketry vessels—such as *ṭhekā* or *dālā*, *peṭe*, and *pāli*, woven by Doms. This is done even now in the village Māṛ and elsewhere. In Birsinha, the old priest died some years ago, and the young man who is officially in charge admitted that he served the food, on copper or brass plates. Stoneware was also used. The rice has to be taken out by a small newly made iron hoe nine times, and put on these baskets for offering to Dharma. (It is possible that the well-known nursery rhyme in Bengali mentioning the use of the hoe in taking rice out of the cooking pot, refers to this practice.) The rest of the food is served with the hand. The dedicated and other food is all eaten by Paṇḍits. Anything left over is buried in the ground. The cooking pots for the deity and the devotees during the entire period of twelve days are disposed of in water. The sacred earthen pot is also similarly disposed on the last day.

The deities are now taken back to their temple and the usual daily worship performed.

Two other rites connected with the worship of Dharma deserve notice. A car festival similar to that of the great god Jagannath is elebrated in many temples. The date varies. At Udaiganj it falls on Rāmnavami. On the last day of Bhādra (Aug.-Sept.) a rite known as *muktasnān* is performed. Those who have made a vow simply observe *habiṣya* the previous day and bathe next morning, while fasting, with *ātap* rice and five fruits in a *dhucuni* on their head. The day is known as *Dharma-saṃkrānti*.

Discussion

Mention has been made of the tradition of creation by Dharma, in the different works on worship or glorification of Dharma, in the first part of this note. Such stories of creation are, however, to be found in connection with certain other festivals, notably the Caḍak festival and the Gāmbhirā festival, which is a variant of the Caḍak, in Northern Bengal. The deity worshipped in this festival is Śiva, known also as Maheś and Mahādeva. In the accounts of creation however, which are recited at the time of adoration of the deity at Gāmbhirā, there

is mention of Dharma as the creator.[1] In some accounts, the same description of creation is noted, without the specific mention of the word Dharma. Instead the creator is called the formless Lord who created Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheśvar. In one respect there is a difference in these traditions, which were collected in villages from actual priests and Bhaktas. The clay is said to be brought up by the crab, and Earth created on the back of the tortoise born of Dharma's touch on the waters. The Caḍak ceremony of Western Bengal has many features absent from that of Central Bengal.[2] The ritual of Dharma worship in Western Bengal is closely followed in it, although Śiva is the deity worshipped.[3] As noted in the earlier part of this essay, there is a tendency in Midnapur to equate Dharma to Śiva by making him husband of a Śakti. Mahāmahopādhyāy Haraprasād Śāstrī[4] has noted an excellent example of this transition. Referring to a well-known Dharma temple, he states: 'The offerings are made over to the priest of the temple, a Dom or Mayrā or Teli and he presents it (them) to the deity. But proud Brāhmaṇas when they offer any votive offering, disdain to have it presented by a low fellow and so they bring their own priests.....' In some temples in the vicinity of large Brāhmaṇa population, there are two priests, one low born and the other Brāhmaṇa, for presenting votive offerings. In one case the Brāhmaṇa has completely supplanted his low-born rival, and he now worships the deity with Śaiva mantras, and looks upon him as Śiva. But in daily worship, he divides the naivedya or rice offering placed on a brass plate in the form of a cone, into two semicones making a trench with his finger, and offers the joint naivedya, to the joint deity, saying 'Sivāya Dharmarājāya namaḥ'. In North Bengal, the two names occur together in the same festival, and in some cases become equivalent although not actually merged. In Central Bengal, both Dharma worship and Caḍak festival have lost many features still found in the ritual followed in Western Bengal. But the two worships resemble each other closely also in this area, Central Bengal. Evidently both these festivals are essentially the same and consist of a cult of a mother goddess and her consort a male god who is the central figure of the worship. The formlessness of the original creator is stressed in the recitals but is lost sight of in the ritual. The image becomes important and is adored. Again, although the snake Bāsuki is said to bear the earth on

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[1] Ādyer Gambhirā, by Śrī Haridās Pālit, *Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrikā*, Vol. 16, p. 61 *et seq.* Ādyer Gambhirā, by Śrī Haridās Pālit, B.S. 1319 (1913), Chapter VI.

[2] A short account of the Charak Puja ceremonial, by Ram Comul Sen: *Journal A.S.B.*, 1833.

[3] Unpublished materials collected by the writer.

[4] *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1894: Discovery of the remnants of Buddhism in Bengal, by Haraprasād Śāstrī.

its head, yet, the other tradition of the tortoise doing so fits in better with the image of Dharma being generally tortoise-shaped. The addition of the Bāsuki tradition may have come later or it may represent the merging of some other similar cult in Dharma worship.

Confirmation of the above conclusions is afforded by the worship of Dharmarāj in South India. According to some old Government records,[1] the Śūdra and lower caste Hindus had a fire walking ceremony in connection with the worship of Dharmarāja (spelt variously as Dhurmarajah, Durmaroy) for whom there are numerous temples. The record mentions 16 in Madras proper and 489 in other places, in the Madras Presidency. The fire walk is said to have been performed at the annual celebrations held in July in the case of Madras proper. It is noted further that the ceremony lasted from ten to eighteen days and the fire walk occurred on the last day. Mention is also made of piercing of tongues and limbs with narrow metal arrows of iron, and of lighting of cotton wicks on these. Arcot appears from the report to have been a great centre of Dharmarāja worship.

The nature of this Dharmarāja is made clear from the accounts in the District Gazetteers of this area. In South Arcot [2] it is stated 'The village deities are legion....their abodes are sometimes little brick structures, but in very many cases are only signalized by a stone or a brick with an iron trident set up before it...... Draupadi is the special favourite of the Pallis.... Draupadi, as is well-known, was the joint wife of the five Pāndava brothers of the Mahābhārata. The eldest of these, and consequently the one who had the chief right to her was named Dharma. His image frequently appears in Draupadi temples which are consequently known as Dharmarāja Kovils. They are very numerous and the priest at them is very generally a Palli by caste..... Outside the buildings is often a figure of Pothuraja'. 'Festivals to Draupadi always involve two points of ritual the recital (or acting) of a part of the Mahābhārata (which sometimes lasts for as many as ten consecutive days), and a fire walking ceremony.' The fire walking is stated to have 'latterly been introduced at the festivals to some of the other goddesses, but in such cases, the firepit must be lit with a brand brought from a Draupadi temple'. In Salem these temples are stated to be 'known as of Draupadiamman, but are also named after Dharmarāja.[3] The annual festival is said to be held in the springtime and lasts about 18 days. 'The sacrifice of Aravan, son of Arjuna by a Naga princess is

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[1] Selections from the Records of the Madras Government, No. VII, Madras, 1854.

[2] Gazetteer of the South Arcot District, Madras, 1906.

[3] Gazetteer of the Salem District, Madras, 1918.

commemorated by the slaughter of a goat, the entrails of which are afterwards entwined on a pole, surmounted with a hideous red mask which represents the head of the heroic youth'...... 'with the Pandava cult, a fire walking ceremony is usually associated'. Aravan, it may be noted fought in the battle of Kurukṣetra, and died to save the army of his father and uncle from a Rākṣasa (ogre).

Bishop Whitehead notes that Poturazu figures sometimes as the brother, sometimes as the husband, and sometimes as merely an attendant of the village goddess. 'In the Telugu country, Potu Razu, the brother or husband of the village goddess is sometimes represented by a stone and sometimes by a thin wooden stake like an attenuated post, about four or five feet high, and roughly carved at the top. It faintly resembles a spear and is called a Sulam, which in Telugu means a spear.'[1] The photo published by him shows the spear to resemble closely the spearlike image of Baneśwar, described earlier, as found in the Dharma temple at Labhpur.

It is evident that the cult of Dharma as performed in South India has many points of resemblance with that found in Western Bengal; but there are certain important differences. In South India, the Dharmarāja is definitely, Yudhiṣṭhir, who is referred to by this name (Dharmarāja) in the Mahābhārata. According to the epic[2] Dharma is the father of Yudhiṣṭhir. He (Dharma) himself is born of Brahma, from the breast of that god, and appears in human form. He is distinct from the Yama the god of death. The two gods are mentioned separately in the epic, in the same part, Banaparva, showing their distinctness in general. In the verse on the origin of Dharma, the god is mentioned, as bringing happiness to the Universe.

The mention of the name of Yudhiṣṭhir in the recital of Dharmamaṅgala by the priests in Western Bengal, fits in very well with these traditions.

Dharma himself was never a human being. His origin and attributes as described in the Mahābhārata have already been noted. In the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa[3] the tale of Hariścandra is noted with certain differences. But it is Dharma, a great god, who brings back Hariścandra's son Rohitāsya, to life. Indra and other gods are stated to come with Dharma in their forefront and they refer to Dharma as Brahman visible to the eyes.

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[1] The village deities of South India, Madras Government Museum Bulletin, Vol. 5, No. 3, Madras, 1903

The village gods of South India by the Rt. Rev. H. Whitehead, Bishop of Madras, 2nd edn., Oxford University Press, 1921.

[2] Mahābhārata, Ādiparva. Any good edition may be consulted. References to Dharma are found in the sub-section of the birth of Vidura and of Yudhisthira, in this parva.

[3] Mārkandeya Purāna, Cantos VII-VIII. References to Dharma are found also in Bhāgavata Purāna and Matsya Purāṇa.

MM. Haraprasād Śāstrī[1] has sought to make out that the cult in Western and Central Bengal is a remnant of Buddhism. Others have sought to equate Hariścandra to some mediaeval local king. Śrī Basanta Chattopadhyay has discussed some of these points in his introductions to Mayurabhaṭṭa's work[2] and the Anādimaṅgala.[3] He has rightly pointed out that the tale of Hariścandra is of great antiquity and that the name of Dharma occurs in very early Sanskrit literature (see later). Some of the points raised by Śāstrī have not however been met by him.

Śāstrī points out that[4] there is a certain resemblance between the story of Lāusen in Dharmamaṅgala and that of Buddha in Lalitavistara. The resemblance is not however very great and the similarity may be due to borrowing of details from one mythological tale by another, without the necessity of equating the Buddha with Dharma. If any equation is justifiable then Lāusen has to be equated to the hero of Lalitavistara, which leaves the question at issue unsolved. But a detailed examination does not justify any such identification. For example, Lāusen's mother sacrifices herself in order to get a son, and is again, brought back to life. Buddha's mother dies within a few days after the birth of her son. The two circumstances are quite different. A more important piece of evidence is that quoted by Śāstrī from Lama Tārānāth. The cult of Dhamma, i.e. Dharma is said to have been spread by a king of Tripurā, who went in for Tantrik practices and had a Dom mistress. It is further explained in this extract that 'by the worship of the Dharma is meant that of the Buddhist deities such as Vajra-Yogini' or Vajravarāhi, Vajrabhairava and others. But these worships are accretions to Buddhism proper from more primitive cults and the hypothesis leaves unexplained how 'the Dharma' (Righteousness?) became a deity Dharma and why the tale of Hariścandra, or of Yudhiṣṭhir came to be linked up with this cult as an integral part. Also, the existence of a great god Dharma prior to the time of the mediaeval king of Tripura is ignored.

Śāstrī has argued that the shape of the deity Dharma is like that of a Buddhist Stupa and that this structure has two eyes, like Dharma, on the portion which may be termed the

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[1] *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1894: Discovery of the remnants of Buddhism in Bengal, by Haraprasād Śāstrī.

[2] Śrī Dharma Purāṇa by Mayurbhatta, edited by Śrī Basanta Kumar Chattopadhyay, Calcutta, 1337 B.S. (=1931 A.D.). (S.P. publication.)

[3] Anādimaṅgala bā Śrī Dharma Purāṇa by Kabi Rāmdās Ādak, edited by Śrī Basanta Kumar Chattopadhyay, Calcutta, 1345 B.S (=1939 A.D.). (S.P. publication.)

[4] Śrī Dharmamaṅgala, by Pandit Haraprasād Śāstrī, *J.A.S.B.*, 1895.

neck, just below the stone umbrella. It is stated 'now in the Buddhist Triad, Dhamma used to be represented by a stupa', with two eyes on the neck. It is however equally possible to argue that there was an old cult of worship of a tortoise-shaped deity which was absorbed by later Buddhism.[1] Apart from these objections it is to be noted, that the Dharma cult in South India is obviously not derived from Buddhism.

As regards Hariścandra, the tale occurs first in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa.[2] The king, who had a hundred wives, was however without a son. He was advised by Nārada to pray to Varuṇa. Hariścandra followed this advice and obtained a son by promising to sacrifice to Varuṇa this son when born. The boy was named Rohita and grew up without being sacrificed to Varuna, until he could put on full armour. King Hariścandra had put off Varuna on various pretexts so long but had to yield now. Rohita however, unlike the prince of that name in Dharmamaṅgala, refused to offer himself up to Varuṇa, and fled from home. King Hariścandra was seized by Varuṇa who inflicted dropsy on him. After several years' of wandering Rohita bought a Ṛsi's son, of name Śunahsepa as substitute for himself and this was accepted by Varuṇa. Śunahsepa however propitiated Varuṇa and other deities by his prayers and there was no human sacrifice. The still earlier Ṛgveda records a hymn of Śunahsepa to Varuṇa to release him from bonds.[3]

Obviously the tales of Hariścandra in the Dharmamaṅgala, in the Purāṇas and in the Brāhmaṇas are closely related. Varuṇa in ancient times seems to have been propitiated by the offering of a son, obtained by making such a vow, like Dharma in later times. Some European scholars have expressed the view that the vow to sacrifice the son obtained by propitiating a god, defeats the purpose of the prayer. Hence there could not have been in existence such a cult of Varuna. They have failed to realize the implication that the first born son obtained by propitiation of the deity is to be sacrificed and other children will thereafter come through favour of the god. This was the motive of the now obsolete custom of giving up a son to the deity of 'Sāgara' (and therefore Varuṇa's equivalent; literally, 'the sea'). We may therefore say that the ancient records reveal a cult of Varuṇa with a human sacrifice as in the case of Dharma in much later times. It is not apparent when Varuṇa was

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[1] Support is given to this view by a passage of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, VIII, 4, 35. Prajāpati is stated to have created offspring after assuming the shape of a tortoise (Kūrma). All living creatures are hence termed children of Kaśyapa (Tortoise).

[2] The Aitareya Brahmana of the Rig Veda, by Martin Haug, Bombay, 1863, VII, 3.

[3] Rigveda Brahmanas, by A. B. Keith, Harvard University Press, 1920, pp. 61, for the earlier references to Śunah-sepa and a critical discussion.

replaced by Dharma; but it is a fact that this last named deity has taken Varuna's place in the tale of Hariścandra as it has come down to us. Varuṇa, in the Vedas, is a great god, and 'much oftener than Indra he is called universal monarch. . . . But more important than his physical attributes, are his moral qualities, his control of the order of the world in its ethical aspect, no less than in its physical, his connexion with the worshipper as the saviour in time of peril and distress, the freer from sin, the merciful god as well as the punisher of the sinner to whom he sends the disease dropsy—Varuṇa is the lord of the holy order Ṛta'.[1] We find further that 'As a moral governor Varuṇa stands far above any other deity. . . . Varuṇa. . . . is the supreme upholder of law in the moral as well as physical world'.[2] This is also the function of the great god Dharma as portrayed in the Mahābhārata and in the tale of Hariścandra in the Mārkandeya Purāna. The cult of Varuṇa as a great god did not find favour in the later Vedic times, and the deity eventually lost in importance and survived only as the lord of waters. The god Dharma seems to have taken over the functions of Varuṇa in the matter of maintenance of law and order in the moral world. The equipage of Varuṇa seems also to have been taken over by Dharma. This god like Varuṇa uses the 'pāśa' or noose.[3] We have seen, that Dharma has his chariot and powerful and fast steeds. We note that 'the only part of Varuṇa's equipment which is at all prominent is his car. It is. . . . drawn by well yoked steeds'. Varuṇa guards also the steed of Aśvamedha.

Another point of resemblance lies in the association of the sun with Varuṇa. 'The eye with which Varuṇa is said— to observe mankind is undoubtedly the sun.'[4] Dharma it is to be noted, is associated with the sun among the primitive tribal folk of Chota Nagpur. The great god Dharma is believed by them to manifest himself in the sun.[5]

The cult of human sacrifice did not find favour with the Brāhmaṇs. We read in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa that the priests refused to sacrifice the human victim to Varuṇa. We may therefore conclude that Brāhmanic influence, while tolerating

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[1] The Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads, by A. B. Keith, Harvard University Press, 1925 (Vol. 31).

[2] Vedic Mythology, by A. A. Macdonell, Grundriss der Indo Arischen Philogie und altertums Kunde, Strassburg, 1889.

Regarding the affliction of dropsy by Varuṇa there are numerous references in the Ṛg Veda and Atharva Veda.

[3] Rāmāyaṇa (Gorresio's edition, Vol. I), Ādikāṇḍa, XXX.

[4] Vedic Mythology, by A. A. Macdonell, Grundriss der Indo Arischen Philogie und altertums Kunde, Strassburg, 1889.

Regarding the affliction of dropsy by Varuṇa there are numerous references in the Ṛg Veda and Atharva Veda.

[5] Oraon religion and Customs, by Sarat Chandra Roy, Ranchi, 1928.
Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal, by E. Dalton, Calcutta, 1872.

the cult, eliminated the human victim. The ancient literature does not state whether any animal took the place of the human victim. But (*a*) the similarity in the name of the sacrificial goat, and the child born through such sacrifice, (*b*) the form of address of the sacrificed animal as 'Baba' (son, in endearment), (*c*) the reference to the woman devotee as 'mother' of Loue, and (*d*) the placing of the iron ring of the sacrificed goat on the child born of such offering, leave very little doubt that the goat has taken the place of the son born of sacrifice before Dharma.

It may be pointed out that the substitution of one human victim by another as noted in the ancient tradition, and also of human victims by animals are known to have occurred in modern times in connection with allied worship and ceremonial. In Madras, the hook swinging festival corresponding to Caḍak in Bengal, used originally to be celebrated by devotees of the lower Hindu castes. A high caste man would however sometimes make a vow. It is reported that he could send a substitute whom he had paid for such service.[1] Again, after the use of hooks was prohibited by the Government 'live goats were substituted' and these were swung round instead of the man.[2] The cruelty of this practice has however been recognized, and it is now usual in this Presidency to use a wooden dummy. Again, the Khonds had formerly a human sacrifice, to promote fertility of the soil. The human being selected, known as *meriah* was treated with great kindness and maintained for a number of years, before the actual sacrifice. After human sacrifice was prohibited, the place of the *meriah* has been taken by domestic animals.[3] A sheep, goat or buffalo is now sacrificed. After it has been selected the animal is let loose to graze on the crops at will, like the *Loue* goat of Dharma. The Khonds, it may be noted call the creator alternatively as Dharma Pennu. Some of the Santals clans, such as the Godā Mārandi, have a festival called *buru beret*, celebrated at the full moon in Agrahayan (Nov.-Dec.) in which a cock is torn to pieces by the villagers, who try to obtain a part of it, as in the case of the *meriah* sacrifice among Khonds mentioned earlier. If in the scramble, human blood flows from injuries received, the *bongas* (ghostly deities) are said to be pleased. It is admitted that there is a tradition of a human sacrifice in olden times in place of the cock killed at present. Possession of a piece of the victim, especially of the head is believed to

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1 Selection from the Records of the Madras Government, No. VII. Madras, 1854.

2 Gazetteer of the Cuddapah district, Vol. I, Madras, 1915.

3 A personal narrative of thirteen years' service amongst the wild tribes of Khondistan, by Major-Gen. John Campbell, London, 1864.
Memorials of service in India, by S. C. McPherson, London, 1865.

bring good luck to the person.[1] In the worship of Dharma, in Birsinha I have noted an example of a substitute doing duty for a special devotee. In the description of the South Indian festival of Dharma or Draupadi, mention has been made of a goat being sacrificed and its entrails hung up to represent a human being.

There are therefore very strong grounds for concluding that an ancient cult with a human victim has come down to us, as the central feature of the Dharma pūjā, the sacrificial *Loue* goat having taken the place of the human being, very early in the history of its incorporation into the culture of the advanced people of Western Bengal.

It is not suggested that the cult has not been affected by Buddhism, Śaivism, and other religious influences. The results of such influence are obvious in the worship and ritual. Nevertheless, the core of the cult—the sacrifice which is made, and the fulfilment of the wished for end,—are not derived directly from the well-known historical religion or sects mentioned. It is however possible that some traits of the primitive cult which has survived as the Loue sacrifice before Dharma, had been incorporated also in popular Buddhism and Śaivism as part of those religions in their popular form. This would facilitate the borrowing of other traits from these religions by the followers of the primitive cult.

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[1] There is a brief mention of this rite in a footnote to the Gazetteer of the Santal Parganas and in Dr. Bodding's Santal Dictionary. The details have been taken from unpublished data collected by the writer among Santals. It may further be noted that the Santals also worship Dharma as a great god.

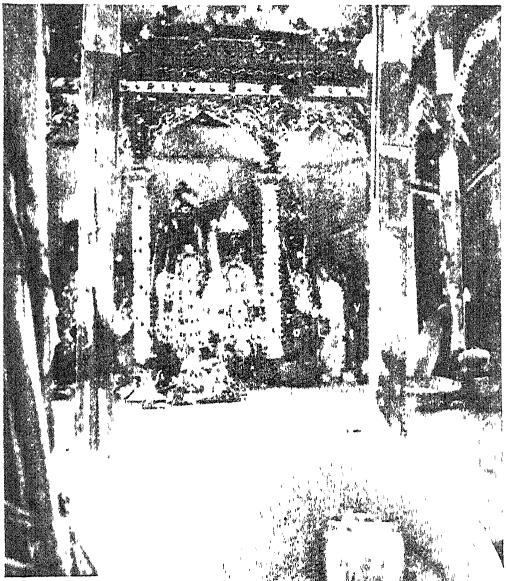

FIG 1. The deities, including Dharma, in the shed, at Birsinha, Midnapur

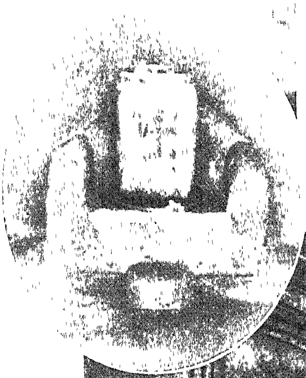

FIG. 2 (*centre*). The basket on the seat of Dharma, Kasba.

FIG. 3. The 'mother' of the Loue with the earthen pot and basket on her head, in front of the temple, Birsinha.

FIG. 4. The immersion of the pot with the head of the sacrificial goat. The woman is about to take her dip.

FIG. 5. The sacrificial goat led in procession by devotees, Birsinha.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS.

'MĀRWĀD KĀ ITIHĀS'. By PT. VISHWESHWAR NĀTH REU; Vol. I (early XIIIth century—1803 A.D.), pp. 1–400; Vol. II (1803–1938 A.D.), pp. 401–772. Published by the Archæological Department, Jodhpur. Price of each Volume, Rs.5 for cloth bound copy, and Rs.4-8-0 for paper cover.

It is the State History of the Jodhpur State, written by Pt. Vishweshwar Nāth Reu, the State Historian, and is published under authority of the Jodhpur Government. These two volumes can well be described as the continuation of the 'History of the Rāshtrakutās (Rathores)' by the same author, which gives the history of this dynasty prior to its coming down to Marwad. In these two volumes Pt. Reu carries the history of dynasty during its rule in Marwad and hence as such it is called the history of Marwad.

The first volume gives in the beginning a very brief account of the history of Marwad prior to its occupation by the Rathores. A few introductory sections cursorily deal with the greatness and glories of the Rathore rulers, their munificent charities and grants, and finally with their patronage to learning and other finer arts. The regular history of the Rathore dynasty of the Jodhpur State begins on p. 31 with the reign of Rao Sihāji, who founded the State in the first quarter of the XIIIth century A.D. In the first volume the history of the dynasty is carried down to the end of the reign of Maharaja Bhim Sinh, who died in 1803 A.D. The history is continued in the second volume and is carried to the end of the reign of Maharaja Sumer Sinhji who ruled till 1918. In each reign the author has tried to give the chief events in strict chronological order and at the end wherever it was possible a sketch of the ruler's character, a statement of important places built or repaired during his regime and finally a list of his direct descendants have been given. Discussions about variations in dates, or regarding the authenticity or otherwise of any fact have been given in foot-notes only.

The main work ends on p. 532, and there follow a number of Appendices to the main work. The events of the reign of the present ruler, Maharaja Ummaid Sinhji, up to the year 1938, and an account of his two big game hunting expeditions in East Africa have been given as Appendix 1 and 2. In the following appendices the author has given an account of the part played by the famous Sardar Risala of Jodhpur in the last Great War of 1914–1918, a statement of the villages granted in charity, a short description of the present administrative system along with the details of the various important departments

of the State, and an explanatory list of the various dues the jagirdars have to pay to the State. Another appendix gives a short note on the coins of Marwad and their inscriptions. A short life of Rao Amar, whose name has been immortalized in the *Amar Singh Darwāzā* of the Agra fort, has been attempted. A list of names of important persons killed on the side of Marwad in the various battles has been given. The geneological tables of other Rathore Ruling houses directly descended from the House of Jodhpur are given in the last Appendix. At the end there has been given a very exhaustive and useful index.

The historical writings of the author and his style are too well known among the scholars to need any special introduction here. The fact that it is a State history and is published by authority has to some extent restricted his pen and hence the author may have committed some sins of omission, yet it must be admitted that the author has made an effort at impartiality in presenting the annals of a great dynasty, which was not without many of its inherent short-comings. He has also tried to throw some new light on the relations of Marwad with Mewad. He has also done his best to refute many charges and unfavourable statements made by Dr. G. H. Ojha and other scholars about the various rulers of Marwad, and has quoted eminent historical authorities in support of his own case. He has thus made it possible for the scholars to come to a correct judgment in respect to these matters in the light of the authorities quoted by him and other previous writers.

The author has tried to utilize all the possible published sources and unpublished *khyāts*. He has also made use of the various inscriptions, copper-plates, coins, etc. which directly or indirectly throw some light on the history of the period. It is, however, regrettable to note that the unpublished Persian authorities have not been usually utilized save through the printed works of other scholars. A thorough study of the Akhbarats, letters and other documents of the reign of Aurangzib and his successors would make it possible for us to reconstruct the history of those momentous years in the history of Marwad. Then again the author has completely ignored the original Marathi sources for the history of Marwad during the XVIIIth century. A thorough study of these combined with that of the Persian Akhbars, which begin once again from the year 1779, will make it possible for us to present a fuller picture of that century of internal disorder and anarchy which preceded the final establishment of the British supremacy in India. The value of the work is, however, greatly increased by the exhaustive foot-notes packed with facts and details giving much additional information which may not have been directly useful to the main theme of the work. He has also rendered a great service by referring in these foot-notes to the many anecdotes and

events narrated in the *khyāts* which are still uncorroborated by other sources, and has thus provided much raw material of history for future historians, which may have been ordinarily ignored by them altogether.

Though one misses in these volumes the inspiring forceful style of Tod, and the matter-of-fact outlook of Ojha, we have before us a readable work brim-full of facts, packed with all possible details, and putting forth a point of view which cannot be easily denied. Dr. S. K. Aiyengar very correctly says 'the work is scholarly and carefully compiled and will prove a valuable hand-book to scholars'. The author should be congratulated for having completed the task set to his predecessors in the office half a century ago; and the thanks of the world of historians are due to him for having attempted, and that too with much success, the difficult task of narrating the chronicles of Marwad.

The printing and the get-up of the book is excellent, and hence the long lists of errata are very much to be deplored. In these two volumes there are many exquisitive photographs of various historical places and buildings in Marwad, and tri-coloured pictures of the various rulers of Marwad from paintings specially prepared by the State-painter for the purpose. It is not unlikely that these paintings were prepared on the basis of much older and in some cases contemporary paintings, but the historians would have very much preferred the publication of those older paintings themselves.

Finally, the Marwad Government deserves to be congratulated for having published what may easily be called one of the best State histories so far published, and more so for getting it published in Hindi as it definitely enriches the Hindi literature. It would be no exaggeration to say that *Mārwād-kā-Itihās* would be a valuable addition to any library, and no collection of books specializing in Indian history would be complete without a copy of the same.

RAGHUBIR SINH.

HUMĀYŪN BĀDSHĀH, VOL. II. By S. K. BANERJI. 9×6, xvi, 444 pages. Maxwell Co., Lucknow, 1941. Rs.8.

The first volume of this history of Humāyūn, the second Mughal Emperor of India, was published in 1938 (Oxford University Press, Calcutta), and dealt with the first part of his reign culminating in his defeats at the hands of Shēr Shāh Sūr in the battles of Chausa and Qanauj, and finally his flight to the Panjāb in 1540 A.D. The narrative beginning with his flight to Lāhōre is continued in the second volume now issued. The first six chapters are devoted to detailed accounts of Humāyūn's wanderings in the Panjāb, Sind and Rājpūtāna, and his unsuccessful attempts towards rallying his supporters for recovering the kingdom. In chapter IV is given an account of his marriage with Ḥamīda Bānū, the mother of Emperor Akbar, and in chapter VII the birth of this august Prince is discussed. Chapters VIII–XIII deal with Humāyūn's return to Sind and later his flight through Seistān to Persia, his stay in Persia, and finally his march to Afghānistān with a Persian army, and the struggles with his brothers resulting in his gaining control of this part of his kingdom. Chapters XIV and XV are devoted to a description of Humāyūn's successful invasion of India and the short period of his 'second kingship' which ended with his death on 28th January, 1556. In chapters XVI–XVIII the author gives an account of Akbar under Humāyūn's tutelage, Bābur's family, and the prominent women of Humāyūn's time. The innovations, regulations and monuments of Humāyūn and his character are dealt with in chapter XIX, while in the closing chapter (XX) the author discusses such general subjects as kingship, nobility, and the people in Humāyūn's time.

En passant it may be noted that, as stated by the author, several of the earlier chapters of this volume have already been published as original papers in the journals of the Historical Societies of the United Provinces and Sind, while two of them were communicated to the session of the Indian History Congress at Calcutta, 1939.

The work is based on a detailed study of the contemporary sources listed on pages 410–425. With the development of historical research and studies these sources are fortunately at the present day much more extensive than those on which Erskine based his admirable account of Humāyūn in the second volume of his *History of India* (1854), and there can be little doubt that the author has made very good use of the material that is now available for the history of the period.

The volume under review is a mine of historical data mixed up with a great deal of general information, and differs to a certain extent from the plan followed in the first volume. Extensive general observations are included at the end of each chapter in this volume, and attention may be directed to the detailed index at the end of the volume, which adds materially to its value as a work of reference. In this connection it would have been useful if a complete chronology of the events of the reign had been included at the end of this volume.

The work is well printed, but a fair number of misprints, particularly in Persian texts, have remained uncorrected. The

translations of several passages are not quite up to the high standard of the work, and the author's conclusions in some cases, as for example the general results of Humāyūn's sojourn in Irān on p. 131, are not borne out by the available historical data. On the whole, the work opens a new vista in the history of Humāyūn's reign and should prove very valuable as a work of reference for the students of Mughal History. The very detailed treatment of the subject is unfortunately not equally critical all through the work, and a certain amount of lack of balance is noticeable in several chapters. The author has, however, creditably accomplished a difficult task, and is to be congratulated on producing a valuable compendium on a period of the Mughal history about which controversial views have been held by several distinguished authorities.

B. P.

A GRAMMAR OF THE OLDEST KANARESE INSCRIPTIONS. By A. N. NARASIMHIAH, M.A., L.T., Ph.D. (London), University Librarian and Part-time Professor of Philology, Maharaja's College, Mysore. 'University of Mysore Studies in Dravidian Philology': Mysore, 1941. Pp. xxi, 375. Price Rs.2-12-0.

The present volume is a welcome addition to the not very extensive literature on the subject of Dravidian Linguistics, and in both its careful planning and conscientious execution the work embodies a mass of exact information on the oldest phase of the Kannada language of which we have records, viz. of the sixth and seventh centuries A.D., which will make it indispensable for some time to come before it can be superseded by something more up-to-date. The work was accepted by the University of London for the degree of Ph.D. to which the author was admitted in 1933; and we can congratulate the University of Mysore in finally giving it to us in its present form. It forms a contribution of real importance in the study of Kannada and Dravidian Philology, and I trust it will inspire other similar works on Old Tamil and Old Telugu.

More than three quarters of a century have passed since the inception of Dravidian Linguistics took place with the publication in 1856 of Bishop Caldwell's *Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages*. Individual Dravidian languages were taken up in descriptive grammars by scholars, mostly Europeans, and lexicographers like Kittel and Gundert and Denys Bray continued the work of Caldwell by instituting comparisons among the various Dravidian languages in their roots, affixes and vocables. In the meanwhile, in addition to the grammars of the various Dravidian languages (the most recent being those of the uncultivated speeches of the family—Kui, Gondi, and Brahui), the inscriptions in Tamil, Malayalam, Kannada, and Telugu as well as the earlier classics in these languages were being published, and in this way a mass of material was accumulated to which the 'linguistician' or philologist could turn. The number of scholars who felt attracted to Dravidian Linguistics, however, remained small: European curiosity inspiring research could not feel so very much interested in Dravidian as in Indo-Aryan as an important branch of Indo-European, and the number of European (and American) workers who made definite contributions to Dravidian Linguistics remained small: we can mention (in addition to the inaugurators and workers of the first two generations, viz. Caldwell, Gundert and Kittel) Sten Konow, F. Hahn, Mark Collins, Julien Vinson, Jules Bloch, M. B. Emeneau, and E. H. Tuttle, besides a few others. It appeared that no great advance in the subject could be expected until Indian scholars themselves, speaking Dravidian languages, entered the field, with the requisite scientific curiosity

and training: the special interest, of course, will always be there, affecting as it does their own speeches and their development.

During the first decade of the present century, we have the inauguration of studies in Dravidian Linguistics among South Indian scholars, and probably the first noteworthy paper on the subject is a brilliant essay to formulate a comparative and historical phonology of Dravidian by K. V. Subbaiya, which appeared in the *Indian Antiquary* for 1909. The change of orientation in our Indian Universities, which, beginning with that of Calcutta, gradually transformed themselves into teaching and research institutions from merely examining bodies, combined with an Indian cultural renaissance which brought home to the people of India the necessity of studying their own languages, has ushered in a new period of study and research in Indian languages which is now being fostered side by side with the study of Indian history in most Indian Universities, besides other institutions of a cultural and educational character. In 1919 the University of Madras published three numbers of *Dravidian Studies*, by C. P. Venkatarama Ayyar, M.A., L.T. ('the Demonstrative Bases'), by K. V. Subbaiya, M.A., L.T. ('the Pronouns and Pronominal Terminations of the First Person in Dravidian'), and by S. Anavaratavinayakam Pillai, M.A., L.T. ('the Sanskritic Element in the Vocabularies of the Dravidian Languages'); and Prof. K. Ramakrishnaiah, M.A., of the Telugu Department in the Oriental Research Institute of the University of Madras, published in 1935 from the University his *Studies in Dravidian Philology*, which gave an able general *résumé* of the subject. Among individual scholars whose papers are regularly appearing in the different journals, Prof. L. V. Ramaswami Ayyar, M.A., B.L., of the Maharaja's College, Ernakulam, Cochin State, is specially to be mentioned: he has made the field of Dravidian Linguistics his very own by contributing a large number of valuable articles on various aspects of the subject, and one of his complete works—*The Evolution of Malayalam Morphology* (Ernakulam, Cochin Government Press, 1936)—is a very well-documented historical grammar of the language of Kērala, incomplete in so far as the phonology and syntax have not been treated in it. The late Professor P. T. Srinivasa Ayyangar's *Pre-Aryan Tamil Culture* (Madras University, 1930) should also be mentioned—although the work, strictly speaking, is not on Linguistics, but on what may be called Linguistic Palaeontology for Early Tamil (and Dravidian), and is very significant in many ways.

And now the latest important work in this domain is Dr. Narasimhiah's book. The oldest authentic specimens of Kannada are in the inscriptions as selected by Dr. Narasimhiah in this work, and they all are prior to 700 A.D. The highly developed state of the language shows that there was considerable literary culture of it from very early times. We have a litera-

ture from the ninth century onwards in what has been called *Pale-gannada* (or *Hale-gannada*), i.e. 'Old Kannada', as opposed to the later phase of the language called *Hosa-gannada*. The language treated in Dr. Narasimhiah's work is what has been called *Pūrvada Pale-gannada* or 'Archaic Old Kannada'. As the specimens are from contemporary documents, they are more valuable for phonetic and other standpoints than MSS. which are generally much later than the date of composition of a work. Dr. Narasimhiah has fully discussed the value of his materials, and at the end of the grammar he has given the text of the 66 inscriptions utilised by him. All these are rather short ones. They are given in Roman transcription, for which we are grateful—Kannada and other words have throughout been written in this international script, so convenient in philological work—but unfortunately translations have not been given, whether in this appendix or in the body of the work when words and forms are quoted. This is a rather unfortunate omission for students of language who are not specialists in Dravidian and have no acquaintance with Kannada in the ordinary way. I hope this will be rectified and the value of the work thereby considerably enhanced when a second edition is called for. We wish Dr. Narasimhiah had discussed in detail the supposedly ancient Kannada lines found in the fragments of a Greek drama discovered among the Oxyrrhynchus papyri of the second century A.D. from Egypt: we have been accustomed to look upon them as the oldest specimens of Kannada, following the late Dr. Hultzsch.

Dr. Narasimhiah first discusses the inscriptional material, and then in the Phonology section he makes only a restricted study of a few problems—confining himself to 'the history of the O.K. *p*, *r*, *v*, and *l*, with a descriptive account of the O.K. consonant groups and long consonants'. There is a wealth of dated forms showing clearly the line of development for these sounds. The change of *p* > *h* is a phenomenon paralleled in other speeches (e.g. Chittagong Bengali *p* > *ɸ* [bilabial spirant] > *h*, Japanese *p*-, -*p*- > *ɸ* > *h*: in fact, the Japanese language still shows *ɸ* in transition to *h*), and it need not have been induced by the sound changes *v* > *b* and -*p*- > -*b*-. The real reason is given by Dr. Narasimhiah himself at p. 12 of his book. The *r* discussed is the so-called 'palatal' *r* (*r'* = ற of Tamil), which still survives in Tamil and Malayalam, and the *l* is the voiced retroflex fricative, *ẓ* (= ழ of Tamil), transcribed from Tamil and from Malayalam (where they still occur) respectively as *ḻ* and *zh*. The sound changes of *p* > *h*, of *v* > *b*, and of *ẓ* to *r* and *ḻ* were about a thousand years old, while *r'* continued down to the seventeenth-eighteenth centuries. Kannada did not possess a very large variety of consonant conjuncts, a nasal or *l*, *ḻ*, *y*, *r*+consonant being the characteristic combinations, except in Sanskrit loan-words. Long, i.e. double consonants are found in suffixes—

between vowels, and after *r*. All these special aspects of Old Kannada Phonology have been historically treated.

Old Kannada Morphology has been discussed in great detail, utilising most of the forms, but the paucity of material here has been a great handicap for a full treatment. For a full grammar, *Paḷe-gannaḍa* literature must be requisitioned, although this is later in time. Unless the Kannada speech of the eighth to fourteenth centuries is not very different from the Kannada of the inscriptions treated in this book, we shall be very glad to have from Dr. Narasimhiah a fuller grammar of Old Kannada up to say 1400 A.D. with full comparisons with the other Dravidian languages, wherever these will be helpful in arriving at the situation in Primitive Dravidian. A few selected texts in addition, with translation and linguistic commentary, will make such a work a *desideratum*. The final aim should not be lost sight of—to find out what the Prehistoric Source-Speech of the historical Dravidian languages, what may be described as the *Ādi-Drāviḍa-bhāṣā*, or *Ur-Drawidisch* (or, to suggest a daring hypothetical form, **Dramiẓ-col*), was like. The importance of this not only for the student of language but also for the history of culture in India, and possibly outside India, is patent to every-one.

Dr. Narasimhiah has not omitted to treat the Syntax of the language as well. There is a very useful Word Index, forming a full Old Kannada-English Dictionary of all the words in the inscriptions. In the Appendices there are studies of the Proper Names, of the Metre and *Alaṅkāra*, and of the Indo-Aryan Loan-words.

The work is thus quite a valuable one in Dravidian Linguistics. I only wish that the typography were better: the lettering and general arrangement are capable of much improvement. A careful and painstaking work of this type should have had better arrangement, and it deserved better printing. These embellishments apart, we feel sincerely appreciative of Dr. Narasimhiah's study, and we hope this will be followed in due time by a complete historical and comparative grammar of the ancient and graceful Speech of the Land of the Black Soil,—which undoubtedly came in contact with our Bengali Speech in its formative period, when Karṇāṭa Kshatriyas came and settled in red-soil land of West Bengal and the alluvial plains of the delta and gave to this part of India its glorious dynasty of the Sēna Kings during whose rule the Bengalis became fully characterized in their language and in the bases of their culture.

SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI.

A Pillared Hall from a Temple at Madura, India, in the Philadelphia Museum of Art By W. Norman Brown. University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 1940, pp. 84. Price 12*s*.

In 1912 Miss A. P. Gibson purchased, in an auction sale at Madura, a number of pillars and other architectural pieces belonging to one or more old temples which were lying about in the compound of the Madana Gopala Svami Temple. Miss Gibson died in France in the military service during the last Great War on January 10, 1919, and the pieces were presented to the Philadelphia Museum in her memory. It was believed for a long time that these pieces were originally part of the Madana Gopala Svami group of temples. Mr. Norman Brown, the author of the book under review, was sent to India in 1934-35 to examine the site from which the pieces came with a view to assisting the Museum authorities in their installation at Fairmount Hall. Mr. Brown learnt on inquiry that the majority of the architectural pieces came from a subsidiary temple dedicated to Lakshmī in the neighbouring group of temples known as Perumal temple, which was probably erected in the first half of the sixteenth century A.D.

The main theme of the author is the description of the architectural pieces with an explanation of their significance, both historical and architectural. He has done this more elaborately than is usual in a Museum guide book by adding two preliminary chapters dealing with the history of Madura and the general evolution of the South Indian Temple Architecture. He has then described the architectural pieces, particularly the columns and the frieze, with a full discussion of the sculptures engraved on them. As the author himself admits, the identification of the reliefs is not always certain and free from doubts, but he has done his task with painstaking thoroughness. The author has not only succeeded in arranging the archaeological pieces as definite parts of an ordered whole, but has also put a fresh meaning and significance into them by co-ordinating the reconstructed Maṇḍapa to the general architectural evolution of South Indian temples. The visitors to the Philadelphia Museum will now see in those isolated pieces of stone the culmination of a long evolution of architectural style extending over two thousand years, on the background of a civilization whose antiquity goes still further back.

R. C. Majumdar.

ADAM'S REPORTS ON THE STATE OF EDUCATION IN BENGAL, 1835–1838. Edited by ANATH NATH BASU, Head of the Teachers' Training Department, Calcutta University. Calcutta, 1941. Pp. lxvii+578. Price not stated.

The Reports of Adam on the state of education in Bengal in the early decades of the last century have been the most authentic source of detailed information on the subject. Every writer on the educational developments in this country has had to consult this authoritative and invaluable document when discussing educational problems of India. The original edition has however been out of print for nearly a century. A somewhat abridged edition was brought out by Rev. J. Long, in 1868. Some of the sections in Adam's reports were considered less important and left out in that edition. A statistical appendix was also omitted. Long, however, added a brief summary of the educational work done between 1838 when Adam submitted the last of his series of reports, and 1868, when Long brought out the abridged edition.

The University of Calcutta have very recently brought out a complete edition of the Reports, including the summary of Long. An introduction, which includes a biographical sketch of Adam, a review of the reports and a résumé of the later developments have also been added, by the editor. They are very helpful to the reader in forming an idea of the background against which the work was done and the personality of the writer of the reports. They convey also a clear picture of the failure of the official mind, even when there were brilliant men like Macaulay in the bureaucracy, to appreciate the real educational needs of the people of our country.

Although a foreigner, and working in a period when a careful survey was extremely difficult to make by reason of paucity of earlier reports, Adam carried out successfully what was really a stupendous task. Adam collected in his first report the available information from the authentic sources accessible to him. He supplemented these details also by enquiries from reliable educational workers. After thus bringing into 'a methodized form the information previously existing in detached portions' in various works, Adam collected actual samples by intensive work in a single thana in Rajshahi District. The results of this survey are incorporated in the second report. Adam next toured through several districts of Bengal and Bihar, collecting statistics on education, by an extensive survey. These details are noted and discussed in the third and final report. It is in this report that Adam clearly states his views regarding the promotion of general education in Bengal. He advocated that full use should be made of the existing institutions of indigenous education, with suitable modifications to improve the method and content of the teaching. He opposed strenuously though

vainly Macaulay's advocacy of the system which subsequently resulted in a topheavy structure of education, based on English as the medium of instruction. From the report of Long, printed as an appendix in the present edition, it appears that while Adam's work did not bear fruit in Bengal, it was proved to be on the right lines by the efforts of Mr. Thomason, Lieutenant Governor of the newly separated North Western Provinces. He organized schools which used the language of the people as the medium and also libraries to distribute books in these languages among the village schools. A portion of Adam's third report was reprinted and circulated among Government officials. Thomason's personal interest and care made the experiment a success. On the death of this educationist and administrator in 1853, Lord Dalhousie, expressed in a minute his appreciation of the work done and recommended 'the extension of the scheme of vernacular education to all the districts within the jurisdiction of the North Western Provinces'.

In a brief review like this, it is not desirable to include further details. The summary noted will however, it is hoped, bring before the general reader interested in Indian education the value of the reports which the University of Calcutta have made accessible to the general public. The University authorities and the editor in particular are to be congratulated on their completion of this work at the present difficult time.

K. P. CHATTOPADHYAY.

HAIDAR ALI, VOLUME I. By DR. N. K. SINHA.

Dr. N. K. Sinha's Haidar Ali is not only a book by a scholar for scholars but it is also very agreeable reading for the layman. The author has utilized the contemporary Marathi, Portuguese, Dutch and French sources—original sources which Wilks, in his standard work on Mysore, could not tap. He has also drawn freely on the Madras records which contain detailed information about Haidar Ali.

Haidar Ali and Ranjit Singh were the two most remarkable Indians in the century after Plassey. Dr. Sinha has discussed both these careers in separate books. The policies of these two great leaders were diametrically opposite. Ranjit Singh desisted from a collision with the English. Haidar Ali persisted in his anti-British policy. In the circumstances of that period Ranjit Singh succeeded (at least in his lifetime) and Haidar Ali failed. It is in the fitness of things that Dr. N. K. Sinha should have dealt with both these remarkable careers.

In this work, besides Haidar Ali, we come in contact with other historic personalities. Madhava Rao, one of the greatest of the Peshwas, and Raghunath Rao, the worst of them, both figure in prominent rôles. The local politics of Madras, Bombay, Pondicherry and Goa make very interesting reading. Especially the bungling policy of the Madras authorities comes in for well-deserved criticism by the author.

In a language free from verbosity Dr. Sinha has done full justice to a period which saw the rise of the British power in India. We are eagerly looking forward to the second volume which will complete the life-sketch of Haidar Ali.

B. R. CHATTERJI.

Journal Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. Letters.
Volume VIII, 1942.
ARTICLE No. 5.

A few Types of Sedentary Games prevalent in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills District in Assam.

By CHARU CHANDRA DAS GUPTA.

The object of this short note is to describe four types of sedentary games not noticed previously by any scholar and collected by me in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills district in Assam. Among them the name of one cannot be traced out while the other games are known as *Pam pc* [illegible] *Bam blang beh khla*, and *Tule paid*.

Game No. 1.

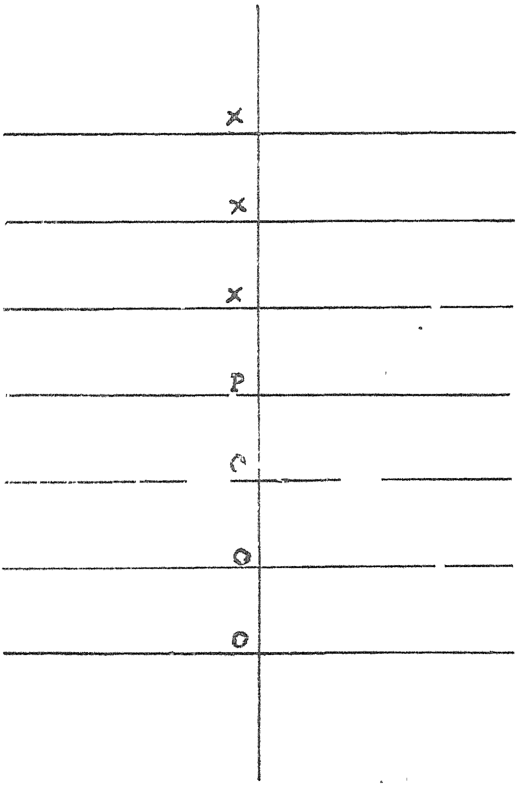

FIG. 1.

The game No. 1 is learnt at Mawryngkneng, a place approximately sixteen miles away from Shillong. Its rule is as follows. It may be played by one man or more than that number. If one man plays it, then it forms a kind of *solitaire*. It is played by six ballets, three belonging to each type. Thus two types of ballets are required for playing it. At the beginning of the game three ballets of each type are placed in the cross-points marked × and O and the central cross-point marked P is kept vacant. Then one of the two ballets belonging to two different types and which are nearest to the central vacant cross-point marked P is shifted to this vacant cross-point. In the movement one ballet belonging to one type is shifted to a cross-point by jumping over a cross-point occupied by one ballet of another type or may occupy the next cross-point if it is vacant. Ballets of two different types are alternately shifted. The whole idea of playing this game is to shift the ballets originally placed in the cross-points marked × to the cross-points marked O and also the ballets originally placed in the cross-points marked O to the cross-points marked ×. In this way the player who can shift three ballets of one type originally placed in the cross-points marked × to the cross-points marked O and *vice versa* wins the game.

If this game is played by more than one man, then it is decided before the beginning of the game the number of times

Game No. 2. Pam pait.[1]

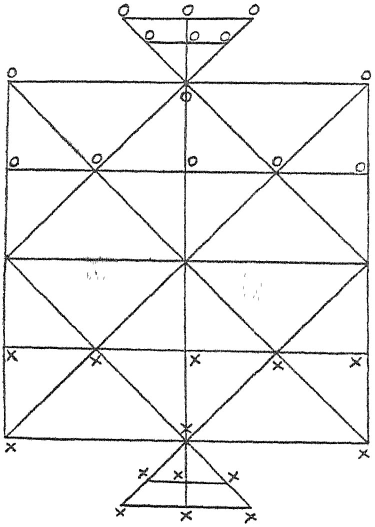

FIG. 2.

[1] The literal meaning of the term *Pam pait* is 'to cut a crowd'.

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for which the ballets should be shifted. The player who shifts the ballets the required number of times wins the game.

The game No. 2 which has been learnt at Jowai is played by two men, each holding 14 ballets marked × and O in his possession. The rule of this game is as follows. One player starts the game and moves one of his ballets from one cross-point to another and takes hold of the ballet of the other man if the cross-point next to it is vacant. In this way the player who can capture all the ballets of the opponent wins the game.

There is similarity between this game and another game known as *Ahtarah gutti* in the United Provinces,[1] as *Athara-gutiala teora* in the Central Provinces,[2] as *Lum Pusri* or *Sipahi Kat* in the Teesta Valley below Darjeeling in Bengal,[3] as *Mughal-Pathan* in the Twenty-four Parganas, Howrah and Hooghly districts in Bengal,[4] and as *Sholaguti Mangalapata* in Vikrampur in East Bengal[5] so far as the rule of the game is concerned; but the main point of difference for which this game is considered

Game No. 3. Bam blang beh khla.[6]

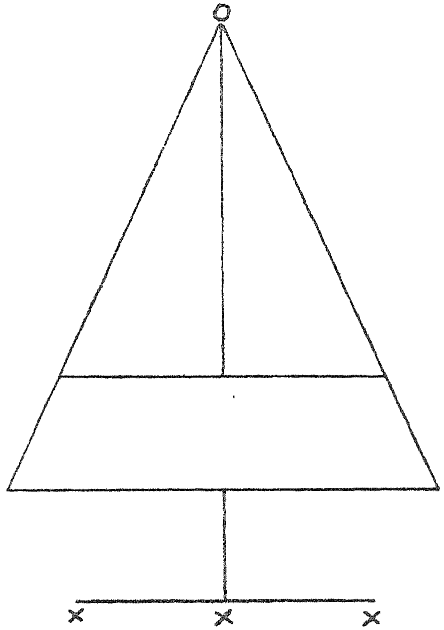

Fig. 3

[1] *Journ. Proc. Asiat. Soc. Bengal*, New Series, vol. II, pp. 121-22.
[2] *Ibid.*, vol. XX, p. 164. [3] *Ibid.*, vol. XXIX, p. 10.
[4] *Ibid.*, vol. XXIX, pp. 168-69.
[5] *Sāhitya-Parishad-Patrikā*, vol. XIV, pp. 239-40.
[6] The term *Bam blang beh khla* literally means 'to eat goat, to drive tiger'

as a new type is that the diagram used for the game under description is different from that of the game mentioned above.

The game No. 3 is also learnt at Jowai. Its rule is as follows. It is played by two men, one having the ballet marked O and called *khla* (i.e., tiger) and the other having three ballets marked × and called *blang* (i.e., goat). Thus altogether four ballets are required in this game. At the beginning of the game one of the players moves his ballet. In this game the player holding the ballet marked O captures the ballets marked × of the opponent player or the player holding the ballets marked × imprisons the ballet marked O. In other words, either the tiger eats the goats or the tiger is imprisoned by the goats. In this game the tiger can capture the goats if the cross-point next to one cross-point occupied by a goat is vacant. It is a unique type of game as no game of the tiger and the goats variety which has been described up till now has a diagram like that used for this game.

Game No. 4. Tule paid.[1]

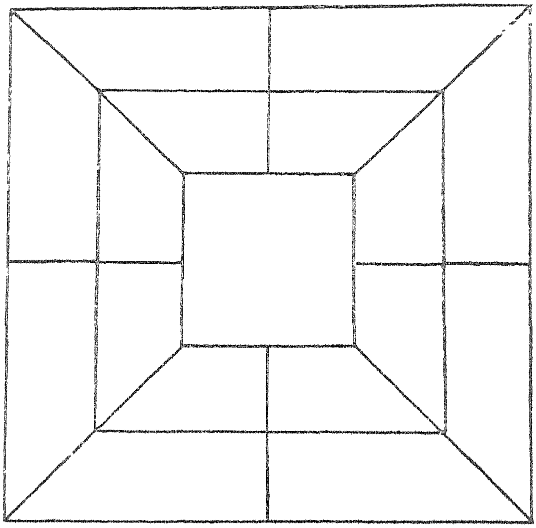

FIG. 4

The game No. 4 is played by two men, each having 12 ballets in his possession. It is also learnt at Jowai. Each player alternately puts one of his ballets on the cross-points, trying to get three pieces along one line while preventing his opponent from doing so. Whenever a player is successful in making three of his own pieces in one line, he captures one of the pieces belonging to his opponent. After all the pieces have been put

[1] The term *Tule paid* means 'to put ballets along ballets'.

on the cross-points, the players begin to move their pieces alternately and along the lines, having always in view the two-fold object outlined above. The player who captures all the pieces of his adversary wins the game.

The rule and diagram of this game is similar to a game called *Bara-guti-pait-pait* prevalent in Vikrampur in East Bengal.[1] This shows that a similar game is prevalent in Bengal and Assam under different names.

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[1] *Sāhitya-Parishad-Patrikā*, vol. XIV, pp. 241-42.

Journal Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. Letters.

Volume VIII, 1942.

ARTICLE No. 6.

A Thousand Tibetan Proverbs and Wise Sayings with short explanations of obscure Phrases.

By REV. J. GERGAN.

English Translation by REV. WALTER ASBOE.

(*Communicated by Dr. S. K. Chatterji.*)

གཏམ་དཔེ་དང་དོན་འགྲེལ།

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༡ ཀ་ཙོན་འཕེལ་ན། ཟས་ཙོན་འཕེལ། ཞེས་པ་ནི། མཛུབ་མོར་ཀ་ཙོན་བྱུ་བའི་སྐྱ་ཁ་འབྱོན་ན་རྟགས་རྒྱལ་བ་ཡིན་ཟེར།

1 The larger the sore, the greater the feast. (A sore on the finger is said to be a good omen.)

༢ ཀན་ཛ་བས་མགོ་ལ། ཞེས་པ་ནི་ས་བུ་བཀའ་བློན་ཞིག་གིས་རང་གི་ཞབས་ཕྱི་ཀན་ཛ་བྱ་བ་ལ། སང་སྔ་དྲོ་བ་མགོར་འགྲོ་དགོས་ཡོད་བྱས་པས། དེས་འགྲོ་དགོས་པའི་དོན་མ་དྲི་བར་སྔ་དྲོ་བ་མགོ་མཁར་ལ་སོང་བ་དང་། མཁར་དཔོན་གྱིས་དེ་དོན་མ་ཤེས་པར་འོངས་པ་བརྟགས་ཏེ། འོ། བཀའ་བློན་ལ་མིག་མངས་ཀྱི་རྩེ་བ་འདི་དགོས་སོ་ཟེར་ནས། དེའི་རྒྱབ་ཏུ་མིག་མངས་ཀྱི་རྩེ་བ་ཞི་བ་དེ་བཀལ་ནས་ས་བུར་བཏང་བས། དོན་ཇི་ཡིན་མ་ཤེས་པར་ལས་སམ་གཏམ་ལབ་དུས་སུ་ཟེར་རོ།

2 Kanja to Basgo.

༣ ཀོར་ཆག་གིས་མི་གསོ། ཕོར་པ་གས་ཆག་གི་སེར་ག་བག་ལེབ་དང་བཟན་ལྷ་བུས་བཀག་དགོས་པས། ཕོར་པ་གསོན་ཏེ་ལས་ཆག་པོ་ཡོད་པར་ཟས་འཚེབ་ཐོབ་པའི་དཔེའོ།

3 A broken cup nourishes a man.

༤ བཀལ་བཀལ་པའི་རྒྱགས་དང་། བསླབ་བསླབ་པའི་གཏམ། ཞེས་པ་ནི། ཅྱིས་ཐག་རིང་པོར་འགྲོ་མི་ལ་ཁྱིམ་ནས་རྒྱགས་མང་ཙམ་བཀལ་ནའང་མི་ལྷུང་བ་ལྷུར། རང་བཞིན་གྱིས་ཤེས་སོ་མེད་པ་ལ་གཏམ་ཙམ་བསླབ་ནའང་དེས་མགོ་མི་ཆོད་པའི་དཔེའོ།

4 Much food loaded, much talk exchanged.

༥ བཀའ་འགྱུར་ལ་ཤོག་ལྷན། མི་ཤེས་རྒྱུ་ཆུང་བས་ཤེས་རྒྱ་ཆེ་བར་ཁྲིལ་བའམ་སྐྱོན་འདོགས་དུས་ཟེར།

5 To patch paper on the Kangyur.

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༦ ཀོ་སྔོངས་ཆུའི་འཁྱིལ་ས། ཁ་དམན་གཏམ་གྱི་འཁྱིལ་ས། སྔང་ཁར་ཆུ་ཀྱི་འཁྱིལ་བར་ཅོག་ཏུ་ཆུ་འཁྱིལ་བ་ལྟར། དབུལ་ལ་ཁ་དམན་པར་སྨས་སླད་ཀྱང་། དེས་ལན་ལྡོག་མི་ནུས་པས། ཁ་དྲག་དང་ཁ་དམན་ལྟར་དུས་དང་། ཁ་དམན་ལ་ཚོད་བཅད་དུས་ཟེར།

6 Pits for collecting water, the simple-minded for receiving provocation.

༧ ཀང་གདོང་མི་ལ་མ་སྟན། ཀང་མཐིལ་དང་ལྷམ་མཐིལ་བསྟན་ནས་མ་སྡོད་ཅིག། དེ་ནི་གཞན་ལ་སྨད་ཅིང་མིའི་གདོང་དང་རང་གི་ཀང་མཐིལ་འདྲ་འདྲ་བྱེད་པ་ཡིན་སྒོ་དུས་ཟེར།

7 Don't display the sole of your foot to others.

༨ ཀང་འོག་གི་བལ་ལྷུད། ཀང་འོག་ཏུ་བལ་ལྷུད་ཡོད་ནའང་དེ་ལ་སྣག་མི་རྒྱབ་ཀྱི། བལ་ལྷུད་རང་མང་དུ་ལྷུད་ལྷུད་འགྲོ་བ་ལྟར། སྟོབས་ལྡན་པས་ཉམས་སྟོབས་ཆུང་བའི་དགྲ་ལང་དུས་ཟེར།

8 Inferior *wool* underneath one's feet.

༩ ཀང་མཐིལ་ལ་ཉི་མ་མི་ཤར། ལས་གཞོང་གིས་སར་བསྡད་དེ་ཉི་མ་ལྡེ་ལོང་མི་འབྱུང་བ་ལ་ཟེར།

9 He has no time to let the sun shine on his soles.

༡༠ རྐུན་བྲེ་གང་ཅེས། ལས་མི་རུང་བ་ཞག་ནས་ཡང་ཡང་བྱས་པའི་མཐར་འཁྲིད་ཚད་པ་ཐོག་དུས་ཟེར།

10 The measure of his thefts is full.

༡༡ རྐུན་མ་གཞགས་མགོ་ལ་ཐེང་ཆེ་གཞགས་བཏང་ཅེས། སྐྱོན་ཡོད་པས་རང་ངོས་མེད་པ་ལྟར་བྱས་ཏེ། ཁྲིམས་དཔོན་ལྟར་ཕར་ལ་ངར་ངར་ཤུགས་ཤུགས་གཏོང་བའི་མི་ལ་ཟེར་རོ།

11 The thieving judge rose to the rank of a Chief Justice.

༡༢ རྐུན་མ་གཅིག་ལ་ཉེས་པ་བརྒྱ། རྐུ་མཁན་གཅིག་རང་ཡིན་རུང་། ནོར་གྱི་བདག་པོས་དེས་མ་བརྒྱུས་སམ། ཆེ་གེ་མོས་མ་བརྒྱུས་སམ་བསམ་ནས། རྐུན་མ་ལས་ནོར་བདག་གིས་ཉེས་པ་མང་པོ་སོག་པའི་དཔེར།

12 For one theft a hundred people are blamed.

༡༣ རྐུན་མ་ཁ་མ་ཁ་སྐྱུང་ལ་མི་བསད། རྐུན་མ་སོགས་ལས་ངན་བྱེད་པ་གཡག་སྐྱ་ཆ་དུས་མི་ཡང་གསོད་པའི་དཔེར།

13 In his perplexity a thief killed the man.

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༡༣ རྐུན་མགོ་ཐུར་ལ། སྤྲང་མགོ་གྱེན་ལ། སྤྲོང་མོ་པ་མགོ་ཆོད་ཀྱི། རྐུན་པོ་ཐུར་དུ་འགྲོ་བ་ཡིན།

14 The thief is reduced in circumstances, the beggar is exalted.

༡༥ རྐུ་ཤེས་ཏེ་སྦ་མ་ཤེས། ནོར་རྐུ་ཐུབ་ནས། དེ་སྦ་མ་ཤེས་པ་ལ་ཟེར་རོ།

15 He knew how to steal, but knew not how to conceal his theft.

༡༦ རྐུན་མིག་ས་ལ། ནོངས་ཡོད་པས་མགོ་འདེགས་མི་ཐུབ་པའི་དཔེའོ།

16 The eye of the thief is towards the ground.

༡༧ རྐུན་མིག་ཐོག་ལ། རྐུ་སྙིང་ཡོད་པས་ཕྱོགས་རྩང་མ་ལ་རྐུ་བྱ་འཚོལ་བའི་རག་རིག་ཅན་ལ་ཟེར།

17 The eye of the thief is towards the ceiling.

༡༨ རྐྱག་པའི་ས་བཀབ། ལས་ཉེན་དག་མི་བྱེད་པར་ཆག་ཆོག་བྱེད་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

18 To cover excrement with earth.

༡༩ རྐྱག་པའི་ཕྱོགས་ལ་རྟང་པ། མི་ཐུ་བའི་ཕྱོགས་ལ་དེ་ལས་ཐུ་བ་འཁྱུད་མེད་པ་ལང་དུས་སུ་ཟེར།

19 Excrement takes sides with dung.

༢༠ ཀྱོང་ཅིའི་གཡོག་པོ་མུན་འདྲིག། གཞན་ལ་གདམས་ངག་བཟང་པོ་གཏོང་བའི་མིའི་ཁྱིམ་དང་མཛའ་བོར་བསླབ་བྱ་མི་གཏོང་བའམ་དེའི་ཉེ་འཁོར་པ་རྣམས་མུན་པའི་ནང་ལུས་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

20 It is dark beneath the lamp.

༢༡ སྐུད་རིང་ལམ་ལ་ཟད། སྐུད་པ་རིང་མོ་འཁྱུར་ནས་འཚེམ་ན། སྐུད་པ་ཟད་རེ་ཆད་པས་སོ།

21 The long thread came to an end on the path.

༢༢ སྐོར་བསྐོར་ཏེ་དཀོར་དཔོན་འོད་ལྡན་ཚེ་རིང་གི་མགོ་ལ། ཟླ་དྭགས་ཀྱི་མ་ལག་ལོག་མཁན་ཀྱིས་ལྷུད་མོ་སྟོན་དུས་སུ་པ་རི་ཞིག་གི་ནང་ནས་ཐལ་བ་ལྷུག་ཅིང་གོང་ལྷར་རྫོང་། གང་ལ་ཞེ་ན། ཐོན་དུས་དེ་དག་གི་མེས་པོར་དཀོར་དཔོན་འོད་ལྡན་ཚེ་རིང་གིས་ངན་མང་བྱས་པས། ད་ལྟ་ཡང་དེའི་མིང་བརྗོད་ནས་ཐལ་བ་འདུ་སྐུའི་ཐོག་ཏུ་ལྷུག་པས་ན། སྐྱོན་ཉིད་བསྡུས་ནས་མི་གཅིག་ལ་འགེལ་དུས་དཔེ་དེ་ཟེར་རོ།

22 Careering round and round, they laid the blame on Od Ldan Tsering the head-shepherd.

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༢༣ རྐྱང་གི་རྫ་མ་ལ་ཕྱེ་བཏུམ་མཁན། རྐྱང་གི་རྫ་མ་ཅོད་ཅོད་ནང་ཕྱེ་མི་འཁད། འཁད་སྲིད་ནའང་དེ་དཀྲུ་བས་འཐོ། དེ་ལྟར་བསམ་མནོ་མེད་པའི་མི་གཡག་སྐྱ་ལྟོ་རོ་བཏད་ལ་ཟེར་རོ།

23 He wrapped up flour in the tail of a wild ass.

༢༤ རྐྱན་མ་ཤི་སྐྱོན་ཤི། སེན་མོའི་བར་གྱི་ཤིག་ཤི། ཁ་དྲག་ལ་སྐྱོན་མི་འཐོག་པར། ཁ་དྲག་གཉིས་ཀྱི་བར་ན་ཁ་དམན་འཐམ་དུས་སུ་ཟེར།

24 The beer pot was not destroyed but the fault perished; the louse died between the nails of two fingers. (When the weak are crushed in the disputes of influential people.)

༢༥ སྐྱིད་སྡུག་མི་ལ། འཛེར་པ་ཤིང་ལ། མི་ལ་སྡུག་འཐོག་དུས་སུ་སེམས་གསོ་བྱེར་ཟེར་རོ།

25 Joy and sorrow for man; and knots for trees.

༢༦ སྐྱིད་དེ་སྡུག་ཉོ་མཁན། སྐྱིད་པོ་ཐངས་ནས་སྡུག་པོའི་བྱ་བའི་ནང་འཛུག་པ་ལ་ཟེར་རོ།

26 Whilst enjoying comfort, he bought misery upon himself.

༢༧ སྐར་མ་སྨིན་བདུན་ལན་ཆགས་ཅན། བྱང་ནས་ཤར་ཏེ་བྱང་ལ་ནུབ།

27 The unlucky Great-bear (star) rises in the north, and sets in the north.

༢༨ སྐྱིད་པོ་རང་གིས་མ་བཙལ་ན། སྡུག་པོ་གཞན་གྱིས་སྟེར་ཡོང་། རང་སྐྱིད་པའི་གྲལ་རང་གིས་མ་བྱས་ན། གཞན་མས་མི་བྱེད་པས། རང་གྲལ་ཙོས་ཟེར་རོ།

28 He who seeks not his own good, will be troubled by others.

༢༩ སྐྱེ་ལུགས་གཅིག་ལ་ཤི་ལུགས་བརྒྱ། ནད་དང་རྐྱེན་སྣ་ཚོགས་ཀྱིས་ཤི་བ་ལ་ཟེར།

29 One way of being born, and a hundred ways of dying.

༣༠ སྐྱེ་ན་བུ་གཅིག། ཞིམ་ན་ཆང་གང་། ཟླ་གྲུ་ཉ་ལ་ཉོ་ལེ་མང་པོ་བས་ཟླ་གྲུ་མགོ་ཚོད་གཅིག་རྒྱལ་བའི་དཔེར།

30 The birth of one son is enough, and one cup of delicious beer is ample.

༣༡ སྐྱེ་ཤི་གྲོས་ལ་མ་འཇེང་། སྐྱེ་བ་དང་འཆི་བ་དྲན་ན་གྲོས་བྱེད་མི་ཐུས་པས། མ་འབྱུང་བ་དང་འདས་པའི་གཏམ་མ་དྲན་པར་གྲོས་བྱེད་དགོས་སྙ་བའོ།

31 Do not deliberate about birth and death.

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༣༢ སྐྱེས་ཚད་བུ་དང་། བསགས་ཚད་ནོར། ཙིད་བུ་རང་མི་སྐྱེ་བར་བུ་མོ་ཡང་སྐྱེ་བ་ལྟར། བསགས་མཁན་ཐམས་ཅད་ནོར་དུ་མི་འགྱུར་བའི་དོན་ནོ།

32 All who are born are not sons; all that is acquired is not wealth.

༣༣ སྐྱེས་པའི་ཤོད་པ། ཤི་དུར་ཁྱང་། ཆུང་དུས་ཀྱི་ཡོབས་ཤི་བའི་བར་དུ་སྲུས་པའི་དཔེའོ།

33 Habits from one's birth follow one to the grave.

༣༤ སྐྲ་གཅིག་ནས་འཐེན་པ། མགོ་གཡོམ། སྐྲ་གཅིག་ནས་འཐེན་ན་མགོ་ཧྲིལ་པོ་གཡོམ་གཡོམ་བྱེད་པ་ལྟར། མི་གཅིག་ལ་ཅི་ཞིག་ཟེར་ན་དེའི་ཚོགས་པ་ཀུན་ལ་འཐོག་པས་སོ།

34 The head moves when only one hair is pulled.

༣༥ རྐུན་མ་ཡང་ལོག་གིས་འཕུང་། ནད་པ་ཟས་ལོག་གིས་འཕུང་། རྐུན་མ་སླར་ཡང་རྐུར་འོང་བས་འཕུང་བ་ལྟར་ནད་པས་འཐོག་པའི་ཟས་ཟོས་ནས་ནད་ལོག་རྒྱབ་བོ།

35 A thief is ruined by returning—a patient by wrong diet.

༣༦ རྐུན་སེམས་པ་ལ་ཉེ་རིང་མེད། རྐུ་འདོད་པ་ལ་ཉེ་རིང་དང་རང་གཞན་མེད་དེ་སུ་ལས་ཐོབ་ཀྱང་རྐུའོ།

36 He who desires to steal does not regard near or distant relations.

༣༧ རྐུན་མ་གཡག་མགོ་ལ་ཞོན་ཏེ། ལུག་མགོ་ལ་ག་ཤགས་གཏང་ཅེས། རྐུན་མ་ག་ཤགས་མགོ་ལ་ཕེང་སྐེ་ག་ཤགས་གཏང་ཅེས་དང་དོན་འདྲའོ།

37 The thief mounted the head of the Yak, and judgement came forth upon the head of the sheep.

ཁ

༣༨ ཁ་ཁ་ར། སྙིང་ཨ་ར། ཁ་ནི་ཀ་ར་ལྟར་མངར་མོ་ལ། སྙིང་ནང་གནོད་སེམས་ཡོད་པའི་མི་ཁ་འཇམ་ལ་ཟེར།

38 A mouth like sugar, and a heart like a saw.

༣༩ ཁ་ཁོ་མགས་མ་བཅོ། གཏམ་ལབ་དགོས་ཡོད་སར་ཁ་རོག་པའི་མི་ལ། དངུལ་ཁྱུག་ལྟར་ཁ་མ་བཙུམ་པར་གཏམ་ཚོས་ཤིག་གི་དོན་ཡིན།

39 Don't shut your mouth like a purse.

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༤༠ ཁ་གང་ངེ་གཏམ་ཟེར་ར་ལ། གྲལ་གང་ངེ་མི་ལ་ལྟོས། མི་ཁྲིད་དུ་མི་གཅིག་ལ་ལབ་
ནའང་ཡར་བསམ་མར་བསམ་བཏང་ནས། གཞན་ལ་འཕོག་ཏུ་མ་བཅུག་པར་གཏམ་ལབ་
དགོས་ཟེར་བའོ།

40 Observe the whole row of people when about to utter a mouthful of speech.

༤༡ ཁ་གཅིས་པ་ལ་ཏུ་ཏུ་ལ་གྲི། ཁ་ནས་ཉེ་ཉེ་འདྲ་བྱེད་ཅིང་ཕག་ནས་གནོད་སྐྱོལ་བའི་མི་ལ་
ཟེར།

41 Whilst uttering endearing speech, he cut his throat.

༤༢ ཁ་ཆད་དང་བུ་ལོན། ཁ་ཆད་བྱས་ཟིན་པ་དང་དེ་ནི་བུ་ལོན་འདྲ་བས། ཁ་ཆད་སྲུང་
དགོས་ལ་ཟེར།

42 The promise became a debt.

༤༣ ཁ་ཆེ་ལ་གཏམ་དང་ཚགས་མ་ལ་ཆུ། ཁ་ཆེའི་སྙིང་ནང་གསང་གཏམ་མི་འཁད་པའི་དོན་ཡིན།

43 Confiding a secret to a Kashmiri is like pouring water through a sieve.

༤༤ ཁ་ཆེའི་ནོར་ལ་བོ་ལ། གཞན་གྱི་ནོར་ལུགས་མེད་ཟ་བ་དང་འཐུང་བའི་མི་ལ་ཟེར།

44 To make delicious food with the wealth of a Kashmiri.

༤༥ ཁྭ་ཏའི་ཀོའགག་དང་ཅུང་ཀའི་ཏིང་། ལྐུད་སོར་ལྐུ་དད་ཆེ་བ་ལ་ཟེར།

45 To go where crows and jackdaws caw.

༤༦ ཁ་ཏིག་ཐིག་མ་མྱང་ན། མངར་མྱང་ཐིག་མི་ཡོང་། བར་དོ་ཞིག་མ་མྱང་ན། སྐྱིད་
པོ་ཞིག་མི་འབྱུང་བ་ཡིན།

46 You cannot have the sweet without the bitter.

༤༧ ཁྭ་ཏ་ཤ་འཁྱེར། འབེ་ད་གཏམ་འཁྱེར། ཇི་ལྟར་ཁྭ་ཏ་ལ་ཤ་ཐོབ་ན་ལེམ་ཁུར་འཁྱེར་བ་
ལྟར། འབེ་ད་ལ་གཏམ་ཞིག་ཐོར་ན། ཁྱིམ་ནས་ཁྱིམ་དུ་འཁྱེར་ཞིང་འཆོ་བ་འཚོལ་
ལོ་ཟེར་བའོ།

47 Crows carry off flesh, and *musicians* are tale-bearers (i.e. musicians being beggars, and liable to carry stories about).

༤༨ ཁྭ་ཏ་ཁྲུས་ཏེ་དཀར་པོ་མི་ཆ། ནོངས་ཅན་ཇེ་ཚམ་དུ་ནོངས་མེད་འདྲ་བྱེད་ཀྱང་། ནོངས་
ཅན་དུ་ལུས་སོ།

48 Wash the crow, but he will not become white.

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༤༩ ཁ་དམན་གྱི་སྐབ་སློབ་པོ་སྨན་ལ། འཁྲུད་མེད་པས་རང་གི་ལས་རྣལ་སྟོན་དུ་བྱེད་དགོས་
ཟེར།

49 The humble are quick to order their affairs for themselves.

༥༠ ཁ་ནས་མུ་ཏིག་འཁྲོལ་ལེ་དོགས་པ། ཁ་ནས་མུ་ཏིག་འགྲིལ་དོགས་པ་ལྟར། ཁ་བཙུམ་
ནས་གཏམ་མི་ལབ་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

50 Hesitate to drop pearls from your mouth.

༥༡ ཁ་བཅད་དེ་སྣ་ལ་ལྷན་པ། ཕན་ཐོགས་པའི་ཚོར་ཞིག་བཞག་ནས་ཕན་མི་ཐོགས་པ་བྱེད་ན་
ཟེར།

51 Slicing his mouth, he patched his nose.

༥༢ ཁ་བཤད་རྦུའི་ལྦུ་བ་ཡིན། ལག་ལེན་གསེར་གྱི་ཟེགས་པ་ཡིན། ཁ་བཤད་པས་ལག་ལེན་
ཉི་ལྷག་པར་ལེགས་པས། ཁ་བཤད་དང་མཚུངས་པའི་སྤྱོད་པ་སྤྱོད་ཅིག་ཟེར།

52 Speech is like froth, experience like beads of gold.

༥༣ ཁ་མི་ཚུགས་ལ་མྱང་མི་ཐོབ།

53 He who cannot restrain his tongue will have nothing to taste.

༥༤ ཁ་མིག་ལ་ཁུ་ཚུར། ཁ་མིག་ལ་སྤུལ་ཐུག་རྒྱབ་པ་ལྟར་དུ་སྐྱོན་མེད་པ་ལ་དབང་ཆོས་ཀྱིས་
སྐྱོན་འགེལ་དུས་ཟེར།

54 To strike one's eyes and face with one's fists.

༥༥ ཁ་རོག་པ་ལ་བདེ་བ་ཐོབ། གཏམ་མང་ན་འཛིང་འཁྲུབ་འབྱུང་བས། ཁ་རོག་བསྡད་ན་
འཁྲུག་པ་མེད་པར་ལུས་ཟེར།

55 He gets peace who is silent.

༥༦ ཁ་རོག་འདུག་གི་སང་ཅུང་མ་སྨུར། ཁ་རོག་སྡུག་སྡུན་ཏེར་སྤྱོད་པ་བས་ཟ་ཞིག་ལབ་
པའམ་ཟ་བ་ལེགས་ཟེར་བཏོ།

56 Masticate a turnip rather than be silent.

༥༧ ཁ་ལ་ཟ་རྒྱུ་མེད་པར་སྣ་ལ་ཚ་རྒྱུ། ཕན་རྒྱུ་མེད་པའི་མིའི་དོན་དུ་བར་དོ་འབྱུང་དུས་ཟེར།

57 Nothing to eat, but only pain in the nose.

༥༨ ཁ་ལ་མར་ཁག་ལ་བསྐུས་ཀན། ཁ་འཇམ་པོའི་མི་ལ་ཟེར།

58 His mouth is smeared with fresh butter.

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༥༨ ཁ་ཧྲོར་རེ་ནས་གཏམ་ཧྲོར་རེ། གསང་གཏམ་མི་འཁད་པའི་མི་ལ་ཟེར།

59 From the cracked mouth issue cracked words.

༦༠ ཁ་ལག་པས་ཉོས་ཏེ་མེད་རེ། མགོ་ཡིག་མོ་མི་དགུ་ཁ་མེད། ཁ་དང་ལག་པ་འགལ་ཏེ་
མགོ་དང་པུས་མོ་ལ་དགུར་དགོས་རྒྱུང་བས། བྱ་བ་འཐལ་དུས་སུ་ཟེར།

60 For what one buys with the mouth and hands, one must bend one's head and knees. For what he purchased through speech and deed, he was obliged to go down on his head and knees.

༦༡ ཁ་དམན་ལྷས་སྐྱབ། མི་ངོར་མེད་དང་དབང་མེད་ཅིག་ནད་དང་བར་ཆད་སོགས་ལས་ཐར་
ན་ཟེར།

61 The humble are preserved by the gods.

༦༢ ཁ་དྲོན་མོ་ལ་རླུངས་པོ་གྲང་མོ་གཡབ་ཅེས། མི་ཞིག་ལས་མི་ཐོབ་པ་ཤེས་དུས་གཤེར་ན་
ཟེར།

62 To cause someone to blow a cold wind into his warm mouth.

༦༣ ཁང་པ་ལ་གསེར་གྱི་གྲི་གུ་དགུ་ཡོད། དགོས་དུས་སུ་མེད་པར་ངའི་ཁང་པ་ན་འདི་སོགས་
ཡོད་ཟེར་ན་དཔེ་འདི་ཟེར།

63 There are nine golden pocket knives in the home.

༦༤ ཁོ་དྲུ་ཁོ་དྲུ་མ་ཟེར། ངད་རྡུད་ཐོས། དཀོག་རང་ཟེར་གྱིན་ཆོན་ལ་མ་སྡོད་པར་ལས་
ཡང་ཐོས་ཟེར་བཏོ།

64 Don't cry out 'Oh God, Oh God', but do your job.

༦༥ ཁོ་ལ་ནོར་ཡོད་ན་དང་། ཁྱི་ལ་ཁོ་ལུ་ཡོད་ན་ཙོགས། གཞན་ལ་མི་ཕན་པའི་མི་ཞིག་
ལ་ནོར་ཡོད་ན་ཟེར་རོ།

65 For him to possess wealth is as if a dog had fine fleece.

༦༦ ཁུར་ཚན་རྒྱལ་པོ་ལའང་མི་སྒྲུང་། བག་ལེབ་དྲོན་མོ་རྒྱལ་པོ་ལའང་མི་སླེབ་པས། བག་ལེབ་
དྲོན་མོ་ལ་ཐོབ་དུས་ཟེར་རོ།

66 Even the king could not get hot bread.

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༦༧ ཁང་ཚུ་ཁུ་ཏུ། ཤ་ཁུ་ཏུ་མར་ཁུ་ཏུ། ཁང་བུར་རྒོན་པའི་ཕ་མའམ་ཁང་ཆུང་བ་ཁྲལ་སྡུད་མེད་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

67 Huts and cottages are hut of meat and cottage of butter. (Of old people who according to Ladakhi custom, when a son gets married, retire to small apartments of their own.)

༦༨ ཁབ་ཀྱི་མལ་ལ་འདེབས། ཁབ་བཙུག་པའི་ལན་དུ་འདེབས་འཛུག་པའི་ཚུལ་གྱིས་དགྲ་ལན་ལེན་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

68 To use an awl instead of a needle.

༦༩ ཁམ་གཅིག་གིས་སྲོག་སྐྱལ་ཅེས། རང་ལ་གནོད་པའི་ཁ་ཟས་ཞིམ་པོ་ཤེས་ཏེ་ཟ་མཁན་ལ་ཟེར།

69 To lose one's life through taking a mouthful of meal.

༧༠ ཁམས་པ་བརྒྱ་ཤི་ནའང་། ཁམས་ཕྲུག་སྟོང་། བརྒྱུད་མང་ཡོད་པ་ལས་མི་རེ་ཤི་ན་ཟེར།

70 Though a hundred Khampas die, there are still a thousand children of Khampas.

༧༡ ཁའི་ནང་ལ་མར་གཏང་ནའང་མི་བཞུ་མཁན། མི་དྲང་པོ་གཞན་ལ་གནོད་པའི་ཚིག་མི་ཟེར་བ་ལ་ཟེར།

71 Butter would not melt in his mouth.

༧༢ ཁའི་དཔང་པོ་ལ་ལྕེ། རང་གིས་རང་ལའམ། རང་གི་མིས་རང་ལ་གནོད་པའི་གཏམ་བྱེད་དམ་དཔང་པོ་གཏོང་ན་ཟེར།

72 His tongue bears witness against his mouth.

༧༣ ཁའི་ནང་ལ་མི་ཤོང་ཅེས་སི་ཁམ་བུ་མ་རྒྱང་། ཚོད་ལས་འབལ་བའི་ཏམ་པ་ཆེན་མོ་མ་བྱེད་ཟེར་བོ།

73 Don't take a bite (morsel) too large for your mouth.

༧༤ ཁའི་ནང་ལ་ཟན་ཡོངས་ཏེ། ལྕེ་དང་འཕྱུལ་ཅེས། ནོར་རམ་ལས་ཤིག་ཐོབ་ནས་མི་དགོས་ཟེར་བ་ལ་ཟེར།

74 He thrust out with his tongue the food which came to his mouth.

༧༥ ཁའི་སང་མིག་ཆེའ། མི་ཧམ་སེམས་ཅན་ལ་ཟེར།

75 His eyes are larger than his mouth.

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༧༦ ཁལ་གཅིག་ལ་ནོན་པའི་ཕབས། གཏམས་ལན་ཚ་ལ་འགོད་སང་ལབ་དུས་སུ་ཟེར།

76 Hops sufficient for a bushel.

༧༧ ཁྱི་གུ་ལ་མིག་ཡོད་ན། རྒྱལ་བུ་ལ་ཚིམ་ལྟ་ལྟ། ཁྱི་གུས་རྒྱལ་བུར་ཚིམ་དགའ་ལྟ་ཆུས་པས། མ་ལྟ་ཟེར་བའི་ལན་དུ་ཟེར།

77 If pups have eyes they may look at the king to repletion.

༧༨ ཁྱི་གུ་དང་ཕྲུ་གུ་ལ་ཙུག་བསླབ། ན་སོ་ཆུང་དུས་སུ་ཙུག་སློབ་ནའང་ལོབས་སློ་བས། ཕྱིས་པ་ལ་སྤྱོད་ལུགས་སློབས་ཟེར་བ་འདྲའོ།

78 You can teach pups and children anything.

༧༩ ཁྱི་རྒན་ལ་སློག་རག། ཁྱི་རྒན་སོ་དུབ་པར་པགས་པ་རྙིང་པ་ཐོབ་ནའང་མི་ཕན་པ་ལྟར། རང་ལ་ཕན་མི་ཐོགས་པའི་དོན་ནམ་ནོར་སོག་པ་ལ་སྙིགས་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

79 An old hide for an old dog.

༨༠ ཁྱི་ཁྱོད་རང་གི་འཐམ་རྒྱུ་མན། ང་ལ་གཏར་ཀ་བཏང་མཁན་ཚོགས་སོང་། ཁྲག་གཏར་དགོས་ཡོད་པའི་མི་ཞིག་ལ་ཁྱིས་འཐམས་པས་དེ་འདྲ་སྨྲས་པས། གཞན་གྱིས་གནོད་བསྐྱིལ་བ་དེ་ཕྱིར་ཕན་ན་ཟེར།

80 Oh dog, it is not reasonable for you to bite me, but it did me good to bleed.

༨༡ ཁྱི་དཀར་པོའང་ཁྱི། ཁྱི་ནག་པོའང་ཁྱི། ཆོས་བཟང་ཡོད་པའི་ཁ་འཆོས་པ་དང་ཆོས་མེད་པ་གཉིས་གཅིག་པ་ཡིན་པའི་དོན་ནོ།

81 White or black, a dog is still a dog.

༨༢ ཁྱི་དང་བི་ལ། མི་གཉིས་རྒྱུན་དུ་འཛིང་འཐབ་བྱེད་ཀྱིན་སྡོད་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

82 Like cat and dog.

༨༣ ཁྱི་དང་འགྲུན་ན། ཁྱི་རྐྱག་གདོང་ལ། ཁྱི་ལྟ་བུའི་མི་དང་འགྲན་ན། རང་གི་ཁྲིལ་ཡང་ཞོར་བའི་དཔེའི།

83 If you associate with a dog, he will cast his excrement on your face.

༨༤ ཁྱི་ཕག་ཚང་གཅིག། རྟ་ལུག་ཟྲས་གཅིག། ཁྱི་ལོ་པ་དང་ཕག་ལོ་པ། རྟ་ལོ་པ་དང་ལུག་ལོ་པ་ཁྱི་ཞུག་ཏུ་འཛོམ་པའི་དཔེའོ།

84 One bed for a dog and a pig; one manger for a horse and a sheep.

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༨༥ ཁྱི་འཁོན་ལོ་དགུ། ཁྱིའི་ཚེ་ཚད་ལོ་དགུ་ཟེར་བས། ཁྱིས་ཤི་རིང་བར་དུ་འཁོན་འཁྱེར་བ་
དང་། མི་འཁོན་ཅན་ལ་འང་ཟེར།

85 A dog's hatred lasts nine years.

༨༦ ཁྱི་ཉལ་ལ་བེར་ག། ཅབ་བེར་སྡོད་པའི་ཁྱིམས་མི་ལ་འཚོག་པ་སྡིག་ན་ཟེར།

86 To hit a dog when he is lying down.

༨༧ ཁྱི་འགྲང་ས་ལ་སྒྲོ་བ་ཁམ་གཅིག། སྒྲོ་བ་ཁམ་བུ་གཅིག་གིས་ཁྱིའི་རེ་བ་རྫོགས་པ་ལྟར། མི་
ལ་ཁ་ཟས་ཉུང་ཟད་སྦྱིན་ནའང་འཐད་པའི་དཔེར།

87 One morsel of food suffices for a dog.

༨༨ ཁྱི་ལ་དབང་ཐོབ་ན། གོ་ག་ཐལ་རྒྱབ་ཀྱིས་སྐང་། མི་ངན་ལ་དབང་ཐོབ་ན། རྙི་ཤིངས་དང་
ཟིང་ཊིལ་ཆེན་མོ་འབྱུང་ཟེར་བའོ།

88 A dog which gains the upper hand will cover the hearth with dust.

༨༩ ཁྱི་ལྟོ་ལ་ཞག་མི་འཁད། མར་ཐོས་ནས་ཁྱི་སྐྱུག་པའམ། ཁ་ཟས་ཞིམ་པོ་མང་དྲུ་ཤིགས་པ་
འཕོག་པའི་མིར་ཟེར།

89 The dog *could not retain* the grease in his stomach.

༩༠ ཁྱི་ལ་སྐལ་དང་འབེད་ལ་ག་ཤོལ། གང་ལས་ཀྱི་ལོབས་མེད་པའི་མི་ལ་ལས་དེ་སྐོ་དུས་སུ་
ཟེར།

90 A load for a dog, and a plough for a musician.

༩༡ ཁྱི་ལྟོ་ཆུས་སྐོང་། ཁྱི་ཟུག་སྣ་སེང་སེང་གཏོང་བའང་འགྲིག་པའི་དཔེར།

91 To fill the stomach of a dog with water.

༩༢ ཁྱི་ཁྱི་ཐོང་ནས་འབུད་དུ་ཚོགས། བཏགས་པའི་ཁྱི་འབུད་པའམ། ལས་མི་ལམ་པ་ལས་དང་
དབང་ལས་འབུད་དུས་ཟེར།

92 Like a dog, he broke away from his chain.

༩༣ ཁྱི་ལྕེ་སྨན། ཁྱིས་རང་གི་རྨ་ཁ་ལྕེ་དང་ལྡག་ནས་ཕན་པས་སོ།

93 A dog's tongue is his own cure.

༩༤ ཁྱི་ཤི་ཝ་ཤི་གཏད་པའི་གཡོག། ཁྱི་རོ་ཝ་རོ་གཏད་ཏོག་འཕེན་པ་ལྟར། ངའི་རོ་ལའང་ཅི་ཆ་
ནའང་སོང་ཟེར་བའོ།

94 Bury dead dogs and foxes at the bottom of a cliff.

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༩༥ ཁྱི་སོ་དང་ཁྱི་ལྤགས། ཁྱིས་སྨུག་དུས་རང་གི་མཆེ་བས་རང་གི་ཁ་ལྤགས་ལ་སོ་འདེབས་པ་ལྟར། ཁྱི་ཤུག་རྒྱུན་དུ་འཐབ་ཀྱིན་ཡོད་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

95 A dog's teeth bite into his own lips.

༩༦ ཁྱིས་ཝ་ལ། ཝས་རྔ་མ་ལ། རྔ་མས་ས་འབྲུ། ཕན་ཚུན་གཅིག་ལ་གཅིག་ལས་བྱེད་པ་ལ་འགྲན་ཚོ་ན་ཟེར།

96 The dog calls the fox, the fox calls his tail, and his tail scratches the soil.

༩༧ ཁྱི་སྒྲོ་ལང་ན། ཁྱི་ཐུག་ལྷག། མི་ཞིག་སྒྲོ་ལངས་ཏེ་ཁ་ཟས་མ་ཟ་ན་འདི་ཟེར་རོ།

97 If a dog gets angry, his soup remains untasted.

༩༨ འཁྱིལ་ལོ་མེད་པའི་རི་ལ་འཛེགས་མཁན། རང་གིས་མི་སྐྱོགས་པའི་བྱ་བར་ཏམ་ན་ཟེར།

98 To climb a mountain you cannot scale.

༩༩ ཁྱི་མེད་པའི་མི་ལ་སྲུགས་ཆེན་མོ། ཏང་མེད་པའི་མི་ལ་ཏིང་ཆེན་མོ། སྟོབས་དང་ཡོན་ཏན་མེད་པའི་མིས་ཁ་ཆེན་མོའི་དཔེ་ར་ལབ་དུས་སུ་ཟེར།

99 He breathes heavily who has no strength; he makes much commotion who has no character.

༡༠༠ ཁྱི་མེད་རི་གྲོག་པོ་ལ་ཏང་ར་ཆེན་མོ། འཁྲུད་མེད་པའི་མིས་ཀུ་སྒྲ་ཆེན་མོ་བཏོན་ན་ཟེར།

100 Little brooks make much noise.

༡༠༡ ཁྱིག་ཤོང་ཏོག་སྟོང་། གཞོན་ནུར་བསམ་པ་དང་བློ་གྲོས་ཆུང་ཟེར་བའོ།

101 Lads are hollow.

༡༠༢ ཁྲ་ཤ་ཟོས་ཏེ་ནམ་ལངས། ཁྭ་ཏ་རྐྱག་པ་ཟོས་ཏེ་ནམ་ལངས། གཅིག་ལས་བཟང་གིས་ཚེ་བྱེད་ཀྱི། གཅིག་ལས་ངན་གྱིས་ཚེ་བྱེད་པའི་དོན་ནོ། (ནམ་ལངས་པའི་དོན་ཚེ་བྱེད་པའོ)།

102 Kites subsist on flesh, and crows on excrement.

༡༠༣ ཁྲག་དང་ལག་པ་ཁྲུས་ཏེ་བཟན་ཟ་མཁན། དཀའ་ལས་འཁྲུར་ཞིང་ཤ་འབད་ཁྲག་འབད་བཏང་མཁན་ལ་ཟེར།

103 He who eats his food after having washed his hands in blood.

༡༠༤ ཁྲི་ཧྲོག་གི་ཕག་ནས་རྒྱལ་པོ་ལ་སྨུལ་ཐུག། ཕག་དང་རྒྱབ་ནས་སུ་ལའང་འཁུག་པས། སྣང་རྟགས་མ་བྱེད་ཟེར་བའོ།

104 Shake your fist behind the table against the king.

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༡༠༥ ཁྲམ་དང་དྲབ་ལག་པོ་ཆེ་རུ། བསོད་བདེ་དང་བསོད་ནམས་པོ་ཆུང་དུ། ཁྲམ་དང་སྒྲ་ལག་འཕེལ་རིམ་གྱིས་དཀོན་མཆོག་གི་བྱིན་རླབས་དང་ཐུགས་རྗེ་འགྲི་བའི་དོན་ནོ།

105 Add to yourself lies and cunning, and destiny and fortune will decrease.

༡༠༦ མཁར་རི་རྒྱབ་བ་སོང་སྐྱེ་ཁྲུ་བཏབ་བ་ཙོགས། གཅིག་ལ་རྒྱལ་པོས་གསོལ་རས་སྲུ་སྣམ་བུ་ཞིག་གནང་བ་དང༌། དེས་རིང་ཐུང་དཔག་ཏུ་རིངས་ནས་མཁར་རྒྱབ་ཏུ་ཁྲུ་བཏབ་པས། རིན་མེད་རྟོན་ལ་ཐོབ་པའི་ནོར་ལ་བཟང་ངན་ལྟ་ཞིང་ལེགས་པ་མི་འདུག་ཟེར་དུས་དེ་ལ་ཟེར།

106 To measure a thing with a cubit (measure) at the rear of a palace.

༡༠༧ མཁར་རི་རྒྱལ་པོ་འདང་འཐད། འབྲོག་པ་ཁུ་ཤལ་ཡང་འཐད། ཡུ་རུ་རོང་ཇེ་ཝ་ཙེ་ཡང་འཐད། སྔོན་དུས་བླ་དྭགས་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཞིག་གིས་ཁུ་ཤལ་ལ་ཏ་རིད་པ་ཞིག་གསོལ་རས་སུ་གནང་བས་ཁོ་འཐད་སོང༌། ཡུ་རུ་རོང་དུ་ཏ་དེ་ཤི་འའི་རོ་ཝ་ཙེ་ལ་ཐོབ་པས་ཝ་ཡང་འཐད་པས། གསུམ་འཐད་འབྱུང་ན་ཟེར།

107 The king in his palace, the Dard Kushal, and the foxes of Yuru vale were all pleased.

༡༠༨ མཁར་རྩད་དེ་ཁང་པ་དང༌། རྫིང་གཡོག་གི་ཞིང༌། དེ་འདྲའི་ཞིང་དང་ཁང་པར་སྐྱོད་དུས་ཟེར་རོ།

108 A house within the city wall, and a field beneath a dam.

༡༠༩ མཁར་ལས་སྔ་བ་ཁ་ལ་ཙེ། ཡུལ་ལས་སྔ་བ་མི་རུ། བླ་དྭགས་ནང་མཁར་དང་པོ་ཁ་ལ་ཙེ་དང༌། ཡུལ་དང་པོ་མི་རུ་ཆགས་པའི་དཔེ།

109 Khalatse possesses the first palace and Miru the first village.

༡༡༠ མཁར་ལེན་མན། བཟན་ལེན་ཡིན། མཁར་ལས་ཉང་ནས་བཟན་མང་པོ་ཟིན་ནོ་ཟེར་བ་ཡིན།

110 It is not in the building, but the expending of food-stuff.

༡༡༡ ཁྲིག་སེའི་མཁན་པོར་འཇིགས་ས། ཞ་པའི་ཇོ་མོར་འཇིགས། ཞན་རྒྱུན་གཉིས་ན་འཇིགས་པ་འཁྱུར་དགོས་ན་ཟེར།

111 To fear the abbot of Trigtse or the nun of Zhapa.

༡༡༢ མཁལ་མའི་དོན་ལ་གཡག་གསད་ཅེས། མི་གཅིག་གི་དོན་དུ་ནོར་མང་པོ་བཤིག་སྐྱེ་མགྲོན་བྱེད་ན་ཟེར།

112 To kill a Yak for a kidney.

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༡༡༣ འཁོར་བའི་ལས་ལ་ཟིན་དུས་མེད། གཏི་མུག་གཉིད་ལ་ཚིམ་དུས་མེད། འཇིག་རྟེན་གྱི་ལས་དང་གཉིད་གཉིས་ལ་ཚོད་འཛིན་དགོས་པའི་དཔེར།

113 No end to the endless round of work, and no satisfaction in the sleep of ignorance.

༡༡༤ འཁྲུག་པ་ལན་གསུམ་བཏངས་པ། ཐུགས་སི་དཀྱིལ་ལ། མི་གཉིས་ཡང་ཡང་འཛིང་མོ་བཏང་བའི་འོག་ཏུ། གཉིས་ཀ་མཛའ་བོ་ཉེ་མོ་འགྲོ་སྲིད་པའི་དཔེར།

114 Those who quarrel thrice afterwards become intimate.

༡༡༥ ཁ་ཆེ་ལྟོགས་པ་བུ་ལོན་དྲན། རང་ལ་ནོར་ཡོད་དུས་བུ་ལོན་མ་རྫོད་པར། དུས་འཀྱངས་ནས་ནོར་ཟད་དུས་བུ་ལོན་རྫོད་ན་ཟེར།

115 When the Kashmiri is starving, he remembers loans.

༡༡༦ ཁྲོམ་བཤོལ་ཏེ། ལྟད་མོ་ལ། ལས་དང་གྲོས་ལྟ་བུའི་དུས་བུད་ནས་མི་ཞིག་སླེབ་ནོང་ན་ཟེར།

116 To set out to watch a performance when the crowd has dispersed.

༡༡༧ ཁ་སུར་མེད་པའི་སྣ་སུར། ཁར་སྤྱོང་དུ་མེད་པའི་ཁ་ཟས་ཀྱི་དྲི་སྣུམ་ན་ཟེར།

117 Nothing to eat, but a nose to smell. (Reference to savoury food which you are not permitted to eat.)

ག

༡༡༨ ག་དར་ལ་ལྷ་མཉེས། བྱ་ར་དང་བརྩོན་ཟེད་པ་ཚེས་དང་མི་མཐུན་པ་མིན་པའི་དཔེར།

118 Caution is esteemed by the gods.

༡༡༩ གང་དགྲ་ཡིན་ནའང་མ་འཐུང་། ཇ་ཆང་ཐུག་པ་སོགས་དགྲས་ཀྱང་བོར་པ་གང་ལས་ལྷག་པར་འཐུང་དགོས་པ་སྟེ། བོར་པ་གཅིག་འཐུང་ནས་ཡང་མི་འཐུང་ཟེར་མཁན་ལ་ཟེར་རོ།

119 Though you should be my enemy, you must drink another cup.

༡༢༠ ཕོ་གཞི་ལ་མ་རྒྱབས་མཁན། ཕོག་མཐའ་ནས་མ་བྲལ་བར་རྒྱལ་ཁམས་མ་འགྲིམ་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

120 He who has not crossed the pass of his own hearth.

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༡༢༡ གོ་བ་མེད་པའི་གླང་ཆེན་ལ། རྒྱལ་པོའི་བཀའ་བས་དབྱུག་པ་ཆེ། མི་གོ་བ་མེད་པའི་གླེན་པ་ལ་ཁ་བཀྱི་བ་བས་རྡུང་བ་ཕན་པའི་དོན་ནོ།

121 Better a stick to a stupid ox than the edict of a king.

༡༢༢ གོས་ཀྱི་མཐུག་ལེབ་ས་ལ་མི་ཐུག་མཁན། འདུག་ཏུ་མི་བཟོད་ཅིང་ཚབ་ཚོབ་བྱེད་དེ་རྒྱུ་ལ་གླིང་སྐོར་བྱེད་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

122 The hem of whose garment does not touch the ground.

༡༢༣ གོས་མེད་ཅིག་གིས་དཔལ་སྐུམ། ཟས་མེད་ཅིག་གིས་སྐྱིད་སྐུམ། གོས་མེད་ན་ཟིལ་འབྲུད། ཟ་རྒྱུ་མེད་ན་སྐྱིད་མ་ཐང་ཆད་ནས་འགྲུལ་མི་ནུས་ཟེར་བའོ།

123 For lack of clothes his splendour declines, and for lack of food the strength of his shin bone fails.

༡༢༤ གྲོད་པ་ལ་ཚོད་མ་བཙོ་ན། ཐིག་མོ་གྱེན་ཆད་གྲོད་པ་ཡིན། བཟའ་བཏུང་ལ་ཚོད་འཛིན་ཏེ་ཉིང་དུ་ཟོ་ཟེར་བའོ།

124 Indiscretion in eating produces all belly above the knees.

༡༢༥ གླང་སྐྱོན་ཆུ་འཐུང། མི་སྐྱོན་ཚེར་མང་བཏོན། གླང་སྐྱོན་དང་མི་སྐྱོན་སྟོན་པའོ།

125 An artful ox pretends to drink, a crafty man pretends to extract a thorn (from his foot).

༡༢༦ གར་ཞ་མཁའ་འགྲོའི་གླིང། མགོ་མཆོད་ཁྲུང་གླིང། རྐང་སོག་མ་གླིང། ཤི་ན་དམྱལ་བ་གླིང། གཞན་ཡུལ་གྱི་མིས་གཡེངས་པར་གར་ཞ་པར་ཟེར་རོ།

126 Lahoul is a fairy land where women's heads are adorned with a lamp, and where the feet are ornamented with straw shoes. To die in this country is hell.

༡༢༧ རྒན་བེར་ས་ལ་མི་ཟུག། རྒན་གཏམ་མི་ལ་མི་ཟུག། མི་རྒས་ན་དེའི་གཏམ་ཡང་མི་རྒྱུག་པའི་དོན་ནོ།

127 The staff of the aged will not stick in the ground; and the conversation of old people makes no impression on others.

༡༢༨ སྒ་སྟོང་ཊེ་ཀ་བྱ་མི་ཐེག། རྟ་ཐོག་ཏུ་མ་བསྟད་པར་ས་ལ་བོར་ཡོད་པའི་སྒའི་ཐོག་ཏུ་མ་སྡོད་ཟེར་བའོ།

128 An unsaddled saddle could not carry a bird.

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༡༢༩ སྐུ་བརྟན་ནི་ཇོ་དང་། སྲོག་བརྟན་ནི་པ་ར། བཙོན་ཁང་ལས་ཇོ་བོས་སྒྲོལ་ཐུབ་པ་ལྟར་དང་། སྲོག་བཙུགས་ནས་ཚེ་ལོ་རྟེ་དུས་པ་ར(+)འཐོན་ན་སྲོག་ཐར་བ་ལྟར། སྲོག་སྐྱབ་པའི་མི་དྲིན་ཅན་ལ་སྟོད་དུས་ཟེར།

129 He is my lord who redeemed my body, the dice which saved my life.

༡༣༠ སྒོ་ནས་ཡོངས་ཏེ། དཀར་ཁུང་ནས་འཐེང་ཆ་ཅེས། སྒོ་གཅིག་ནས་ནང་དུ་འོངས་པ་དཀར་ཁུང་མང་པོ་ནས་འཐོན་ན། འོང་བ་ལས་འགྲོ་བ་མགྱོགས་པ་ལྟར། ནོར་ཇི་ཙམ་ཁང་པར་སོག་ཀྱང་མགྱོན་པར་ཟད་པའི་དོན་དུ་ཟེར།

130 Coming in at the door and going out through the windows.

༡༣༡ སྒོག་པ་མང་ཟོས་ཉུང་ཟོས་སྒོག་རི་(དྲི)གྲོ། བྱ་བ་ངན་པའི་ནང་ཉུང་ཟད་འདྲིས་ཀྱང་མང་པོ་འདྲིས་པ་དང་ཁྱད་མེད་ཟེར་བའོ།

131 He smells of garlic whether he eats much or little. (A fault is a fault whether it be great or small.)

༡༣༢ རྒྱ་གར་ལ་ཉིན་ལོག་བཏང་ཀན། རྒྱ་གར་ལ་ཞག་གཅིག་ནང་འགྲོ་འོང་གཉིས་པོ་སླེབ་པ་ལྟར། ཅེས་ནས་སྨུར་པོར་ལོག་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

132 He who returns from India in one day.

༡༣༣ རྒྱ་ནག་རྟོག་པས་འཕུང་། བོད་རེ་བས་འཕུང་། རྣམ་རྟོག་དང་རེ་བ་བྱས་ནས་འཕུང་ན་ཟེར།

133 China is spoilt through suspicion, Tibet through hope.

༡༣༤ རྒྱ་ནག་ཀོ་རྡོལ་ཤིང་རྡོལ། རྒྱ་ནག་ལ་དམག་མི་མང་བས། ཀོ་བ་དང་ཤིང་གི་མ་ཞེམ་ལས་ལན་གཅིག་འགྲུལ་ན་རྡོལ་ཟེར་བའོ།

134 China pierces skin and wood. (It is said that there are so many soldiers in China that if they pass a door made of wood-slips or a threshold covered with hides they would be broken.)

༡༣༥ རྒྱ་མཚོའི་ལྦུ་བ་ལ། ཆུ་སྲིན་ནི་སེར་སྣ། དཔོན་པོས་བསྒོ་བ་ལས་གཡོག་པོས་གཞན་ལ་ཕྲིས་ནས་སྦྱིན་ན་ཟེར།

135 The sea-serpent envies the foam of the sea.

༡༣༦ རྒྱ་མཚོའི་ཀ་བོང་གཅིན་སྣན་མ། ཕྱུག་པོར་དབུལ་པོའི་ནོར་སྟེར་དུས་སམ། དབུལ་བས་ཕྱུག་པོར་སྟེར་ན་ཟེར།

136 To add the urine of an ass to the sea.

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༡༣༧ རྒྱ་མི་རུ་འགྲིམ་པའི་ཁྱེག་ཕོང་ཀུན། སྔོན་དུས་བླ་དྭགས་གཞུང་འཁོར་པ་ཞིག་རྒྱ་དང་མི་རུ་
བར་དུ་ཕྱིན་ནས་ཡོག་ཕོང་དུས་ཏ་ལས་པས། སྔོན་དུས་དང་ད་ལྟའི་མིའི་འགྲུལ་ལུགས་
སྦྱར་དུས་ཟེར།

137 Young man, you have travelled as far as Rgya and Miru.

༡༣༨ རྒྱགས་ཏེ་ཚིལ་མི་འཁུར། རྒྱུད་དེ་ཁང་མི་ཆད། ཕྱུག་སྐྱེ་ཕོ་སོ་ཙན་དང་། དབུལ་པོ་སོང་
ནས་ཡི་མི་ཆད་ཟེར་བའོ།

138 Through being stout I shall not carry much fat, and through being debilitated I shall not grow tired. (To denote firmness of mind, and indifference to wealth.)

༡༣༩ རྒྱན་དང་མེ་ཏོག་ཆུང་ན་མཛེས། རྒྱན་ཆ་ཉལ་ཉིལ་མང་པོ་བས་ཆུང་ཆུང་མཛེས་ཟེར་བའོ།

139 It is seemly if your ornaments and flowers are small.

༡༤༠ རྒྱབ་པ་སང་སྐྲམ་པ་སྡུ། རྡོ་བ་ལྷ་བུ་རྒྱབ་ན་ཚོད་བྱུས་ནས་རྒྱབ་པས་མི་སྟོ་ཡང་། འཛིགས་པ་
སྟོན་དུ་ཆེ་བ་ཉེན་ཅན་ཞིག་སྐྲམ་པས། དེ་ལག་ནས་འབུད་ན་ལག་འཕལ་དུ་འགྲོ་སྲིད་པས།
རྒྱབ་རྫུན་བྱེད་པ་བས་རྒྱབ་པའི་ནང་ཉེན་ཆུང་ཟེར་བའོ།

140 Brandishing is worse than striking.

༡༤༡ རྒྱལ་ཆོས་ལ་ངེས་པ་མེད། ཨ་ལི་མིར་རི་རྟ་ལ་ཞགས་པ་མེད། ཐུར་ཐག་ཞགས་པ་མེད་
པའི་རྟ་གར་འཐད་རྒྱུ་བ་ལྟར། མི་ཆེན་ཡང་ཆ་བཞག་མེད་ཟེར་བའོ།

141 A king's temper is uncertain; Ali Mir's pony has no rein.

༡༤༢ རྒྱལ་པོའི་ས་ལ་སྤྲང་པོའི་ཐིག། ཧོར་གྱི་བདག་པོ་མ་ཡིན་པས་བདག་པོ་འདྲ་བྱེད་དུས་སུ་
ཟེར།

142 The beggar stretched a line on the king's territory.

༡༤༣ རྒྱལ་པོ་གཉིས་ཡུལ་གཅིག་ནང་མི་ཤོང་། དབང་འཛིན་ཅན་གཉིས་གནས་གཅིག་ཏུ་མི་འཐུན་
ཟེར་བའོ།

143 There is no room for two kings in one country.

༡༤༤ རྒྱལ་པོའི་ཞགས་པ་མཐའ་ནས། རྒྱལ་པོ་དང་དཔོན་པོས་མཐའ་ནས་རྩོད་བཅད་དེ་ཉེས་པ་ཅན་
འཛིན་ཟེར།

144 The lasso of the king encompasses one from afar.

༡༤༥ རྒྱལ་པོའི་བཀའ་དང་ནམ་མཁའི་གློག་འདྲ། རྒྱལ་པོའི་བཀའ་དབང་ཆེ་ལ་བཙན་པའི་དོན་ནོ།

145 The edict of a king is like lightning.

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༡༤༦ རྒྱལ་པོ་ལ་ལྷ་ན་སྐ་གཅིག། བློན་པོ་ལ་ལྷ་ན་སྐ་གཉིས། དོན་གཉིས་ཡོད་པའི་ཚིག་གཏོང་བའི་གཏམ་ལ་ཟེར།

146 The king's speech has but one meaning: a minister of State's speech is ambiguous.

༡༤༧ རྒྱལ་མཚན་ཡེ་མི་འགམ། འཚིག་པ་སྨིག་དུས་སུ་ཕྱིད་ཀྱིས་འདི་ཟ་མི་འོང་ཟེར་ནས་ཟང་མི་འཇུག་པ་དང༌། ངས་འདི་མི་ཟ་ཟེར་བ་ལ་ཁྲིལ་ན་ཟེར།

147 Rgyaltsan does not eat brown flour.

༡༤༨ རྒྱན་གྱི་ལྷ་ཛ། འབེ་དུས་ཉིན་རེར་དཔོན་པོར་ལྷ་ཛ་གཏོང་བ་ལྟར། རྒྱུན་གྱི་ཁ་ཟས་འགངས་ཅན་མེད་པ་ལ་ཟེར་རོ།

148 The daily music of homage (i.e. the usual round of daily meals).

༡༤༩ རྒྱུས་མེད་གོག་སྒུག་ག། ནང་གི་རྒྱུས་མེད་ཞིག་ཤོ་མེད་དུ་སླེབ་ན་ཟེར།

149 A stranger invades the privacy of the best room.

༡༥༠ སྒང་གླས་སེ་སྲན་མ་ལ་ལྟ་ལྟའ། སྤི་ཐུག་གི་སོ་སྙབ་པོའང་བུད། ཡག་པོ་ཞིག་ལ་རྟམ་རྟམ་ལ་ཐུ་བ་དེ་ཡང་ལག་པ་ནས་འབུད་ན་ཟེར།

150 When searching for peas at Sganglas village, he lost the unhusked barley at Spitug.

༡༥༡ སྒྲིད་བུ་གསུམ་མི་བདག་པོ། རྡོ་བ་སྒྲིད་བུ་གསུམ་ལས་གཞན་ནོར་ཅིའང་མེད་རྟུང། སྙོང་མོ་མི་སྙོང་བར་རང་ཟན་ཟ་བའི་མི་ལའམ་མིས་ཟེར།

151 He is the possessor of three stones to form a fireplace.

༡༥༢ སྒྲིད་བུ་གསུམ་བྲང་ལ་ཟུག་རྐེ་མ་ནེ་ནང་བཙོ་མི་ཤེས། ཁང་པའི་འཀྱག་སྐྱོ་དང་འབུད་སྐྱོའི་དགས་ཚ་ན་མ་ཐོག་གོང་དུ་ཤ་ཚ་ཡིས་ལས་མི་བྱེད་པའི་དཔེར།

152 He could not arrange his family affairs until he had hurt himself on the three stones which formed his fireplace.

༡༥༣ རྒྱུ་མ་རིང་མོ། སྣང་བ་རིང་བ་གཡེལ་པོ་ཅན་ལ་ཟེར།

153 He who has long bowels.

༡༥༤ ར་ལ་རོ། རོ་ལ་ཤོག་པ། (སྤྲ་ལ་སྤྲོ། སྤྲོ་ལ་ཤོག་པ)། གཏམ་ཆུང་བ་ཞིག་ལ་རྟས་བཏང་ནས་ཆེན་མོ་བྱེད་ན་ཟེར།

154 To attach feathers to a word, and to add wings to feathers.

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༡༥༥ གྲལ་མེད་ན། འགོམ་ཤོག་མེད། ལས་སྐྱེ་ནང་མེད་ན་ཟེར་རྒྱུ་དང་སྐད་སྒྲའང་མི་འབྱུང་གི། ཡོད་ན་ཡོང་བའི་དཔེ།

155 He who is outside the row (of guests) has no one to supersede him.

༡༥༦ དགུ་སྡེ་བཤལ་ཏེ་བཙོད་ཉོ་ཅེས། སྣམ་བུ་དགུ་ལྷབ་ཀྱི་སྤྱིད་ཀྱི་རིན་བཏང་ནས་སྣམ་བུ་འཚོད་པའི་བཙོད་ཉོ་བ་ལྟར། རིན་ཚོད་མེད་བཅལ་ཏེ་ཅི་ཞིག་ཉོ་ན་ཟེར།

156 He paid the price of nine pieces of cloth, with which to dye one piece of cloth.

༡༥༧ དགུན་ཉིན་ལོག་སྐྱེ་མ་ནི་གྲང་མི་ཤར། དབྱར་ཉིན་ལོག་སྐྱེ་མ་ནི་དྲོད་མི་འབབ། དེ་ནི་དེ་བཞིན་ནོ།

157 It will not be cold before winter solstice and not warm before summer solstice.

༡༥༨ མགར་ར་འཐད་ན། ཁབ་སྐམ་པའི་མགོ་ལ། ལག་ཤེས་འཐད་ན་སྒྲིབ་གཅིག་ནང་ལས་བྱེད་པའི་དོན་ནོ།

158 If a blacksmith is satisfied, the needle will be on the tip of his pincers.

༡༥༩ མགལ་གཅིག་ལ་མེ་མི་འབར། ཤིང་མགལ་ཞོ་གཅིག་ལ་མེ་མི་འབར་ཟེར།

159 You cannot kindle a fire with but one stick.

༡༦༠ མགོ་ཆག་གི་མགོ་ལ། སྣད་ནས་ཡོད་སར་ཡང་ཡང་འཛོག་པའི་དོན་ནོ།

160 On top of the broken head.

༡༦༡ མགོ་མཐོ་བར་པིག་མོ་མ་དགའ། རང་གི་ནང་ནས་མི་ཞིག་ཆེ་བར་གྱུར་ནས། རང་གི་མི་མི་འཐད་ན་ཟེར།

161 The knees do not like the head to be above them.

༡༦༢ མགོ་མ་ཚོས་པར་གླད་པའི་ཟ་རིངས། དུས་ལས་སྔོན་དུ་ཟ་བར་རིངས་ན་ཟེར།

162 To be eager to eat the brains before the head is cooked.

༡༦༣ མགོ་མེད་དཔུང་པའི་རོག་རོག། མགོ་རི་བྱེད་མཁན་གང་ཡང་མེད་པར་ཧིད་རང་འཐད་དུ་བྱེད་པ་ཡོད་ན་ཟེར།

163 Many rude shoulders without a head.

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༡༦༤ མགོ་ལ་གཡུ་གཞུང་བཏག་པ་བསམ་པའི་མགོ་བསྐོར་ཡིན། མནའ་མ་མནའ་མ་ཟེར་བ་མིའི་ གཡོག་པོ་ཡིན། བག་མར་འགྲོ་བའི་བུ་མོར་ཟེར།

164 In wearing the best turquoises she merely deceived herself: for she was a servant who called herself a bride.

༡༦༥ མགོ་ཤ་རི་ལ་ཆ་ཅེས། བཀྱིད་པ་སྐྱུར་བཅམ་ཡི་མུག་ནས་ལས་བྱེད་སྙིང་མེད་པ་འགྲོ་བ་ལ་ ཟེར།

165 One's scalp escapes to the hills. (To give up one's courage.)

༡༦༦ མགོ་ཤ་ཟ་ནའང་སྡེར་གཅིག། མ་ཟ་ནའང་སྡེར་གཅིག། ར་ལུག་གི་མགོ་ཤ་ཟོས་ཀྱང་ འབོངས་མཐལ་དུ་ལུས་པའི་དཔེའོ།

166 The dish is full whether you eat the flesh of the sheep's head or not.

༡༦༧ མགོའི་ནང་ང་ཀླད་མེད། སྙིང་ངེ་ནང་ང་བསམ་མེད། བསམ་བློ་མེད་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

167 No brains in his head; no thoughts in his mind.

༡༦༨ མགོའི་ནང་ང་གངས་འཁྱུར་མཁན། བསམ་པ་མེད་པའི་ན་སོ་གཞོན་པ་མགོ་མཁྲང་བ་ལ་ ཟེར།

168 He carries ice in his head.

༡༦༩ མགྱོགས་མགྱོགས་པ་འཐོ། འཐོ་འཐོ་པ་བཏུ། རིངས་པ་ཏབ་རྟོབ་བྱེད་ན་མང་དུ་འགོར་བའི་ དོན་ནོ།

169 Through haste the contents fell on the ground, and through falling, he collected them again (i.e. more haste less speed).

༡༧༠ མགྲོན་པོ་གཅེས་པ་ལ་ཉེ་རེ། མགྲོན་པོ་སོགས་ལ་ཆང་གི་ཉེ་རེ་སྐྱེར་ན་ཟེར།

170 The dregs of beer go to the favoured guest.

༡༧༡ འགྲང་ན་སྒུ་རམ་ཁན་ཏི། འགྲངས་ན་མངར་བ་ཡང་ཁན་ཏི་ཚོར་བ་ལ་ཟེར།

171 When you have eaten to repletion, even the syrup tastes bitter.

༡༧༢ དགོན་པའི་ཁྱི་ལ་རྡུངས་པ། བླ་མའི་ཐུགས་ལ་ཐོག ། ཁྱིར་བརྡུང་ན་བདག་པོའི་སེམས་ལ་ འཐོག་པས། མིས་གཡོག་པོར་རྡུང་བ་སོགས་ཀྱིས་དཔོན་པོ་ཁྲིམས་ན་ཟེར།

172 Beat the monastery dog, and you will incur the resentment of the priest.

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༡༧༣ དགུ་བཅུའི་ཁ་ནས་ལྡོག་མཁན། གཏམ་སྐྱེ་རི་བོ་རི་ལྡོག་པའི་མི་ཁྲམ་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

173 He who turns the tables at the ninetieth opportunity (i.e. defeating an opponent in argument at the eleventh hour).

༡༧༤ རྒྱལ་པོ་དགའ་མ་བསམ། གནམ་ཐང་མ་བསམ། རྒྱལ་པོ་དང་གནམ་ལ་ཆ་བཞག་མེད་ཟེར་བཞོ།

174 Think not that the king delights in you, or that the sky is clear.

༡༧༥ རྒྱལ་ལུ་ཡོད་ཡིན། རྒྱལ་ས་ག་ནས་སྟོངས་ཡིན། འབྲུང་པ་ཅན་གར་སླེབ་ཀྱང་མགོ་ཆོད་ཅིང་སྐྱིད་པའི་དོན་ནོ།

175 Whilst there is a prince, how can the capital be ruined ?

༡༧༦ ག་ལག་གི་མི་བཙོ་དུས། སྟོན་དཔྱིད་ཀྱི་ལས་དུས་སུ་མི་ལག་དཀོན་པས་ཟེར།

176 The time to make men with clay. (When work is very pressing in spring-time and autumn.)

༡༧༧ བརྒྱ་སྐྱེས་སང་གཅིག་སྐྱུར་ཟླ། ཕྲུ་གུ་བརྒྱ་སྐྱེ་བ་བས་ཕྲུ་གུ་གཅིག་སྐྱུར་བ་ཉེན་ཅན་ཡིན་ཟེར།

177 One miscarriage is worse than bearing a hundred children. (It is thought that a miscarriage renders a mother incapable of bearing many children.)

༡༧༨ གྲོད་པོ་ཆེ་དང་སྡེར་མ་གཅིག གྲོད་པ་ཆེན་པོ་མཉྫ་དུ་ཁ་ཟས་ཟ་ལི་གཅིག་ནང་མ་ཟ། ཟ་ན་ཁྲོད་ཚོ་ཆེ་བར་འགྱུར།

178 Don't share a plate with a glutton. (Otherwise you will be identified with a glutton.)

༡༧༩ གོས་ཆེན་གྱི་གུར་ལ་ཕ་རའི་ལྷན་པ།

179 To patch rough cloth on a silk tent.

ང

༡༨༠ ང་རྒྱལ་གྱི་མགོ་ལ་རང་མཐོང་གི་རྭ་ཅོ་སྐྱེ་ན། ཤིང་མཁན་མཁས་པའི་སོག་ལེས་ཀྱང་མི་ཆོད།

180 The horn of haughtiness could not be sawn with the saw of a clever carpenter.

༡༨༡ ང་ལ་བརྒྱད་ཅུ། ང་ལ་ཐོང་ཞིག་ཟེར་གྱིན་སྡོད་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

181 He who says 'give me eighty times' (e.g. an insatiable egotist).

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༡༨༢ ངན་པ་དགུ་འཛོམ། བར་ཆད་སྣ་ཚོགས་དུས་གཅིག་ལ་འོང་ན་ཟེར། ལོ་གསར་གྱི་ཟླ་བ་བཅུ་གཉིས་པའི་ཚེས་ལ་འང་ངན་པ་དགུ་འཛོམ་ཟེར། བོད་པས་ཞག་དེར་སྐྱེས་པའི་ཕྲུ་གུ་ལ་བཀྲ་མི་ཤིས་ཟེར་རོ།

182 The assembling of nine evils.

༡༨༣ ཛ་མ་བཏག་ལོང་མི་འདུག། ལྗུ་གཏང་ལོང་ག་ནས། ལས་འཛོམ་ནང་ཉ་ང་ལ་ལོང་མེད་ཟེར་བ་ཡིན།

183 If a cow has no time to elevate her tail, how can she drop her dung? (When a man has too much work to do.)

༡༨༤ སྔ་མོའི་འཚལ་མ་དང་། ཉིན་གཅིག་གི་སྒྲ་ཡལ། མི་ལག་གིས་འཚལ་མ་ཟོས་ཟིན་ན། ཉིན་གང་ལས་བྱེད་དགོས་ཟེར།

184 Through partaking of breakfast he became a slave for the rest of the day.

༡༨༥ སྔོན་མ་སྣག་རྒྱབ་ན། རྗེང་མ་དགོད་མ་ཤོར། གཞན་ཞིག་འཁྱུགས་ན་མ་ཁྲིལ། ཁྱོད་ཀྱང་འཁྱུགས་སྲིད་ཟེར་བ་ཡིན།

185 If the one in front stumbles, do not laugh at him who is behind.

༡༨༦ སྔོན་མ་ཕྲད་པ་གྲོགས་ཀྱི་མཆོག། སྔར་ཕྲད་པའི་མཆེད་གྲོགས་དང་ཆུང་མ་ཁྱོ་སོགས་རྒྱལ་བ་ཡིན་ཟེར།

186 He is your best friend whom you meet first.

༡༨༧ སྔོན་མ་ཤ་ཟ་མཁན། རྗེང་མ་ཁྲག་འཐུང་མཁན། དཔོན་པོ་སྔ་མ་བས་རྗེང་མ་ཧེབ་ངན་པའོ་ཟེར།

187 The first were cannibals, and their successors blood-drinkers. (Used of corrupt officials.)

༡༨༨ སྔར་བྱས་རྒྱབ་སྐུར། ད་བྱ་པང་ལེན། སྔར་ཅི་བྱས་སྤངས་ཏེ། ད་བྱེད་དགོས་པ་དང་འོས་པ་དང་དུ་ལེན་ཟེར།

188 Cast your former deeds behind you, and take to your bosom what you have to do now.

༡༨༩ ངོམ་མི་ངོམ་ཤིང་དང་། འཕྱོར་རི་འཕྱོར་ཤིང་། རང་གི་མི་ངོམ་ཐུབ་པ་ལ་སྟོད་དུས་སུ་ཟེར།

189 The stock of pride and the stock of boasting.

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༡༩༠ ངོས་ངན་ཅན་ལ་དར་རི་མེན་ཏོག། བུད་མེད་ལྷ་བུམ་སྔར་ལས་ངན་བྱས་ཏེ་གཏམ་ངན་ཐོག་
ནས། ཕྱིས་དེ་འདྲ་བྱ་བ་ངན་པ་སྤྲངས་པའི་འོག་ཏུ་གཏམ་ངན་དོན་མེད་དུ་འབྱུང་ན་ཟེར།

190 The Ladar flower (Convolvulus) has an evil aspect.

༡༩༡ རྫུན་བརྒྱ་མི་ལ་བཏབ་ན། རྫུན་སྟོང་རང་ལ། གཞན་ལ་རྫུན་བཏབ་ན་རང་ལ་དེ་བས་ཤེབ་
གནོད་ཟེར།

191 He who curses others a hundred times collects a thousand curses for himself.

༡༩༢ ངོ་མི་ཐོད། མགོ་མི་ཆོད། མིའི་ངོ་ལ་བལྟས་ཏེ་འཐད་བཙུག་པས་ལས་གང་ཡང་མི་སྒྲུབ་
ཟེར།

192 He who cannot refuse (a request) cannot succeed.

༡༩༣ ཕྲུ་མ་ངུའ་ཨ་མས་ནུ་ཞུའང་པི་བི་མི་གཏང་། རང་ལ་དགོས་པ་ཁ་ནས་ཞུས་ནས་མིན་མི་
ཐོབ་ཟེར་བའོ།

193 A mother does not suckle her child until it cries.

༡༩༤ སྐར་དཔེ་ཁྲི་ལམ། རང་གི་ཁ་ནས་སྐར་སློབ་པ་ལྟར། ཁྲིམས་སུ་ཡང་རང་གིས་དེ་ལ་ཉན་
དགོས་ཟེར་བའོ།

194 A man's precepts must become the line of action he follows.

༡༩༥ ངན་པའི་འཚེར་མ་བཅད་ན། བདེན་པའི་ཡིད་མི་ཆེས། བྱ་བ་བདེ་བ་འདོད་ན་སྡར་ངན་པ་ལ་
ཆད་པས་གཅོད་དགོས་པའི་དཔེའོ།

195 If evil is not utterly eradicated, there is no assurance of betterment.

ཅ

༡༩༦ ཅ་རི་བང་ང་གང་ང་ཆུ་ཚན་བླུག་མཁན། ཁྲིལ་དང་ངོ་ཚ་རྒྱུ་མེད་པ་ལ་སྨད་དུ་ཟེར།

196 To pour hot water on a binful of bugs.

༡༩༧ ཅང་ཏེའི་དཔང་པོ། མཛའ་བོ་གཉིས་འཚོང་བྱེད་དུ་སོང་ནས། ཆར་པ་ཡོང་ནས་བྲང་སའི་
ནང་དུ་ཅང་ཏེ་ཡོང་བས་གཅིག་དེས་གཞན་དེ་བསད་དེ་ཁའི་ནོར་ཐོད་ཁྱེར་ནས། ལོ་
མང་འོག་ཏུ་མི་དེ་རང་གི་ཆུང་མ་མཉམ་ཟླ་ནས་ཡོད་དུས་སུ་དགོད་ཤོར་བས། ཁོས་
ཡང་ཡང་དེའི་རྒྱུ་རྐྱེན་དྲིས་པ་དང་། མཐར་དེས་ངས་མི་དེ་བསད་དུས་སུ་ཁོས" དེ་

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ཟིང་ཙང་ཏེ་ཁྱོད་རང་དཔང་པོ་ཡིན་”སྨྲས་པ་དེ་དྲན་ནས་དགོད་པ་ཡིན། ཅི་ལ་ཞེ་ན། ད་ལྟ་འདྲེར་ཡང་ཙང་ཏེ་འོང་བས་སོ་སྙམ་སོ། ཞོས་གཞན་མཛའ་མོ་ཀུན་ལ་གཏམ་དེ་བཤད་པས། ཁྱིམ་མི་དེ་ལས་དགྲ་ཤ་འདངས་ཏེ་དེ་ཡང་བསད་པས་གཏམ་དཔེར་ལུས་སོ།

197 The witness of a leaking roof. (Once two friends travelling on a trading expedition quarrelled, and the one killed the other when the roof under which they lived was leaking. No one was there to witness the deed. The dying man said: 'You drops of water shall be my witness'. The friend then got all the wealth of the deceased. After many years when he was sleeping with his wife he smiled, and his wife asked him the reason for this, and at last he gave his reason for smiling. He said: 'Just as to-day the roof was leaking when I killed a man, and he called upon the drops of water to be his witness, so this reminded me of the incident.' His wife told her friends about this, and her husband was convicted of murder, and had to pay the penalty of his crime.)

༡༩༨ ཟུབ་བཙད་པའི་མི་དང་། ཁ་བཙད་པའི་རྫ་མ། ཁ་བཀག་ཡོད་པའི་རྫ་མའི་ཆང་ངད་ཅན་འགྲོ་བ་ལྟར། ཁ་རོག་པའི་མི་ཡང་དཀན་ཙན་འོང་བའི་དོན་ནོ།

198 A silent man is like a corked bottle. (Liquor kept in a corked bottle is supposed to gain in strength, so a silent man is thought to be good at repartee.)

༡༩༩ ཅོག་ལམ་ས་ཀ་གའི་ཙོག་ཙོག། ཀ་ཀ་དང་ནྃ་ཡོད་པའི་ཡུལ་ལ་ཟེར།

199 Choglamsar is full of men of good birth. (When there are many men in a village of high birth.)

༢༠༠ ཅི་ལ་སྦྱང་ན། དེ་ལ་མཁས། བྱ་བ་ཅི་ནང་སྦྱང་ན་དེ་ནང་མཁས་པ་འགྲོ་ཟེར།

200 You become clever in that which you practise.

༢༠༡ ལྕུ་གུ་དང་ཕྲུ་གུ་ཆུང་ངུ་ནས་སྲོང་། ལྕུག་གུ་ཆུང་ངུ་སྲང་བ་སླ་བ་ལྟར་ཕྲུ་གུ་ཡང་ཆུང་ངུ་ནས་སྲང་སླ་ཟེར།

201 Straighten the saplings, and train a child when he is young.

༢༠༢ ལྕེ་དམར་ཆུང་ལ་ཉ་ར་མ་བཙོན། མགོ་རིལ་རིལ་ལ་ངོ་བརྒྱལ་སྐྱོད་རྒྱུ་རེ། ལྕེ་ལ་ཉ་ར་བྱོས་ཟེར།

202 Fail to control his small red tongue, and his round head will suffer sorely.

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༢༠༣ སྨྲ་ཅན་ལ་མི་འདོད། སྣང་འཛག་པ་ཁྱི་འདོད། མི་སྨྲ་པ་ལ་འམ་ཛོ་གསོའི་གཏམ་པབ་ཅེང
འདོད་འཛུག་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

203 Men like flatterers, and dogs like those afflicted with dysentery.

༢༠༤ ལྕེའི་ཁ་ཞིང་རྨོ་མཁན། མི་བཟླུར་ཅན་ཤོབ་ཅན་གྱི་གཏམ་ཤབ་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

204 He who ploughs on his tongue.

༢༠༥ ལྕགས་གཡའ་སྨན། ཟངས་གཡའ་དུག། ལྕགས་གཡའ་དང་ཟངས་གཡའི་ཁྱེར་ཟེར།

205 The rust of iron is a remedy, and that of copper a poison.

ཆ

༢༠༦ ཆ་ཆ་འགྲོ་འགྲོ་སྐྱིད་ལ་གནོད། ཐེངས་སུ་འགྲོ་ན། རྒྱུགས་ཁྱེར་བས་སྐྱིད་ལ་གནོད་ཟེར།

206 Going to and fro is hurtful to a livelihood

༢༠༧ ཆ་མཁན་ལ་མེ་རིལ་མ་རྒྱུག། འདུག་མཁན་ལ་སྒལ་བཀལ་མ་བཅུག། འདུག་མཁན་ལ་
འདུག་པའི་གྲལ་དང་འགྲོ་མཁན་ལ་འགྲོ་བའི་གྲལ་ཆེད་དུ་རྒྱུག་ཟེར།

207 Don't let a wayfarer cover the fire, and don't let the one who stays at home, load the animal. (The wayfarer cares little for a fire, and the 'stay-at-home' person dislikes preparing for a journey.)

༢༠༨ ཆང་རིན་སང་རྫ་རིན་བྲུ། ཆང་གི་རིན་བཅད་ནས་ཧོ་བས། རྫ་མ་ཆག་ན་དེའི་རིན་ཚང་མས་
ཇི་བཅད་འཛལ་དགོས་ཟེར།

208 The price of the bottle is greater than that of the beer. (The price of the liquor is fixed, but break the bottle and you will have to pay what the owner demands.)

༢༠༩ ཆགས་ཞོ། མ་ཆགས་དར་ར། ང་ལུས་ན་ལུས། མ་ལུས་ན་མ་ལུས། ཅེ་ཆ་ནའང་སོང་
ཟེར་བའི་དོན་ནོ།

209 Coagulated milk becomes curds, and if not congealed it becomes buttermilk. (When a man is in difficulties. It means 'Let happen what will'.)

༢༡༠ ཆག་པོས་གས་པོ་ལ་ཁྲེལ་ཅེས། སྐྱོན་མང་ཡོད་པས་སྐྱོན་ཅུང་ཡོད་པ་ལ་ཁྲེལ་ན་ཟེར།

210 The broken article blamed the cracked one.

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༢༡༡ ཆུ་ཁྲོད་རང་འཁོལ་ཡིན་འདུག། ཕེ་ངས་ནི་འགམ་ཚར། ངའི་དོན་འགྲུབ་ཚར། ཁྱོད་ཁྲོ་
འཁོལ་ནའང་ཁོལ་ཟེར་བའོ།

211 The flour is eaten, so the water may go on boiling (i.e. I have fulfilled my task, so you may be angry if you like).

༢༡༢ ཆུ་ཆུང་ངུ་དང་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཆུང་ངུ་ལ་ཚོད་མ་བཅད། དོན་གོ་བ་སླ་མོ་ཡིན།

212 Don't belittle the petty king, or belittle the tiny stream.

༢༡༣ ཆུ་མ་མཐོང་ང་ལྷམ། གཙང་པོའི་རྒྱར་མ་ཕྱིན་ཏེ་ལྷམ་ཕུད་པ་ལྟར། དུས་ལས་སྔོན་དུ་
འཇིགས་པ་འམ་གྲལ་བྱེད་ན་ཟེར།

213 To shed one's shoes before seeing the water.

༢༡༤ ཆུ་མ་ཡོང་བར་ཆུ་སྒྲ། ཆུ་ལས་སྔོན་དུ་སྐད་ཐོས་པ་ལྟར། མི་མ་སླེབ་གོང་དུ་དེའི་གཏམ་འབྱུང་
བ་ཐོས་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

214 The sound of running water may be heard before it reaches you.

༢༡༥ ཆུ་མང་པོ་ལ་རབས་མེད། དཔེ་ར་མང་པོ་ལ་རིན་མེད། གཏམ་བརྩད་ཅན་ཅུང་ཙམ་ལབ་
དགོས་ཟེར།

215 No ford in deep waters; no value in much talk.

༢༡༦ ཆུ་མིག་རང་བཞིན་མ་སྐམ་ན། ས་རྡོ་རི་རབ་བཀབ་ནའང་མི་སྐམ། རང་བཞིན་གྱིས་མི་ཞིག་
གི་སྤོབས་མ་ཉམས་ན། གཞན་གྱིས་གནན་པའམ་འཚེ་བས་དེའི་སྤོབས་མི་འགྱུར་ཟེར།

216 If a spring does not of itself dry up, covering it with earth, stones, or even a mountain range will not dry it up.

༢༡༧ ཆུ་ཚབ་མཱ་མར་ཁུ། ཟས་ཁ་ལན་དང་རྟགས་ལན་ལེགས་པ་གཏང་དགོས་ཟེར།

217 Melted butter instead of water. (Offering something better in return for a meal or gift.)

༢༡༨ ཆུའི་ཐལ་རྡུལ། ཆུ་ཐོག་གི་ཐལ་རྡུལ་དང་ལྷ་ཡོད་ཀྱང་དང་ལྷ་སྡོར་བ་ལྟར། རྟག་གཞི་མེད་པའི་
མི་ལ་ཟེར།

218 A speck of dust on the water. (To denote unsteadiness.)

༢༡༩ ཆུ་སང་སེང་ང། ཉ་སང་འཇམ་མ། ཉོར་མེད་ལ་སྨད་དུས་སུ་ཟེར།

219 Thinner than water, and softer than a fish (i.e. a dissolute person).

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༢༢༠ ཆུ་ཞིག་འཕེ་ན་རྒྱལ། མི་ཞིག་འདུམ་ན་རྒྱལ། མཐུན་མོར་སྡོད་དུ་ཟེར།

220 It is better to divert a stream, and to be reconciled to another. (Diverting a stream makes it easier to cross.)

༢༢༡ ཆུས་ཁྱེར་མཁན་ནང་ལ་འཐེན་ཅེས། འདས་ཤུལ་ཞེང་ཕུད་ཟིན་པ་དག་ཡོད་པ་འདྲ་བྱེད་ཅིང་གཏམ་བྱེད་ན་ཟེར།

221 To draw in one's breath which the water has washed away (i.e. talking of things which you once possessed).

༢༢༢ ཆུས་ཁྱེར་གྱི་ར་གི། ཆུས་འཁྱེར་བའི་མིའི་ལག་ཏུ་རལ་གྲི་ཡོད་ན་སུ་ལ་འཕང་མི་ལྟ་བར་རྒྱབ་པ་ལྟར། མི་གཡག་སྐྱུ་ཡིས་ཀྱང་རང་གཞན་གང་ལ་འཕང་མི་ལྟ་ཟེར་བའོ།

222 As a sword in the hand of a drowning man (i.e. he would strike anyone whom he would encounter. Said of an unscrupulous person.)

༢༢༣ ཆེ་ད་འབྲོང་ཆེ། བྲོ་མེད་ན་ཁྱིས་མི་ཟ། ཆེ་བ་ཡིན་རུང་བྲོད་མེད་ན་སུ་ལ་འཕང་མི་དགོས་ཟེར།

223 If a wild Yak is tasteless, a dog will not eat it (i.e. not quantity but quality which counts).

༢༢༤ ཆོད་ན་སོ་དང་དུད་ཡིན། མ་ཆོད་ན་རྙིལ་དང་ལྡད་ཡིན། ཤ་དང་དགྲ་ལ་བལྟས་ནས་ཟེར།

224 If I cannot chew it with my teeth, I shall masticate it with my gums. (To denote enemy, or when you have to eat tough meat.)

༢༢༥ ཆོས་ཀྱི་དཔང་པོ་དགེ་འདུན། དཔང་པོ་བདེན་པ་ལ་ལྟས་ནས་ཟེར།

225 The priests are they who bear witness for religion.

༢༢༦ ཆོས་ཀྱི་ཡ་ཊ་རྗེང་ནས། ཆེ་མི་འགྲོ་དུས་སམ་རྗེང་ནས་བར་དོ་དང་ལྷད་མོ་ལྟ་ཅེས་ཡོང་ཡོན་ཟེར།

226 The religious feast comes at the end. (Ironical proverb meaning that the religious feast is the prelude to trouble.)

༢༢༧ ཆོས་བཙོས་ལ་བདུད། ཆོས་བྱེད་དུས་སུ་འཛིང་འཁྲབ་དང་། ལས་བཟང་བྱེད་སར་དེ་འཛིག་པར་བྱེད་པ་ཞིག་འོང་ན་ཟེར།

227 The devil is on hallowed ground.

༢༢༨ ཆོས་བཟང་ཞིག་གི་སར། སེམས་བཟང་ཞིག་རྒྱལ། སེམས་བཟང་སྙིད་དུ་ཟེར།

228 A good heart is better than sound belief.

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༢༢༩ མཆོང་དཔང་བརྒྱ་གདང་ནའང་། འབབ་ཐང་གཅིག། གྲིན་དུ་ཚོམ་མཚོད་ཡང་སླ་ལ་འབབ་པ་ལྟར། གནམ་གྱི་ནང་དུ་རང་སྐྱིན་དང་དོན་ལས་ཚོམ་འགྲོལ་ཡང་། མཐར་དེ་ཀར་འབབ་བོ།

229 Though he rise a hundred times, the result is the same.

༢༣༠ ཆུ་འཐོན་འཐོན་བླ་མ་མཁྱེན། ཆུ་ཐོན་པ་བླ་མ་ཡེད། ཆུ་རྒལ་དུས་སུ་ཆད་མེད་པར་བླ་མ་མཁྱེན་ཟེར་ཀྱི། ཆུ་ཐོན་པ་དང་བླ་མའི་མིང་མ་ཤེས་པ་ལྟར། རང་དོན་འགྲུབ་པ་དང་དྲིན་མི་དྲན་པའི་མི་ལ་ཟེར།

230 When fording a river he cries 'Oh God', but having crossed it, he flees from Him.

༢༣༡ ཆའི་རིང་ལ་སྐོར་ར། གཞན་ལས་ཀྱི་ངོར་ལ་ཆོས་ཀྱི་བྱ་བ་བྱེད་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

231 To circumambulate when engaged in the business of walking (i.e. combining religion with worldly activities).

༢༣༢ ཆང་མཐལ་ལ་ཆང་། ཆང་འཐུང་བས་མགོ་ཟུག་འབྱུང་ན། ཡང་ཆང་འཐུང་ན་འཆུད་པའི་དོན་ནོ།

232 Wine on the top of wine (i.e. a headache through drinking liquor counteracted by drinking again).

༢༣༣ ཚོག་པ་ནོར་གྱི་མཆོག། ཆོས་པ་དང་ཚོམ་པ་ནི་ནོར་ཀུན་གྱི་མཆོག་གི་ནོར་ཡིན་ཟེར།

233 A sufficiency is the greatest wealth.

༢༣༤ ཆུང་དུས་ནས་ཏེ། ཆེ་འཁྲུགས། ཕྲུ་གུ་དང་སྤྲུ་གུ་འཁྲུག་པ་བཏང་བའི་རྐྱེན་གྱིས་ཕ་མ་ཀུན་འཁྲུག་གོ

234 Seniors contend for the causes of juniors.

༢༣༥ ཆུའི་འཁོལ་ཁྱུར་རང་། བག་མའི་ངུ་ཁྱུར། ཆུ་མ་འཁོལ་ཁར་འཁོལ་འདྲའི་སྣང་ཞིབ་ཤི་ཤི་ཟེར་བ་དང་བག་མའི་ངུ་བ་ལ་ཟེར།

235 Water pretends to boil, and a bride simulates weeping. (When speaking of a bride who simulates grief at a wedding.)

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༢༣༦ ཇ་ཁ་དམར། ཆང་ཁ་མཐོ། ཇ་ནི་ཁོར་པ་མ་གང་ཙམ་དང་། ཆང་ལྷེམ་ལྷེམ་ལྷག་དགོས་ཟེར།

236 Tea lower than the brim, and beer up to the brim of the cup.

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༢༣༧ ཇ་དང་དགེ་རྒན་ཚ་ན་རྒྱལ། ཇ་དང་སློབ་དཔོན་གཉིས་ཀོ་ཚ་བ་ཡོད་ན་རྒྱལ་ཟེར།

237 It is well to have one's tea hot, and one's teacher ardent.

༢༣༨ ཇ་འཚར་པ་སོ་པ་རི། གསོལ་དཔོན་འཚར་པ་ཉ་མ་ཇུ། ཡ་རབས་ཀྱི་མལ་དུ་མ་རབས་སླེབ་ན་ཟེར།

238 When one's tea is exhausted then use betel nut, when no cooks Nyamaju becomes cook.

༢༣༩ ཇ་རིན་གྱི་གྲ་གྱུ་ལ། ཏ་རིན་ཅི་ཞག་ར། རིན་རྟུང་བའི་སོར་ཕྱིར་ཤོར་མང་པོ་སྐྱག་དུས་སུ་ཟེར།

239 To build a wall the price of a pony, round a field worth a farthing.

༢༤༠ ཇོ་ཐོབ་པོ་གསེར། ལེགས་ལྷོད་ཅེ་ལག་ཏུ་སྨིན་པ་ནི་གསེར་འདྲ་ཧྲིས་ཤིག་ཟེར་བཅོ།

240 What you have already obtained is as gold.

༢༤༡ ཇོ་ཇོ་འབྲུག་གུ་མའི་འཐགས་ཙོགས། ཇོ་འབྲུག་གུ་མས་ལོ་རེ་ནང་བཀད་རེ་ངཐག་གོ་ཞེས་
བོད་པས་སེམས་པས། ལས་འགྲུབ་ཏུ་འགོར་རྒྱུ་ཡོད་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

241 Like the weaving of Jo-Jo Druguma. It is supposed that Druguma, the wife of Kesar, wore some home-spun cloth at which time she crossed her shuttle once in a year, so that the cloth could only be completely woven by the time the world came to an end. So the saying denotes work which is accomplished exceedingly slowly.

༢༤༢ ཇོ་ཇོ་ལྟོགས་པ་བྲ་ཡེ་རགས། མི་ཞིག་ལྟོགས་ནས་ཟས་ཞིམ་མེད་ཟ་ན་ཟེར།

242 Her ladyship eats buckwheat flour when she is hungry.

༢༤༣ ཇོའི་བཟན་ཟ་བ་ལ། བྲན་གྱི་ཚེ་འཁྱེར། དཔོན་པོས་གཞན་ལ་བཏང་བའི་ཟན་དང་གསོལ་
རས་ལ་གཡོག་པོ་འཚིག་ན་ཟེར།

243 Servants are horrified when someone else eats their master's food. (Denotes jealousy.)

༢༤༤ ཇེ་ཤེས་མི་ཤེས་ངས་ཤེས་སད། ཇེ་སྐྱིད་མི་སྐྱིད་ང་ལ་སྐྱིད་འདུག ལག་ལས་སྣ་ཚོགས་
ཤེས་པ་ཞིག་ལ་རྟོར་མཚོར་བར་དབུལ་པོར་ལུས་ཏེ། ནང་ཆེད་མི་ཤེས་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

244 I can do all sorts of things but all sorts of want assails me.

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༢༤༥ ཉ་བདེ་ཆུ་བདེ། ཕན་ཚུན་གཉིས་ཀར་བདེ་བ་ཐུག་ནས་བཟང་ཕྱོགས་བྱེད་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

245 Peace to the fish, and tranquillity to the water.

༢༤༦ ཉ་དྲི་བསད་དུ་ཟ་ཟ་རེ། ཉ་དྲི་སེལ་དུ་ཁ་ཟེའི་ ཟ་རི་ཟ་བའི་སྨན་སྦྱོད་དགོས་ཟེར།

246 Spice is needed to counteract the smell of fish.

༢༤༧ ཉ་ལ་བལ་མེད། ནོར་མེད་པའི་མི་དབུལ་པོ་ནས་ཁེ་མི་འབྱུང་ཟེར།

247 A fish has no fleece (i.e. an indigent person).

༢༤༨ ཉ་དང་ཉུང་མ། ཁྲག་དང་སྒྲོ་(སྒྲོ)། ཉ་དང་ཉུང་མ་སྲེས་ནས་བསྐོལ་ཏེ་ཟ་ན་གནོད་དོ་སེམས་པས། ཕན་ཚུན་ཟ་སྦྲུགས་བརྡུག་ནས་ཁྲག་དང་སྒྲོ་བསྲེས་འདྲ་ཞིག་ཏུ་མི་མཛེས་པའི་གནོད་སྐྱེལ་བའི་མི་ཟ་སྦྲུག་སྐྱལ་བྱེད་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

248 Fish, turnip, blood, and the contents of the stomach.

༢༤༩ ཉལ་མཁན་ལ་སྐལ་བ་མེད། ཤི་མཁན་ལ་འགྲོས་མེད།

249 There is no portion for the sleeper, and a dead man does not walk.

༢༥༠ ཉི་མ་རྒས་ནའང་། དམར་ཐག་མ་ཡལ་བ་ཡོད། ང་ལ་གྲོགས་བྱེད་པ་གཙོ་ཆེ་བ་ཤི་ནའང་དུ་རྒྱང་གཞན་རེ་ཡོད། ཉེས་མེས་ཚོད་བཅད་དུས་སུ་ཟེར།

250 Though the sun sets, its rays play on the mountain (of one who has lost his chief friend but gets others).

༢༥༡ ཉ་བསད་དེ་ཁྱི་ལ་སྦྱིན་པའ། ཁ་དམན་དབུལ་པོ་བཅོམ་ནས་མི་ནོར་ཡོད་ལ་སྦྱིན་ན་ཟེར།

251 To kill a fish and give it to a dog as an alm (of one who robs the pocr and feeds the rich).

༢༥༢ རྨི་ལམ་བག་ཆགས་རྒྱུ་འཕྲུལ་ཙམ། རང་གི་བསམ་པའི་བག་ཆགས་བཞིན་དུ་རྨི་བས་དེ་ལ་ཡིད་མ་ཆེས་ཟེར།

252 A dream is only a natural delusion (or illusion).

༢༥༣ ཉིན་མོར་གཉིད་ལོག་སྟེ། མཚན་མོར་ཤིག་བཏུ་ཅེས། ཉིན་མོའི་ལས་མཚན་མོར་བྱེད་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

253 To sleep during the day, and search for lice at night.

༢༥༤ ཉིན་ལ་སློང་མཁན། མཚན་ལ་རྐུ་མཁན། དེ་འདྲའི་སྤྱོད་པ་དང་ལྡན་པའི་སློང་མོ་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

254 A beggar during the day, and a thief at night.

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༢༥༥ རྒྱང་རྡེ་ཁར་རིད་པ། ནད་ཅིག་མ་དྲངས་པར་གཞན་ནད་ཅིག་འབྱུང་ན་ཟེར།

255 When suffering from diarrhoea, he became torpid. (One suffering more than one malady at the same time.)

༢༥༦ ཉིན་ལ་རྐུན་མ་མ་རྐུ། རི་གི་རྩང་མ་མིག་ཡིན། མཚན་ལ་ཞག་གཏམ་མ་ལབ། རྩིག་མིག་རྩང་མ་རྣམ་ཅོག་ཡིན།

256 Steal not during the day, for the mountains are eyes; utter no secrets at night, for the crevice in the walls are ears.

༢༥༧ ཉུང་མ་ལ་རྒྱབ། ཉུང་མ་འཛུ་དཀའ་སྟེ། ཉུང་མ་ཟོས་ནས་འགྲུལ་དགོས་ཟེར།

257 Cross a pass after eating turnips. (They are indigestible, so exercise is necessary.)

༢༥༨ ཟ་བོ་ལ་ཤུག་དུད། ན་དྲགས་ནང་གཉའ་བོ་པ་ལ་ཟུག་མའི་དུད་པ་མང་པོ་གཏོང་བས། དུ་བ་མང་པོ་ཡོད་སྐར་ཟེར།

258 The smoke from burning straw for those who fetch the bride.

༢༥༩ ཉེ་ཉེ་སྡེ་འཁོན། ཟོ་ཟོས་ཏེ་སྐྱུག། སེམས་ཉེ་བའི་མཛའ་བོ་དང་འཛིང་དུས་སུ་གཞན་གྱིས་ཟེར།

259 To be spiteful after an intimate friendship, and to vomit after much eating.

༢༦༠ སྙིང་གཏམ་ལུ་གུ་རྒྱུད། རང་གི་ཉེ་མོར་སྙིང་གཏམ་བཤད་ན། དེས་གཞན་ལ་བཤད་དེ། རིམ་གྱིས་དགྲ་བོས་ཀྱང་ཚོར།

260 Intimate confidences are like the links of a chain.

༢༦༡ སྙིང་སྙོང་ཚིལ་ལི་བཏུམ་སྟེ་འདུག། སྙིང་ཚིལ་གྱིས་བཏུམ་འདུར། རང་དོན་གྲུབ་ནས་སེམས་སྐྱོད་རེར་ཡོད་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

261 The heart is enveloped in fat (of a successful person enjoying peace of mind).

༢༦༢ སྙིང་ལ་སྙིང་ཚར་མེད་ན། མིག་ལ་མིག་ཆུ་ཅི་ལ་འཁོར་ཡིན། ཁྱི་བོ་སིལ་གླིང་། སྔོན་ལྷ་དགས་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཞིག་གིས་གཅེས་པར་འཛིན་པའི་ཁྱི་ཤི་བ་དང་། བུད་མེད་རེ་བཀུག་ནས་ངུས་མང་བཏང་བཅུག་པས། བུད་མེད་ཅིག་གིས་ཁོང་གི་བཤད་པ་བཏང་བ་དེ་གཏམ་དཔེར་ལུས་ཏེ། ངུ་རྫུན་བྱེད་དུས་ཟེར།

262 Oh Silding you dog, if one is free of sorrow, can one shed tears? (i.e. a happy person cannot enter into the sorrows of others).

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༢༦༣ གཉིད་མ་ལོག་ག་རྨི་ལམ། སྔོན་སྔོན་དུ་གསང་བསྒྲུབ་བྱས་ནས་ཕྱིས་དེ་བཞིན་དུ་འབྱུང་དུས་སུ་ཟེར།

263 To dream before sleeping (of a person who gets a premonition of some future event)

༢༦༤ གཉིད་ལོག་པ་ལ་སྐལ་བ་མེད། གཉིད་ལོག་ཡོད་པ་ལ་ཟས་སྐལ་སྤྲིན་མི་ཐུང་ཟེར་བའོ།

264 There is no portion for the sleeper.

༢༦༥ གཉེན་བཟང་ནང་ནས་ཏོ་སྒོར། ཞིང་ངན་ནང་ནས་རྒྱབ་ཁུར། གཉེན་བཟང་པོ་བས་ཞིང་ངན་པ་ལས་འཐོན་ཆེ་ཟེར་བའི་དཔེའོ།

265 From a good relative a cake: from a bad field a load. (A bad field produces more than good relatives do.)

༢༦༦ གཉེན་གྱི་སྤུན་རྒྱས་ན། མུ་གེའི་མཚོ་རྫོལ། གཉེན་མང་ན་ཟ་མཁན་མང་བས་མུ་གེ་འབྱུང་ཟེར།

266 Possess many relations, and the sea of famine will flow upon you.

༢༦༧ གཉེན་ཚིས་མེད་པའི་ཁྱིན་ཚིས། ང་ར་སྐྱུར་མོའི་མགྲོན་ཞོམ། ཁ་ནས་གཉེན་ཚི་ཞེང་ལག་ནས་དར་བ་སླ་བུ་ཅིག་སྦྱིན་ན་ཟེར།

267 Let him who regards his relations as the wind, prepare a meal of buttermilk.

༢༦༨ མཆོད་པོ་འདྲུག་ན་བླ་མ་ལ་ཁྱོད། མཆམ་དུ་དུས་མང་ཙམ་སྡོད་པར་སྐྱི་སྣང་མི་འབྱུང་ཟེར།

268 Through familiarity with his own priest, he used the term 'Thou'.

༢༦༩ ཉི་མ་ཤིག་གི་ཧོ་གང་། དགུན་གྱི་ཉི་མ་ཐུང་བ་ལ་ཟེར།

269 The days are as short as the span of a flee.

༢༧༠ སྙིང་གཏམ་མ་བཤད་ན། གྲོགས་ཡུགས་མི་ཐིངས། སྙིང་གཏམ་མ་བཤད་པར་མཛའ་བོང་མི་འགྱུར་བའི་དོན་ནོ།

270 Unless you exchange confidences, you cannot be a real friend.

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༢༧༡ ཏེ་ཝེ་ཁྲུ་གང་པོ་ཡར་ལ་བཏང་ནའང་ང་རང་འདོད། མར་ལ་བཏང་ནའང་ང་རང་འདོད།
རང་རྗོར་ལ་རང་འདོད་བྱེད་ཆོག་ཟེར།

271 It is my own pleasure whether I turn the flaps of my cubit long hat upwards or downwards.

༢༧༢ ཏེ་ཙེས་མ་ཞིང་བཙོས་ཏེ་བག་མ་འཁྱིད་ཅེས། བུ་མོའི་སེམས་སླུ་རྒྱུ་ཅེ་ཟེར་གང་ཟེར་ཟེར་བའི་
དཔེའོ། ཏེ་ཙེས་ནི་ལྷ་དྭགས་རྒྱལ་པོའི་མ་ཞིང་ངོ།

272 To take a bride by pretending that Tetses is his chief field. (Tetses was the largest field belonging to the King of Ladakh, now it is the Leh bazar. This saying means that a man can deceive a woman by pretentious talk in order to marry her.)

༢༧༣ རྟ་གཡོག་ནས་ཆུ་མ་འཐུངས། མི་གཡོག་ནས་བཟན་མ་ཟོས། མིའི་གཡོག་གམ་གཞན་གྱི་
ཁྲིབས་ཀྱིས་བཟན་མ་ཟ་བར་གཞན་དྲིན་མི་འཁུར་བའི་མིས་རང་ཟན་ཟ་བ་ལ་ཟེར།

273 I have not drunk water beneath a pony, nor ate my food under another man. (Used when a man declares his independence.)

༢༧༤ རྟ་རྒན་ལ་བཙོ་བ་བཙོ་ཅེས།

274 The aged horse simulates a young colt.

༢༧༥ རྟ་རྒན་ལ་ཡོར་ག། ན་སོ་ཡོལ་ནས་རྒས་ཁར་ཡོན་ཏན་བསླབ་ན་ཟེར།

275 The old horse learns to trot.

༢༧༦ རྟ་གཅིག་ལ་སྒ་གཉིས། མི་ཞིག་ལ་ཁྲལ་ལམ་ལས་ཀ་གཉིས་ལྷབ་བཀལ་ན་ཟེར།

276 Two saddles on one horse. (When a double share of work is demanded.)

༢༧༧ རྟ་ཆོས་ལ་ཞོན་ཏེ། བོང་ཆོས་ལ་བཀོལ་ཅེས། ཅི་ཟེར་ལ་ཉན་པའི་མི་ཁ་བྲུ་འབོལ་མོ་རྟ་
འདྲར་ཞོན་པ་དང་བོང་བུ་ལྟར་བཀོལ་ཉན་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

277 To be ridden on as upon a horse; and to be used as if one were a donkey (of servants who act the rôle of 'the willing horse').

༢༧༨ རྟ་ཐོག་ག་ལྷིང་སྟེ། མི་ཐོག་ག་འཕྱུར་ཡེན། རྟར་ཞོན་ཏེ་མིའི་དབོན་པོ་བྱས་པ་ཡིན་ཟེར་ཞིང་
རང་སྟོད་བྱེད་པའོ།

278 I rode on horses, and was glorious in the eyes of the people (a boast).

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༢༧༩ རྟ་བསམ་པ་དང་གཡག་བསམ་པ། བོང་བུའི་བསམ་པ་ཟྲིད་ལ། རང་གི་སེམས་དྲང་པོའི་ གཞན་ཟེད་པ་རེ་གཞན་གྱིས་ལོག་པར་དྲུ་ན་ཡོ་ན་ཡིན། (རྟ་དང་གཡག་གི་བསམ་པ་དྲང་ ཡང་བོང་བུའི་བསམ་པ་ལོག་པར་ཅན་ཡིན་ནོ)།

279 The mind of a horse, or yak, is not as crooked as that of a donkey.

༢༨༠ སྟོག་འཁོར་ན་ཀུན་འཁོར། ཕྱིའང་ཐང་ན་ཀུན་ཐང་། གླི་ཡས་གནམ་ཐང་འཁོར་གྱི་རྟགས་ སྣ་ཡིན།

280 If it is cloudy at Stok, the sky will be cloudy everywhere, and if it is clear at Piang, it will be clear everywhere.

༢༨༡ ཏོག་ཟྭག་པ་སྨ་འཐེར། འཐེར་དགོས་པའི་ལུ་བ་ལ་འཐེར་བར་ཏོག་ལྷག་འཐེར་བ་ལྟར། ཁྲེལ་ མེད་པའི་མི་ཁྲོས་ན་ཡིན།

281 The head of the matrock vibrates.

༢༨༢ རྟ་མེད་རི་ལུ་བ་ལ་བོང་བུའི་སང་རག། བློ་རྩལ་ཅན་མེད་པའི་ཡུལ་ནང་མི་ཡོན་ཏན་མེད་པ་ ལ་རྒྱུགས་འཐུང་ན་ཡིན།

282 Donkey races are held where there are no horses. (When a fool becomes influential among fools.)

༢༨༣ རྟ་ལྕག་གི་ཁ་དྲུ་བའི་ནང་ལ། རྒྱུ་བ་ངན་པའི་ཞང་ལ་ཐུང་ཟད་འདྲིས་ཀྱང་མང་པོ་འདྲིས་པ་དང་ ཁྱད་མེད་པའི་དཔེའོ།

283 The tip of the whip in the juice.

༢༨༤ རྟ་བརྒྱའི་བདག་པོ་རྟ་ལྕག་མི་ལ་རེ། ཅི་ཙམ་ཕྱུག་ཀྱང་གཞན་ལ་རེ་དགོས་དང་གཡར་དགོས་ འཐུང་བ་ལ་ཡིན།

284 The owner of a hundred horses borrowed a whip. (A wealthy man dependent on other people's help.)

༢༨༥ རྟ་ཚོད་མི་ཚོད་གོམ་བདུན། མི་དང་རྟ་སོགས་ཀྱི་བཟང་ངན་མཁྱོགས་པར་ཤེས་པ་སྣ་ཡིན།

285 Seven paces suffice to test a man and a horse.

༢༨༦ རྟའི་བྲེས་ལ་བོང་བུ་སློབ་ཅེས། མི་ཉམས་ཆུང་བ་སྟོབས་པོ་ཆེ་དང་འགྲན་ན་ཡིན།

286 A donkey attempts to reach up to the horse's manger.

༢༨༧ རྟ་ལ་སྐྱིག་པ་རྒྱབ་བ་མཐོང་སྟེ། བོང་བུས་ར་སྙོ་སྣུན་འདུག། མི་འཁྱུད་མེད་ཅིག་གིས་འཁྱུད་ ཅན་གྱི་ལད་མོ་བྱེད་དུས་སུ་ཡིན།

287 The ass shows his hoof when watching a horse being shoed.

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༢༨༨ རྟ་ཤ་ཟོས་ཏེ་ཁ་མཆུ་ལོག་ནའང་ལོག། རང་གི་འདོད་པ་གྲུབ་ནས་གནོད་པ་འབྱུང་ནའང་
འབྱུང་ཟེར།

288 If my bill gets blunt, let it become so through pecking at the flesh of a horse.

༢༨༩ རྟ་སླེབ་བོང་སླེབ་མཉམ་དུ། རྟའི་རྗེས་བཞིན་བོང་བུའང་སླེབ་པ་ལྟར། མི་ཤོགས་པོའི་རྗར་
བྱལ་པོའང་ཉན་པའི་དཔེར།

289 The pony and the donkey arrived together (i.e. the donkey follows in the steps of the pony).

༢༩༠ རྟ་རིན་བང་དང་། གཡུ་རིན་མདོག། རྟའི་བང་དང་གཡུའི་མདོག་བཞིན་རིན་འབྱུང་ཟེར།

290 The price of a horse depends upon its paces, and that of the turquoise upon its colour.

༢༩༡ རྟགས་ཅིའི་རྟགས། མི་བརྗེད་པའི་རྟགས། རྟགས་ནི་མི་བརྗེད་པའི་རྟགས་ཡིན་པས། རིན་ཅན་
མེད་ནའང་འགྲིག་ཟེར་བའོ།

291 What does a gift indicate? It indicates remembrance.

༢༩༢ རྟས་འཕང་སྐྱོང་ང་། དཔོན་པོས་བཀྱོན་སྐྱོང་ང་། རྟས་འཕང་དུས་དང་གཡོག་པོར་ཁ་འཐོག་
དུས་སུ་ཟེར།

292 I suffered a fall from a horse, and a rebuke from my master.

༢༩༣ རྟས་བང་བཏང་བ་ལ། ཡན་ལག་གད་པ་ལ་འཁད། ལས་བྱེད་དུས་དང་འགྲུལ་དུས་སུ་
གེགས་ཤིག་འབྱུང་ན་ཟེར།

293 As the horse was galloping, his course was arrested by a precipice.

༢༩༤ ལྟད་མོ་མིག་གི་ལོངས་སྤྱོད་ཡིན། ལྟད་མོ་མིག་འབའ་ཞིག་གི་ལོངས་སྤྱོད་ཡིན་ཟེར།

294 A performance is the joy of the eyes.

༢༩༥ ལྟོ་རག་ལ་ཐ་གུ་ཁྲུ་གང་ཐོར་ན། ཕྱུག་པོ་ལ་ཉམ་མི་ལངས། དབུལ་པོའི་ནོར་ལ་ཕྱུག་པོས་
ཕྲག་དོག་བྱེད་ན་ཟེར།

295 If the poor obtain a cubit length of rope, the rich cannot sleep.

༢༩༦ ལྟོ་རག་ཕྱུག་པོ་ཆ་ནས་ས་མི་མཐོང་། ཕྱུག་པོ་ལྟོ་རག་ཆ་ན་གནམ་མི་མཐོང་། ནོར་ལས་
སྤོབས་པ་དང་ནོར་ཟད་པ་ལས་སྤོབས་པ་ཞོར་ཟེར།

296 If a pauper becomes rich, he cannot see the ground, and if a rich man becomes poor he cannot see the sky.

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༢༩༧ ལྟེ་ཁྲག་རེག་སའི་ས་ཁང་། རང་སྐྱེས་ནས་ལྟེ་བ་བཅད་དེ་ཁྲག་ཐིགས་པའི་ས་ཁང་དང་འབྲེལ་ཉེ་བ་ཡོད་པའི་དོན་དུ་ཟེར།

297 The house where blood from my navel has fallen.

༢༩༨ སྟག་ན་རས་ཁྱི་ཡོད་ཟེར་ཏེ། ཞ་འབྲུག་ནས་རྡོ་བ་འཁྱེར་ཅེས། དུས་ལས་སྔོན་དུ་མི་རེགས་པའི་བྲལ་བྱེད་ན་ཟེར།

298 To carry stones from Zhaluk village on hearing there is a dog at Stagna (i.e. making preparation prematurely).

༢༩༩ སྟག་གི་རི་མོ་ཕྱི་ནས། མིའི་རི་མོ་ནང་ནས། མིའི་ཡོན་ཏན་གི་ནང་གི་བློ་གྲོས་ཡིན། ཕྱི་གཟིག་པོ་ཆེད་པ་ནི་མིའི་ཡོན་ཏན་མན་ཟེར་བའོ།

299 The pattern of the tiger is on the outside, and that of a man on the inside

༣༠༠ སྟག་པའི་མལ་ལ་སྟག་པ། ཤུག་པའི་མལ་ལ་ཤུག་པ། ཕའི་མལ་དུ་བུ་ཚ་དང་། མའི་མལ་དུ་བུ་ཡོད་ཟེར།

300 A birch tree where there was a birch: a cedar where there was a cedar.

༣༠༡ སྟན་གྱི་གཡོག་ནས་ཁྱི་ཤིག་འཕར་ཅེས། འཁྱུད་དང་འགྲོར་བདེ་མེད་པ་ཞིག་གིས་མི་འཁྲུད་པ་ཆེན་དང་འགྲན་ཏེ་འཐར་ཚོན་ཟེར།

301 The flea hopped up from under the carpet. (When a man tries to argue with his betters.)

༣༠༢ སྟོད་ན་རང་སང་རྒྱལ་བས་སྟོད། སྨད་ན་རང་སང་ཞུ་བས་སྨད། མི་བཟང་པོས་སྟོད་པར་རགཱ་བ་དང་ངན་པས་སྨད་པར་དགའ་ཟེར།

302 If you are praised, it will be by one better than yourself; if you are defamed, it will be by one worse than yourself.

༣༠༣ སྟོར་པའི་རྡོ་རྗེ་ཐ་ལམ་པ། གཡར་ཁྱུངས་པ་ཞིག་སྟོར་ན། བདག་པོས་རིན་གང་བཅད་འཇལ་དགོས་པའི་དཔེར།

303 It was an axe made of a diamond which was lost. (When an article is lost, and the owner demands heavy restitution.)

༣༠༤ གཏམ་མཁས་པས་བུ་ལོན་མི་འཁོར། མཁས་པའི་ཚིག་གི་དངུལ་ཚབ་མི་འགྱུར་ཟེར་བ་ཡིན།

304 Wise talk does not pay a debt.

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༣༠༥ གཏམ་སོ་རྫོགས་ལ། སྐྲ་ལོ་རྒྱབ་ལ། སྐྲ་ལོ་རྒྱབ་ཏུ་མཛེས་པ་ལྟར། གཏམ་ཟེར་དགོས་ཡོད་པ་མདུན་ལ་ཟེར་བ་ལེགས་པའི་དོན་ནོ།

305 Straight forward speech, and one's hair on the back of one's head

༣༠༦ ཏམ་ཏམ་ཏ་མ་ཤ། བ་བ་མ་མ་ཤ། རིབ་ནའི་པོ་ལ་མ་ནི་ཟ་མི་ཤེས། ཛ་ལག་སོ་མ་ནི་འཐུང་མི་ཤེས། ཁ་ཟས་ཉིམ་པོ་ཟ་དུས་སུ་ཟེར།

306 Baba Mohammad Shah is peculiar. He knows only how to eat Pilao. or drink tea from China.

༣༠༧ གཏམ་གསུམ་མ་ལབ་ན། ཕ་དང་བུའི་བར་མི་འབྱེད། གོམ་གསུམ་མ་རྒྱབ་ན། ལུང་པ་གསུམ་མི་ཚོ་མི་ཐེད། གཏམ་གསལ་པོ་མ་ཟེར་ན། ཕ་དང་བུའི་བར་དུ་གོ་བ་ལོག་སྲིད་ཟེར།

307 If not even three syllables are uttered one could not distinguish between father and son; and if you do not walk three paces, one could not recognize the three valleys.

༣༠༨ སྟོན་ལ་བོང་བུས་ཀྱང་ནས་ཟ། སྟོན་དུས་དབུལ་པོ་ལ་ཡང་ཟ་རྒྱུ་ཡོད་ཟེར།

308 In autumn even the donkeys feed on barley (i.e. in autumn even the poor are satisfied if they may glean the fields).

༣༠༩ སྟོན་དར་ཁྱི་ལ་མ་བཏང་། ནམ་བླ་བསིལ་བ་ཡོད་པས་འཐོག་ཡོང་ཟེར།

309 Don't give your dog buttermilk in the autumn. (In autumn the milk is specially rich.)

༣༡༠ གཏམ་ཚང་ཆང་གིས་བཏོན། ཤིག་ཚང་ཉི་མས་བཏོན། ཤིག་ཡོད་པའི་གོས་ཉི་མར་བཞག་ན། ཤིག་ཚང་གི་ནང་ནས་འཐོན་པ་ལྟར། རས་བཟེས་པའི་ཁ་ནང་ནས་གསང་གཏམ་འཐོན་ཟེར།

310 Beer disturbs the nest of speech; the sun stirs up the nest of lice.

༣༡༡ གཏམ་མང་འཚོལ་བ་ཡིན། ཟས་མང་སྐྱུག་པ་ཡིན།

311 Much talk is useless; much food the cause of vomiting.

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312 ཏ་རུ་ཏང་ཏང་མེད་ན་རགས་མེད། ཏ་ལི་ལང་ལང་མེད་ན་སྙགས་མེད། རགས་དང་སྙགས་སྤྲོ་པར་ཟེར།

312 No tarutang-tang no tune: no talilanglang no melady. (Thes · are songs which Ladakhis first begin to learn.)

313 སྟོན་མཚན་ཕྱེད་ཟ་ཟན་མི་དགོས། དབྱར་ཉིན་ཕྱེད་དུ་གཉིད་མི་དགོས།

313 During autumn you don't need food at midnight: in summer, you do not want sleep at midday.

ཐ

314 ཐག་པ་ཆད་ན་ཁུར་པ་ཡང་། གཏམ་ཐག་ཆོད་ན་སེམས་ཁམས་སང་འགྲོ་བའི་དོན་ནོ།

314 If the rope snaps the load will be light. (If you can decide a matter through discussion one's mind feels lighter.)

315 ཐབས་གཅིག་དོན་གཉིས། ཐུ་བ་གཅིག་གི་ནང་ན་ལས་དོན་གཉིས་འགྲུབ་ན་ཟེར།

315 Two purposes achieved by one method (i.e. when travelling you see the country and also improve your health).

316 ཐིགས་པ་བསགས་པ་རྒྱ་མཚོ། ཆུང་ངུ་ནས་སོག་ན་མང་པོར་འགྱུར་བའི་དོན་ནོ།

316 Many drops make an ocean.

317 ཐུ་ན་མ་མའི་བུ་གཞུང་ལ་ཐུ། བར་དོ་འབྱུང་ན་ནང་གི་དོ་དམ་པ་ལ་འབྱུང་ངོ་ཟེར།

317 If harm comes, it will fall upon the beloved son (i.e. if difficulties arise, they will fall on the principal and not on the worker).

318 ཐུ་ཟེར་ན་རང་ངེ་གདོང་ངེ་ཁ། གཞན་ལ་སྨད་པའམ་ཁྲེལ་བའི་གཏམ་དེ་རང་ལ་འཁོག་རྒྱུ་ཡོད་ན་ཟེར།

318 If he spits, his spittle will recoil on his own face.

319 ཐུ་མི་ཐུ། ཐུ་ན་རང་རང་ཐུ། ཐུ་ན་རང་གི་གཉེན་དྲུང་དང་རང་ མིས་ལྷག་པར་དགྲ་བྱེད་པ་འབྱུང་ངོ་ཟེར།

319 Perhaps one's friend will not do one harm; but if he does so, he will inflict the greatest injury to you.

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༣༢༠ ཐོད་པའི་ཁ་མིག་འཁྱུར་མཁན། མི་ཧར་ཧུར་ཐབ་ཐོབ་བྱེད་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

320 He has his eyes in his forehead. (To be careless and thoughtless.)

༣༢༡ ཐོ་བ་ལ་ནོན་མེད་ན། ལྕགས་ལ་ཟེན་ལངས། དཔོན་པོ་ལ་འཇུད་མེད་ན་བྲན་འཁོར་ནང་དུ་
འཕྲུག་པ་འབྱུང་ཟེར།

321 The iron will rise up, if there is not the pressure of the hammer. (Of a weak king or master who exerts no control over underlings.)

༣༢༢ ཐོས་ཚད་གཏམ་མིན། མཐོང་ཚད་ཟས་མིན། གཏམ་ཚང་མ་ལ་ཡིད་མ་ཆེས་ཟེར་རོ།

322 All that one hears is not speech: all that one sees is not food.

༣༢༣ ཐོའག་ཟེར་པ་རྐུན་མའི་མགོ་ལ། མི་ནོངས་ཡོད་པ་ལ་ཆོན་ལ་གཏམ་ཞིག་འཐོག་ན་ཟེར།

323 A thwack on the head of a thief.

༣༢༤ ཐག་རིང་ངེ་གཉེན་སང། ཉེ་མོའི་དགྲ་རྒྱལ། དཀག་ཐུག་གི་དུས་སུ་ཐག་རིང་གི་གཉེན་ལས་
མདུན་གྱི་དགྲ་བོས་ཕན་འདོགས་སོ་ཟེར།

324 Better a nearby enemy than a relation far away.

༣༢༥ ཐོད་པའི་ཁ་ཁྱི་ཁྲིས་ཀན། བསོད་བདེ་མེད་པའི་ཐོད་པའི་ཁར་བོད་ཀྱིས་ཁྱི་ཁྲིས་ཡོད་སེམས་སོ།

325 The word 'dog' is written on his forehead.

༣༢༦ མཐོན་པོས་བཙད་པའི་དམའ་བཟང་བོ། ཁྲིམས་དཔོན་གྱིས་བཙད་པའི་འཕམ་ལ་དགོད་ཟེར་བའི་
དོན་ཡིན།

326 Abasement is the better policy when it is decreed by a higher authority.

༣༢༧ མཐོ་རྩེ་མཁར་རི་ཁ་ཐེང་སྡེ། ཏ་མག་ཏོབ་གང་འབྱུང་ཅེས་ཆ་ནའང་སོང། པས་སྡེ་ཆེན་པོ་
ཞིག་སྤྲིབ་ཙམ་ཐེབ་ནའང་འགྲིག་ཟེར།

327 One pipeful of tobacco suffices, provided I reach the lofty castle.

༣༢༨ མཐོན་པོ་ནས་རྩྭ་ཟོས་ཏེ། དམའ་མོ་ནས་ཆུ་འཐུང་མཁན། གཞན་དང་འགྲིམ་འགྲུལ་མི་བྱེད་
པར་འཁྲུག་པའི་ནང་མི་འཛིས་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

328 He ate herbs on high ground, and drank water on low ground.

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༣༢༨ མཐོ་རྐྱེ་ར་ན་རྭ་ཙེ་ལ་འཕོག ། དམའ་རྐྱེ་ཆ་ན་ཙ་དྭ་ལ་འཕོག ། གཏམ་ཟེར་བ་ལས་མཐོས་ན་
སེ་རྙེན་དང ། དམར་བར་ཕྱུར་ན་མི་རྟུང་བ་དགའ་ལ འཕོག་རྒྱུ་ཡོད་ན་ཟེར །

329 If you aim high it will strike the horn, and if low it will hit the base of the horn.

༣༣༠ མཐོང་པོ་ནས་ཆུ་ལ་མ་ལྟ ། དམའ་མོ་ནས་རི་ལ་མ་ལྟ ། ཐག་རིང་ནས་རི་དང་ཆུ་སྔོ་མོ་མཐོང་
ཡང ། ཉེ་བར་སྤྱིན་ནས་མི་ཐར་ཟེར་བའོ །

330 Look not at a river from an elevation, or a mountain from a plain.

ད

༣༣༡ ད་དུང་བཀྲ་ཤིས་ལྷུན་པོ་གཏར ། ད་དུང་ཐག་རིང་ཡོད་ཟེར་བའི་དོན་ནོ །

331 Trashi Hlunpo is still far away. (When one's destination is still a long way off.)

༣༣༢ ནུ་ཅེ་མགོ་རྒྱལ ། མ་ཤི་གོག་ཡངས ། ནུ་ཅེ་ཕ་མེད་པ་ང་རྒྱལ་ཅན་དང ། མ་ཤི་ན་གོ་ག་
ཡང་སྐང་སྐང་སོང་ནས ། སྤུ་གུ་རང་འཐད་བྱེད་པ་ལ་ཟེར །

332 The orphan grew obstinate, and the motherless heart became desolate.

༣༣༣ དུག་པོ་ལ་གཉེན་མང་པོ ། གོས་རྡུལ་ཆད་པོ་ལ་ཤིང་དང་ཚེར་མ་སོགས་འཁད་པས་དེ་འདྲ་
ཟེར་རོ །

333 Rags have many relations. (Of old clothes which get caught on thorns and other obstacles.)

༣༣༤ དུག་པོའི་འོག་ན་རྒྱལ་བའི་སྐུ ། གོས་རྙིང་གོན་པའི་མི་མཁས་པ་ལ་ཟེར །

334 The Buddha underneath rags. (The good man who wears old clothes and is not conceited.)

༣༣༥ དེང་སང་ངེ་མི་དང་རླུང་འཐག་རྡུང་རྫོར་འདྲ ། དེང་སང་གི་མི་ཆ་བཞག་མེད་པ་ཡིན་ཟེར་རོ །

335 The people of today are like a windmill (i.e. changeable).

༣༣༦ དང་ར་སྒོ་མེད ། ཨ་ནེ་ཁྱོག་མེད ། ཁྱོ་མེད་པའི་བུད་མེད་ལ་བརྟགས་ནས་ཟེར །

336 A stable without a door; a woman without a husband (of an unmarried woman).

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༣༣༧ དུས་རྣམས་མི་འགྱུར། མི་རྣམས་འགྱུར། དོན་སྣ་སོ་ཡིན།

337 The times do not change: it is men who change.

༣༣༨ དུག་ཟ་གཅིག་ཤི། མནར་ཟ་བརྒྱ་ཤི། མནའ་འཛུར་ན་བུ་བརྒྱུད་ཀུན་ལ་འང་གནོད་པས།
མནའ་ནི་དུག་པས་ཉེན་ཆེ་བ་ཡིན་ཟེར།

338 One man dies through taking poison: a hundred through swearing oaths. (Tibetans think that swearing an oath is more dangerous than taking poison as a false oath re-acts on a man's descendants.)

༣༣༩ དུས་གཅིག་ལ་ལས་གཅིག། མགོ་རལ་པ་ཅན་ལ་སྔས་གཅིག། དུས་ཀྱི་ཁར་སོ་སོ་རྟེ་ཤུག་
རུ་འཛོམ་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

339 One deed at a time; and one pillow for hairy heads.

༣༤༠ དོན་མེད་དེ་མི་ལ་དགོས་མེད་དེ་ཁོང་འཁྲོ། བྲེལ་བ་མེད་པའི་མིས་འབར་བ་དང་ཁྲོས་ན་
ཟེར།

340 Needless anger towards him who is unconnected with it.

༣༤༡ དོམ་སྙིང་ཟེས་མ་བསམས་ན། གོར་མིག་གིས་མི་མཐོང་། སྙིང་དོམ་དོམ་གྱིས་མ་བསམ་ན།
མིག་གོར་གོར་གྱིས་མི་མཐོང་ཟེར།

341 You cannot see with your round eyes, if you do not think with your oval heart.

༣༤༢ ཉང་རྡི་ལ་སྒག་རྒྱབ་ཅས། སེམས་རབ་ཏུ་འཕད་དེ་འཁྱུལ་བའི་མི་ལ་ཟེར།

342 To stumble over a pebble (of a man in exuberant spirits).

༣༤༣ དྲང་པོའི་བསྟན་པ་ཆུས་ཀྱང་མི་འཁྱེར། མེས་ཀྱང་མི་འཁྱེར། མི་ཤིན་ཏུ་དྲང་པོ་ལ་གནོད་
པ་མི་འབྱུང་ཟེར།

343 Truth cannot be destroyed by water or fire.

༣༤༤ རྡོ་ཆེན་བཏག་ག་ལ་རྡོ་ཆུང་དགོས། མི་ཆེན་བཏག་ག་ལ་མི་ཆུང་དགོས། མི་ཆུང་ཕྲ་མེད་ན་
མི་ཆེན་ཡང་མེད་ཟེར།

344 Small stones to raise large ones, insignificant men to lift up the great.

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༣༤༥ རྡོ་སྐམ་པ་ལ་མེ་མི་འབར། ཤིང་རློན་པ་ལ་མེ་འབར། ཤིང་རློན་པ་ཡོད་ནའང་མེར་འབུ་ཐུབ་ ཟེར།

345 Wet wood can be burned, though dry stones cannot be consumed. (When a man has to burn wet fuel.)

༣༤༦ རྡོ་བ་ལ་གདོང་དགུ། རྡོ་བ་ཉེག་ཏེ་ལྷུར་བཙོ་མེད་ཡོད་རུང་ལ་ལོག་སྒྲོ་ཡིན་ཅིག་རྡོར་འགད་ཟེར།

346 A stone has nine facets (i.e. even the worst stone can be used for building a wall).

༣༤༧ སྡུག་པོར་འཛོར། སྐྱིད་པོར་འབོད། སྡུག་པོའི་དུས་ལ་མ་འབོད་པར་སོང། མགྲོན་ལྷ་ཁུར་ཙོས་ནས་མ་གཏོགས་པར་མ་འགྲོ་ཟེར།

347 Meet those who are in trouble, but wait to be called by those in prosperity.

༣༤༨ གདོང་བཏུམ་སྟེ་འདུག་མཁན། མགྲོན་ལན་མི་གཏོང་མཁན་ལ་ཟེར།

348 He who lives with his face covered. (Of a man who does not return a feast.)

༣༤༩ གདོང་འཐུག་མོ། མི་ཁྲེལ་མེད་ཅིག་ལ་ཟེར།

349 Thick-faced. (Of a shameless person.)

༣༥༠ གདོང་ལ་ཆུ་སེར་མེད་མཁན། ཁྲེལ་ངོ་ཚ་མེད་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

350 He has no serum on his face (i.e. shameless and unfaithful person).

༣༥༡ གདོང་ལ་ཀོ་བ་བཏུམ་མཁན།

351 His face is covered with leather (i.e. shameless and unfaithful person).

༣༥༢ གདོང་ལེགས་ཀྱི་མེ་ཤོར། ཅད་གཟུགས་མཛེས་པས་ཁྲེལ་མེད་ཀྱི་ལས་བྱེད་ན་ཟེར།

352 The beautiful face was burnt with fire (of a beautiful woman who commits evil deeds).

༣༥༣ བདེ་སྡུག་གཉིས་ལ་མ་ལྟ་ན། ཀོ་བའི་ཞྭ་མོ་ལོ་དགུ། མཛེས་པོར་མ་ལྟ་ན། ཀོ་བའི་ཞྭ་མོ་མང་འཚོ་དོ་ཟེར།

353 He who does not regard that which is becoming and beautiful, can always wear a coarse skin hat.

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༣༥༤ བདུན་ཙོག། བརྒྱད་ཙེར། དགུར་ལང༌། བྱུ་གུ་ལ་ཟླ་བ་བདུན་ལོན་དུས་ཙོག་ཙུ་སྡོད།
ཟླ་བ་བརྒྱད་པར་ཙེར་ཙེར་ལང༌། དགུ་པར་ཀག་ལང་བའི་གཏམ་དཔེར།

354 A child of seven months can sit up, at eight months he can lift himself up, at nine months he can stand up.

༣༥༥ མདའ་གཞུ་མེད་ན་གཏམ་ངན་མེད། མིག་མེད་ན་ཞིང་ཏོག་མེད། ལས་སྐྱེ་སོགས་ཡོད་པ་
བས་མེད་པ་རྒྱལ་ཟེར།

355 No bow and arrow, no slander; no eyes, no cataract. (A man without rank cannot be degraded.)

༣༥༦ མདུན་གྱི་མེ་དང་རྒྱང་གི་ཉི་མ། ས་ཐག་རིང་གི་གཉེན་བཟང་ལས། ཉེ་སོར་ཡོད་པའི་གཉེན་
ལས་ཕན་གྲོགས་ཆེ་ཟེར།

356 The fire is in front of you, and the sun in the distance. (The poor friend near you is better than a—relation far away.)

༣༥༧ འདོམ་ན་ཁྱི་རྐྱག་རྫས་ལ་མི་འཚོར། དགོས་དུས་སུ་མི་འདོད་པའི་དངོས་པོ་ཡང་མི་ཐོབ་
ཟེར།

357 When a thing is wanted, one cannot even collect a dog's excrement.

༣༥༨ འདོམ་བ་འདོམ་གང༌། འདོམ་པ་འགྱུག་པའི་དུས་ནི་སྤྲིབ་གཅིག་འཆུང་ཟེར།

358 The length of necessity is only one fathom.

༣༥༩ འདུ་ཤེས་གསུམ་པ། དུད་འགྲོས་ཟ་བ་དང་འཐུང་དང་ཉལ་བ་གསུམ་ལས་མི་ཤེས་པས་མི་
གླེན་པ་དང་དུད་འགྲོ་ལ་ཟེར།

359 He possesses only three ideas (i.e. to eat, drink and sleep).

༣༦༠ འདྲེ་ཕྱི་མིག་མི་ལོག། དྲིན་མི་དྲན་པར་རྗེད་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

360 Ghosts do not look behind them.

༣༦༡ གདོང་ཤིང་བཅག་ཅེས། གཞན་གྱི་གདོང་གི་ཐད་ཀར་ཤིང་གཙོག་པ་ལྟར། མིའི་ངོ་ལ་མ་
ལྟ་བར་ཁ་དྲང་ལ་གཏམ་བྱེད་མཁན་ལ་ཟེར།

361 To snap a twig in the face of a man (of an honest man who speak truth without regard of man).

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༣༦༢ ལྡུམ་ར་ལྕགས་ཀྱི་དོང་མོ། ཞུགས་ས་ལ་སླ་མོ། འཐེང་བ་ལ་དཀགས་པོ། ལྡུམ་ར་ཡུལ་སྐྱིད་པས། དེར་ཕྱིན་སླ་ཡང་འཐོན་པ་དཀའ་ཟེར་རོ།

362 Nubra is like an iron pipe; it is easy to enter it, but difficult to get out of it. (A pleasant country from which one is reluctant to depart.)

༣༦༣ སྡུག་པོའི་ཁ་རྨུག་པ། སྡུག་བསྔལ་གྱི་ཁར་གཞན་སྡུག་བསྔལ་འོང་ན་ཟེར།

363 To be bitten by a dog when one is in trouble.

༣༦༤ རྡོ་བ་འབབ་ནའང་འབབ། ཀུ་ཤུ་འབབ་ནའང་འབབ། ཁྲིམས་ཐག་བཟང་ངན་ཅི་ཆོད་ནའང་ཆོད་ཟེར།

364 Be it a stone or an apple, let it fall.

༣༦༥ དུད་པ་ཅན་གྱི་མེ་དྲོན་མོ། རུས་པ་ཅན་གྱི་ཤ་ཞིམ་པོ། དུ་བ་འཁྱུང་དུས་དང་རུས་པ་ཅན་གྱི་ཤ་ཟ་དུས་སུ་ཟེར།

365 A smoky fire is warm, and meat with much bone is delicious.

༣༦༦ དེ་རིང་ཤི་ན་ཚེ་ཐུང་ཡིན། སོ་རེ་ཤི་ན་ཚེ་རིང་ཡིན། འཐོང་འཐབ་ཀྱི་དུས་ལ་རང་སྲོག་ལ་མི་ལྟ་བས་ཟེར།

366 If I die to-day life will be short, if to-morrow, it will be long. (When in a quarrel a man is careless of his life.)

༣༦༧ འདུག་རྡུགས་པའི་བོང་བུ་རྩྭ་མི་ཟ། ལས་བྱེད་ཡོང་མེད་པས་ལས་བྱེད་ནས་ཀྱང་ཐུག་དུས་ཟེར།

367 A lazy donkey cannot even eat grass (of a man who gets tired easily).

༣༦༨ སྡིག་ཅན་བླ་མས་སྐྱབ་མི་ཐུབ། གནག་ཅན་དཔོན་པོས་སྐྱབ་མི་ཐུབ།

368 A priest cannot save the sinner, nor a judge acquit the criminal.

ན

༣༦༩ ན་མཁན་གྱི་ཁྲོད་ལ་མི་ན་མཁན། གཞན་གྱི་འབྲུག་པ་དང་ཉོན་མོངས་ནང་འདྲེས་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

369 A healthy man amongst sick people.

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༣༧༠ ན་ནིང་ངེ་ལོ་བཟང་པོ། ཤི་མཁན་ནི་མི་བཟང་པོ། འདས་པའི་ལོ་ཚིག་དང་ཤི་ངན་པ་ལ་སྨོད་ན་ཟེར།

370 Last year was a good year; and the deceased was a good man.

༣༧༡ ནང་པོ་མུན་འཐིབ་ག་ཡོར་ཏེ། མས་ཇིད་ལ་གཟིམས་ཏིང། རང་ལ་ཟ་རྒྱུ་ཡེད་དེ་སྦྱིན་པ་སྦྱིན་ན་ཟེར།

371 Leaving his house in darkness, he lit a lamp in the mosque.

༣༧༢ ནང་ལ་སེང་གེ། ཕྱི་ལ་ཝ་ཙེ། རང་གི་མི་ལ་དྲག་པོ་དང་ཕྱིའི་མི་ལ་འཇིགས་མཁན་ལ་ཟེར།

372 Inside his house he is a lion, outside it he is like a fox. (One who is a terror to his kith and kin, and to outsiders a sycophant.)

༣༧༣ ནངས་མེད་ལ་གཏང་ན། ཆ་མེད་ལ་འཕོག།

373 If you strike at random, you may hit someone unconsciously.

༣༧༤ ནལ་བུ་མི་མིན། གློ་བ་ཤ་མིན། མཆིན་པ་ཁྲག་མིན། ནལ་བུ་ལ་སྨོད་དུས་སུ་ཟེར།

374 A bastard is not a man, the lung is not meat, and the liver is not blood. (When scoffing at a bastard.)

༣༧༥ ལུག་སྐྱལ་ལ་ཁ་གཉིས། མི་ལ་ཁ་གཅིག། ཁ་ཆད་མི་སྲུང་བའི་མི་ལ་ཟེར་རོ།

375 A sheep-bag has two mouths, but man has one mouth. (When a man breaks his promise.)

༣༧༦ ནོར་ཕྱུག་པའི་སྒོ་ལ། མི་ཕྱུག་པོར་ནོར་ཕྱི་མོར་ཐོབ་དུས་སྤུའམ་ཆེན་ལ་ཐོབ་དུས་སུ་ཟེར།

376 Wealth comes to the doorstep of the rich. (When a rich man increases his wealth.)

༣༧༧ ནང་ལ་མཚལ་ཡོར་ཏེ། ཕྱི་ནས་བཙག་བཙལ་ཅེས། རང་གི་ནང་ལ་རྒྱལ་བ་ཞིག་ཡོད་དེ་ཕྱི་ནས་དེ་ལས་ཐུ་བ་བཙལ་ན་ཟེར།

377 Whilst having vermilion in his house, he went off to seek red ochre outside. (When a man seeks an inferior thing whilst possessing something superior.)

༣༧༨ ནོངས་མེད་ན་གཤིན་རྗེ་ཆོས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ལ་ཅི་ལ་འཇིགས་ཡིན། ནོངས་མེད་ན་གང་ལའང་འཇིགས་དགོས་མེད་ཟེར་རོ།

378 If you are innocent, then why should you fear the judge of the dead?

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༣༧༩ ནོར་མེད་ལ་རྐུན་མ་མེད། ཁྱུར་མེད་ལ་ཇག་པ་མེད། ནོར་མེད་ལ་ཇག་རྐུན་གྱི་འཇིགས་པ་མེད་ཟེར།

379 No thief to him who is without wealth, no robber of one who is unencumbered with possessions.

༣༨༠ ནོར་བུ་ལ་ས་གནམ་གྱིས་སྡང༌། ནོར་བུ་ལ་མི་མ་ཟད་ས་དང་གནམ་གྱིས་ཀྱང་སྡུག་རོག་བྱེད་ཟེར།

380 Even earth and sky covet a gem. (When a valuable article is lost.)

༣༨༡ ནོར་བོ་ཨ་ཞེ། མི་བོ་རྟོག་པོ། སུ་གང་གི་ནོར་ལས་ཟ་ཞིང་ནོར་བདག་ལ་སྨོད་ན་ཟེར།

381 Wealth is fascinating: and its owner is ugly (of one who benefits from riches, but bears malice to him who provides it).

༣༨༢ ནོར་ལྷུག་མན། པགས་ལྷུག་ཡིན། དུད་འགྲོ་མང་ཡང་ཤི་ནས་པགས་པ་ལུས་པའི་དཔེར།

382 It is not wealth in cattle, but wealth in hides. (When many cattle die.)

༣༨༣ ནོར་འཐེད་ལའང་འཇོར་ཅེན། ནོར་ཡོད་པ་འཇིགས་པོ་མན་ཟེར་རོ།

383 Even musicians can acquire wealth. (Musicians are regarded as low caste in Ladakh.)

༣༨༤ ནོར་འཁྲུག་དུས་སེམས་མ་ཁྲུགས། སེམས་འཁྲུག་དུས་ནོར་མ་ཁྲུགས། ནོར་ཡོད་དུས་སུ་བསམས་པ་མ་ཡོངས། བསམ་པ་རྫོད་དུས་ནོར་ཚར་ཟེར་རོ།

384 When riches are acquired, the mind is impoverished, and when the mind is under control, one is without riches.

༣༨༥ ནོར་མེད་སང་ཉམས་མེད་ཐུ། ནོར་གྱི་ཉམས་མེད་པ་ནི་ནོར་མེད་པ་བས་ཐུ་ཟེར་རོ།

385 To be inexperienced is worse than to lack money.

༣༨༦ ནོར་ཨ་ལི་ཡོད་ན། ཟླུམ་བག་མ འཐད་འཐད། ནོར་ཡོད་ན་ཇི་དགོས་ཚང་མ་ཐོབ་ཐུབ་ཟེར་རོ།

386 For a wealthy man there are many brides. (A man with money can obtain anything he likes.)

༣༨༧ གནམ་ཐང་ལ་གོང་མོ། བདེ་བར་ཡོད་དུས་སུ་མི་བདེ་བ་ཞིག་འབྱུང་ན་ཟེར།

387 A ptarmigan on a fine day. (If a ptarmigan flees into a village it is thought to be an ill-omen—Also when a man becomes angry suddenly.)

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༣༨༨ གནམ་ལ་ཅེ་ཤར་མི་ཤར་མ་ཤར་ཞིག། སྐར་མ་དུ་བ་མཇུག་རིང་མ་ཤར་ཞིག། ས་ལ་ཅེ་སྐྱེ་མི་སྐྱེ་མ་སྐྱེ་ཞིག། དུག་གི་ལོ་མ་མ་སྐྱེས་ཞིག། གནམ་ལ་དུ་བ་མཇུག་རིང་ཤར་ན་ལྷུས་ངན་བརྟེས་ཏེ་ཟེར།

388 May nothing appear in the sky, neither a comet, nor may nothing grow on the earth, nor even a poisonous plant.

༣༨༩ གནམ་དང་རྒྱལ་པོའི་བྱ་བ་མིས་མི་ཤེས། སེང་གེ་ཉལ་ས་ཝས་མི་ཤེས། གནམ་དང་རྒྱལ་པོའི་ཚོད་འཛིན་མི་ནུས་པའི་དོན་ནོ།

389 Common people do not understand the affairs of the heavens and the king, nor does the fox know the lion's lair.

༣༩༠ གནོད་ན་ཁ་ནང་གི་སོ་ཡང་ཕུད། གནོད་ན་རང་གི་མི་མ་ཟད་སོ་ཡང་ཕྱུང་ཟེར།

390 If it is harmful, then pull out even the tooth from your mouth. (Don't hesitate to expel an obnoxious relation or child from your house and society if his influence is harmful.)

༣༩༡ རྣམ་རྟོག་དགྲ་ལང་། རྣམ་རྟོག་བྱས་ཏེ་གནོད་པ་འབྱུང་ན་ཟེར།

391 Doubt rises up as your enemy.

༣༩༢ སྣ་ཁུང་ལ་བསེ་རུ་ཐོག་སྟེ་མ་ནེ་ཏ་མི་གོ། ནང་གི་དུགས་ཚ་ན་ཐོག་ནས་ནང་བྱེད་ལུགས་ཏ་གོ་ཡང་ཟེར།

392 You cannot understand until the cold wind blows upon your nose.

༣༩༣ སྣམ་སྦྲག་ནས་མེ་བེང་སྟེ་སམ་འདལ་འཚིག་ཅེས། རང་གི་མིའི་ནང་ནས་དགྲ་ལངས་ཏེ་ཁྲིལ་ཕུད་དུས་ཟེར།

393 Fire issued from his pocket and singed his beard (of friends and relations who give evidence in court against a man).

༣༩༤ ནོར་མེད་འཚོང་ས་ལ་ཆ་ན་ཉོ་འདོད། ནོར་མེད་པས་ནོར་མཐོང་སྟེ་ཉོ་ཅེས་འདོད་ན་ཟེར།

394 Being without money, he arrived at the market and wished to buy things.

༣༩༥ ནོར་ལག་པའི་དྲི་མ་ཡིན། ནོར་ལ་གོད་འབྱུང་དུས་ཟེར།

395 Wealth is the dirt of your hands.

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༣༩༦ ཐུ་རྟུའི་ལན་ལ་སྒོ་ཉིའི་སྐེ། བཟང་ལན་ངན་པས་འཇལ་ན་ཟེར། སྤྲུལ་ཧེའི་གཏམ་དཔེ་ལྟ་
དྭགས་པས་ཟེར།

396 In return for good, he rendered evil.

༣༩༧ སྣོད་བརྒྱ་ལ་ཁ་ལེབ་སུས་བཀབ་ཡིན། མི་མང་གི་ཁ་ལ་ལག་པ་བཀབ་མི་ཐུབ་ཟེར།

397 Who can put a lid on a hundred pots? (Used when many people speak ill of one. You can silence a few, but impossible when there are many excuses.)

༣༩༨ གནམ་ཐོག་ན་མཛུབ་གུས་སྟང་མི་ཐུབ། དབང་ཅན་གྱིས་གནོད་སྐྱེལ་ན། ཞན་པས་དེ་ཟློག་
མི་ཐུབ་ཟེར།

398 When the sky falls on you, you cannot lift it up with your fingers. (If the powerful influential afflict you, you cannot do anything against them.)

ཁ

༣༩༩ མཐན་དང་ཁྲུག་རྩ་ཐུག་ཅེས། ལས་གཉིས་འདོམ་དུས་སུ་ཟེར།

399 The end of the strap met the buckle.

༤༠༠ ནད་དང་བུ་ལོན་ཆུང་དུས་སོས།

400 Cure the disease at the onset, and pay the debt when it is small.

༤༠༡ ཐལ་སྔོང་གཅིག་ལ། བཟན་སྔོང་གཉིས། ཁོ་ལག་པས་བཟན་གཡོ་བ་ཁེ་ཟེར།

401 One ball of dough makes two cakes.

༤༠༢ པ་ལེ་མ་ལ་བམ་བཅོ་ན། གྲུ་བཞི་མ་ལ་བཟོ་འཐོན། དལ་བུར་ལས་བྱེད་ན་མགོ་ཚོད་ཟེར།

402 If you arrange the pieces slowly, they will form a square.

༤༠༣ ཐོ་ལོ་གོང་ཀ་མེད་ན་རུབ་ཤོ་ལ་མེད་ཡིན།

403 Apart from the Polokongka there is no pass in Rupsho.

༤༠༤ དཔེ་ར་རྩང་མ་དཔེར་མིན་ཡིན། རུབ་ཤོ་འགང་འབྱོར་རི་དཔེ་ར་དཔེ་ར་ཡིན། གཞན་གྱི་
གཏམ་ལ་འབྱུ་བའི་མི་ལ་ཟེར།

404 All other conversation is worthless, but the speech of Gangjor of Rupshu is worth while.

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༤༠༥ དཔེ་ར་ཙམ་ལུས་ནའང་མི་རུལ། གཏམ་མི་རུལ་བས། ཕུ་ལེར་ཐག་ཆོད་ནའང་མི་སྡོ་ཟེར་རོ།

405 No matter how much is left over for discussion, it will not rot. (A decision will be reached at long last.)

༤༠༦ དཔོན་པོ་དང་མཇལ་ན་ཅི་ཞུ་དང་གང་ཞུ། བླ་མ་དང་མཇལ་ན་ཅི་ཕུལ་དང་གང་ཕུལ། གཏམ་ཡིན་མིན་ཀུན་དཔོན་པོ་དང་བླ་མར་ཞུ་ན་ཟེར།

406 When meeting his master he tells all sorts of stories, and when meeting his priest he offers every gift he possesses.

༤༠༧ དཔོན་པོ་ལ་བཀྲོན་སྙིང་འགྲོ་ན་ཇ་ལ་འཚིག་རི་བྲོ། སྐྱོད་བཏག་ནས་དོན་མེད་ལ་གཡོག་པོ་སོགས་ལ་ཁ་བཀྲོ་ན་ཟེར།

407 If one's master intends to find fault, even the tea will have a burnt smell.

༤༠༨ དཔོན་པོའི་བསང་རབ་དང་། གངས་ཀྱི་ཞིགས་པ་འདྲ། མི་ཆེན་གྱིས་གནང་བའི་ཁ་ཟས་ཀྱི་གསོལ་རས་ཙུང་ཟད་ཡོད་ཀྱང་རིན་ཅན་ཡིན་ཟེར།

408 The master's gift of food is like drops from ice (i.e. appreciation of a small gift).

༤༠༩ དཔོན་གཡོག་ཞོབ་མ་བཏང་། གཉེན་དྲུང་འཚོང་མ་བཏང་། གཏང་ན་མི་འགྲིག་པ་འབྱུང་ཟེར།

409 Master and servant should not joke together; and don't transact business with your relations.

༤༡༠ དཔྱིད་ཉིན་རིང་མོ་ལ་གྲང་གསུམ་དྲོ་གསུམ། མི་ཚེ་རིང་མོ་ལ་སྐྱིད་གསུམ་སྡུག་གསུམ། གྲང་དྲོ་སྐྱིལ་མ་ལྟར་སྐྱིད་སྡུག་ཀྱང་སྐྱིལ་མ་འབྱུང་ཟེར།

410 There are three cold and three warm periods in a spring day; and in a man's long lifetime there are three joys and three sorrows (i.e. joy and misery come in their turn to a man).

༤༡༡ དཔྱིད་འབད་དུས་ལ་མ་འབད་ན། སྟོན་སྨྲ་དུས་ལ་ཅི་སྨྲ་ཡིན། དཔྱིད་ཀ་ལ་ལས་བྱེད་དགོས་ཟེར།

411 If you do not labour in spring, what will you reap in autumn?

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༤༡༢ <u>སྤྱང་ཀུ་སོས་ཏེ་སྐྱི་ཁྱི་མི་ལྡན། མི་བུ་སོས་ཏེ་རང་བུ་མི་ལྡན།</u> བུ་རྡོད་དང་སོས་བུར་བལྟས་ཏེ་ཟེར།

412 By nourishing a wolf, he will not become a dog; and by adopting a child, he cannot become as one of your own.

༤༡༣ <u>སྤྱང་ཀུ་རོང་ལ་ལྷུངས་པ་ར་ལ་ཨ་ཇོ་མི་ཟེར་ཁ་མེད།</u> མི་དབང་ཆེ་བའང་ཨ་ཀུས་ཆ་ན་མི་ཆུང་ལ་བཙོལ་དགོས་འབྱུང་ཟེར།

413 When the wolf fell into the pit, he was obliged to say 'please, sir' to the goat.

༤༡༤ <u>སྤྱང་ཀུ་མི་ལྟོགས་པ་ཞིག ལུ་གུ་མི་ཤི་ཙེས་ཤིག</u> ཁྲིམས་ནང་ཕན་རྒྱུན་གཉིས་པོར་སྙོམས་པོ་ཙོས་ཟེར་རོ།

414 Not to starve the wolf and to keep the lamb alive. (When laws are applied fairly to both sides.)

༤༡༥ <u>སྤྱང་ཕྱུལ་ལ་ཁྱི།</u> རྐུན་མའི་འོག་ཏུ་དེར་གཞན་ཞིག་བསྐྱིབ་ནས་འཁད་ན་ཟེར།

415 A dog after a wolf. (A wolf carried off a sheep. Soon after a dog came, and the people thinking the dog a thief, caught and killed him.)

༤༡༦ <u>སྤྱང་ཤིངས་སེ་ནང་ལ་བེར་ཤིངས།</u> ལས་བྱེད་པའི་དཀྱིལ་དུ་གཞན་ཞིག་གིས་ཟིང་ཇེལ་འཁྱོང་ན་ཟེར།

416 Whilst hunting a wolf, he fought with a stick.

༤༡༧ <u>སྐྱོ་ཏེ་ཕྱིས་མ་ཡིན། ནམ་མཇུག་ཁུ་ནུའི་བཙོབ་མ་ཡིན།</u> ངན་ནི་དེ་ཀ་ཡིན། (ཕྱིས་མ་ means སྙིད་མ).

417 Spite is but the part property of two masters. It is the legacy of the termination of the Kuna war.

༤༡༨ <u>སྤྲེའུ་ལ་ཤོད་པ་སྣ་དགུ།</u> ཏ་མག་དང་སྣ་ཐག་དང་སོ་ཐག་ལྷ་བུའི་ལོབས་ངན་མང་པོ་ཡོད་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

418 A monkey has nine bad habits. (Used of people who smoke tobacco and take snuff and indulge in other vices.)

༤༡༩ <u>དཔྱིད་ཉིན་རིང་དུ་རིང་དུ། ཨ་མའི་ཏོ་གོར་ཆུང་དུ་ཆུང་དུ།</u>

419 Spring days grow longer and longer; and mother's bread becomes smaller and smaller (i.e. in spring foodstuffs become scarce).

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༤༢༠ ཕ་ལྷམ་མཁན་གྱི་བུ་རྐང་རྗེན་ལ། བཟོ་པ་དང་ལག་ཤེས་ཀྱི་བཟོ་རང་ལ་མ་ཕན་ན་ཟེར།

420 The shoemaker's son walks barefoot (i.e. the shoemaker's wife is the worst shod).

༤༢༡ ཕ་མགོ་དཀར་ལ་བུ་རྐང་དམར། རྒས་ཁར་བུ་འཚོར་ན་ཟེར།

421 The hoary headed father has a child with red legs. (A proverb denoting derision, when an old man marries.)

༤༢༢ ཕ་གོས་བུ་ལ་འགད་ན། བུ་ལ་ཁ་བརྡ་མ་བཏང་། ཏེ་མི་སོང་བའི་བུ་ལ་རང་ཤེས་ཡོད་
དགོས་ཏེ་བསླབ་བྱས་མི་ཕན་ཟེར།

422. When a father's coat fits his son, don't give him advice.

༤༢༣ ཕ་མ་ལ་ཅི་དཀགས། བུ་ལ་མནའ་མ་དཀགས། བུ་ལ་མནའ་མ་ལེགས་པ་ཐོབ་པ་དཀའ་བ་
ཡིན་ཟེར།

423 What is the difficulty with parents ? It is difficult for them to get a wife for their son.

༤༢༤ ཕ་མའི་ལ་ཡོགས་རི་རབ། གྲོགས་ཀྱི་ལ་ཡོགས་མཛུབ་གུ། ཕ་མའི་ལ་ཡོགས་སང་ཁྲོ
ཤུག་གི་ལ་ཡོགས་ཤིན་ཏུ་སྐྱུར་པོ་འབྱུང་ཟེར། (རི་རབ་དང་མཛུབ་མོ་ལ་སྐོར་བ་སྐོར་
བའི་ཁྱད་ཆེ་བ་དང་འདྲ།)

424 The retribution of parents is as the circumambulation of Mount Miru and of a married couple as a journey round a finger.

༤༢༥ ཕ་སྨྱུག་བུ་ལ་མི་རྒྱུག། གཅིག་གི་སྨྱུ་གུ་གཞན་གྱིས་འབྲི་མི་ནུས་ཟེར།

425 The son could not write with his father's pen (i.e. you can't write with another person's pen).

༤༢༦ ཕ་ཙན་དན་ལ་བུ་རྩ་ཤིང་། ཕ་ཡ་རབས་ལ་བུ་མ་རབས་འཐོན་ན་ཟེར།

426 The father of sandalwood got a child of reed (i.e. if a highborn father has a lowbred son).

༤༢༧ ཕ་ཚ་སྟོང་པའི་རང་ལང་སུས་ཀྱང་མི་ཐུབ། གྲོད་པ་ལྟོགས་རིང་སུས་ཀྱང་ལས་བྱེད་མི་ནུས་
ཟེར།

427 No one can make an empty sack stand upright (i.e. a man cannot work on an empty stomach).

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༤༢༨ ཕ་ཤི་སང་ལུད་ཁུར་ཟུ། ཕ་ཤི་དུས་སུ་ཡང་ཞིང་ལས་ཟེད་དགོས། དུས་ཡོལ་ན་མི་ཐུབ་ཟེར།

428 The carrying of manure is more important than father's death.

༤༢༩ ཕ་ཤི་མ་ཤི་སེམས་ཀྱིས་བཟོད། ལྟོད་པ་ལྟོགས་པ་སེམས་ཀྱིས་མ་བཟོད། ལྟོགས་པ་སྡུག་བསྔལ་ཀུན་པས་རེ་ཟེར།

429 One can endure the death of one's parents, but one cannot endure hunger.

༤༣༠ ཕ་ཤི་མཆེར་པ་ཟ། མ་ཤི་ནུ་མ་ཟ། ད་བར་དུ་བོད་པས་ཕ་དང་མ་གསོན་པོར་ཡོད་ན་མཆེར་པ་དང་ནུ་མ་སྲི་ཟ།

430 When father dies, you may eat spleen, and when mother dies, you may eat udder.

༤༣༡ ཕ་སྤུན་གྱི་རྩིབ་མ་ལོག་པར་ལ། རང་གི་གཉེན་གྱིས་དགྲ་བྱེད་ཙེང། གཉེན་སྲིད་པའི་ཕྱོགས་བྱེད་ཙ་ཟེར།

431 The ribs of father's lineage are reversed. (When there is enmity against a relative.)

༤༣༢ ཕག་ཉན་མན། ལྷག་ཉན་ཡིན། ཕག་ཉན་གཏོང་བའི་མཛིང་ལྷག་ལ་རྡུང་ཟེར་རོ།

432 He is not one who listens in secret, but one who overhears.

༤༣༣ ཕག་ཤ་སོ་མས་ནད་རོ་སློང་པ་སློང་། འཛིང་སོ་སོ་མས་གཉན་འཛིང་བའི་གཏམ་ངན་སློང་པ་ཡང་འདོན་ཇོ་ཟེར།

433 Fresh pork causes the old malady to reappear. (A new quarrel revives an old one.)

༤༣༤ ཕར་ལ་ཕུ་ཟེར་ན་ཚུར་ལ་ཟུ། གཅིག་གིས་ཉམ་ཉིད་གཞེར་པ་མེར་ཕུས་པས། དེས་ཚོ་རི་རི་རྩུ་སྨུ་སྨུ་བྱས་པ་ལ་བརྙེན་ཏེ། ཕར་བསླབ་བྱ་བཏང་བའི་ལན་དུ་ཚིག་ངན་ཟེར་ན་ཟེར།

434 If you blow on anything it will spit back upon you. (One who refuses admonition.)

༤༣༥ ཕལ་ཆེར་ཡི་གེ་གོ་བས་དཀྲོད། ཡི་གེའི་དོན་ལ་ལྟས་ཏེ་འདུ་གཅོད་དགོས་ཟེར།

435 As a rule a letter can be read by understanding the sense (i.e. as regards bad calligraphy).

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༤༣༦ ཕྱི་ཐོག་སྤྲིན་དམར་འཁོར་ན། ཕྱུག་པོའི་ལས་ཐབས་འགྲིག། ཕྱི་དྲོ་སྤྲིན་དམར་འཁོར་ན་
གནམ་ཐང་གི་རྟགས་ཡིན་པས། ཕྱུག་པོས་སང་ཉིན་ཕྱིར་ལས་གྲལ་བྱེད་རྒྱུས་ཟེར།

436 If the sky is red in the evening, the rich can make their plans.

༤༣༧ ཕྱི་ཙི་ཙི་ཡོངས་རྟེ། ནང་ཙི་ཙི་ཕྱིངས། རྟིང་ནས་བསྐྱིབ་པའི་མནའ་མའམ་མག་པ་ལྷ་བུས་
ཕ་མ་དང་གཞི་སྐྱིད་སོགས་ཕྱིར་འདོན་ན་ཟེར།

437 The mouse which was outside came in and drove out the one which was inside. (When a son-in-law is brought into the house, and the old father has to retire to a separate apartment in the house.)

༤༣༨ ཕྱི་ཐོག་ཨ་པ་བྱང་ཐང་ལ། སྔ་མོ་ཨ་པ་མལ་སའི་ནང་ལ། ཕྱི་དྲོ་སང་ངས་འདི་ཟླུག་དེ་
ཟླུག་བྱའོ་ཟེར་ནས། སྔ་དྲོ་མལ་སའི་ནང་གཉིད་ལོག་པ་ལྷ་བུ་འབྱུང་ན་ཟེར།

438 In the evening father was at Changtang, and in the morning he was in bed.

༤༣༩ ཕྱི་གཟིག་ནང་རུལ། ནོར་དང་ཡོན་ཏན་མེད་པའི་མི་གཟིག་པོ་འདབ་ཅན་ལ་ཟེར་རོ།

439 He is smart cutwardly, and rotten inwardly.

༤༤༠ ཕྱི་ལ་ཕོས་པའི་ཐལ་བ། མི་སྒྲོར་འགྲིམ་པའི་བུ་དང་བུ་མོ་ལས་ལ་མི་ཕན་ཟེར་རོ།

440 Dust which is already thrown away. (Of a son or daughter already given away in marriage.)

༤༤༡ ཕྱིད་ཕྱིད་ཟེར་ཡིན་ཕྱི་སྐྱ་ལ། རྒུད་རྒུད་ཟེར་ཡིན་ནང་ལ། རྒྱང་མ་ལྷ་བུ་རེས་ཕྱིར་འདོན་ཞིང་
རེས་ནང་དུ་འཁྱེར་ན་ཟེར་རོ།

441 He made her leave him by saying 'Go away', and call her back by saying 'Come in'. (When a man has divorced his wife and then brings her back again.)

༤༤༢ ཕྱིའི་ཆར་པའི་སང་ནང་ངེ་ཙང་རྟེ་སྡུ། ཕྱིའི་འཁྲུག་པ་བས་ནང་གི་འཁྲུག་པ་སྡུ་ཟེར་རོ།

442 The leaking of a roof is worse than the rain outside.

༤༤༣ ཕུ་ལ་གངས་རི་ཡོད་ན། མདོ་ལ་ཐིགས་པ། མི་རྒྱལ་བ་ཞིག་ལ་ནོར་ཡོད་ན་དབུལ་བ་ཅན་
ལ་ཕན་ཟེར་རོ།

443 If there is a glacier in the upper part of the valley, drops from it will come to the lower part of it. (Part of the rich man's wealth comes to the poor.)

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༤༤༤ སུག་མའི་ནང་གི་རྒྱ་ཁབ། བུ་ཕྲུག་མེད་པ་ལ་བུ་གཅིག་འབྱོར་ན་ཟེར།

444 A needle from China in the straw. (Of childless parents who finally get a son.)

༤༤༥ ཕེ་བཀལ་ཏེ་གཏང་ན། ཆུ་མི་ཐོབ། མི་མགོ་མི་ཆོད་པ་ཞིག་ལ་ཟེར།

445 If you send him off with some flour, he cannot obtain water. (Used of a stupid person who cannot manage for himself.)

༤༤༦ ཕེ་ཕྱོགས་མན་པ་ཆུ་ཕྱོགས་སུས་ཀྱང་མི་བཅོ། ཕྱུག་པོའི་ཕྱོགས་མིན་པ་དབུལ་པོའི་ཕྱོགས་སུས་ཀྱང་མི་བྱེད་ཟེར།

446 Everybody will take sides with flour, but none with water. (Taking sides with the rich and treating the poor with contempt.)

༤༤༧ ཕེ་ལྷུར་པོ་ལོག་པར་ལ། རང་གི་མིར་ཕན་མ་ཐོགས་པར་གཞན་ལ་ཕན་ཐོགས་པའི་གཉེན་ལ་ཟེར།

447 To cast away fine flour in the wrong direction. (Of relations who help others rather than their own home-folk.)

༤༤༨ ཕོ་དང་སྤྱང་ཀུ་འགྲང་ན་ངུ། མི་ཆང་གིས་བཟིས་ཏེ་ངུ་ན་ཟེར།

448 A man and a wolf weep when they are filled to repletion. (When a drunkard begins to weep.)

༤༤༩ ཕོ་སྐྱུར་རྟ་དང་། མོ་སྐྱུར་བ། མག་པ་གཙང་ན་རྟ་དང་མནའ་མ་གཙང་ན་ལ་དྭགས་པས་བ་གླང་ཞིག་སྦྱིན་དགོས་པས་ཟེར་རོ།

449 A pony to divorce a man, and a cow to divorce a woman. (This custom of paying a horse or cow is still in vogue when divorces occur in Ladakh.)

༤༥༠ ཕོ་རོག་ལ་ཁབ་ཐོར་ན། མིག་ལ་བཙུག་ག་སྙིང་ལ་བཙུག། བླུ་གུ་ལྷ་བུར་ཅེ་ཞིག་ཐོབ་ནས་དེ་ལ་ལག་པ་རྩེ་ཡིན་བསྙད་ན་ཟེར།

450 If a crow gets a needle, he will pierce it into his eyes or heart.

༤༥༡ ཕོ་བརྒྱའི་སྤངས་དང་། མོ་བརྒྱའི་མཛངས། ཕོ་ལས་དང་མོ་ལས་ཚང་མ་ཤེས་པའི་མི་ལ་ཟེར་རོ།

451 He who possesses a hundred talents of a man and a hundred attributes of a woman. (The accomplished person.)

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༤༥༢ ཕོ་ཞིག་འགྲུལ་ན་རྒྱལ། མོ་ཞིག་འདུག་ན་རྒྱལ། ཕོའི་ལས་ཁྱིམ་གྱི་ཕྱི་རོལ་དང་མོའི་ལས་ནང་ན་ཡོད་ཟེར།

452 Better for a man to go abroad, and a woman to stay at home.

༤༥༣ ཕོ་རང་ལོ་གསུམ་འདུག་ན། ཚ་ཕྱིབ་གདང་ལ་བཀལ། བུད་མེད་པས་ཀྱང་ཕོ་རང་སྒྱུ་དག་ཆེ་བ་འབྱུང་བའི་དཔེར།

453 A bachelor for three years, hangs up the clout.

༤༥༤ ཕྱག་འཚལ་གྱི་མགོ་ལ་སུས་ཀྱང་རྡོ་བ་མི་རྒྱབ། གུས་པ་དང་བབས་མོ་བྱེད་པ་ལ་སུས་ཀྱང་མི་རྡེག་ཟེར།

454 No one will stone a man on the head who bows down before him.

༤༥༥ ཕྱུག་པོའི་ངོ་གསོ་ལ། ལྟ་རག་གི་སྙིང་རྩ་ཆད། མི་ནོར་ཡོད་པའི་ངོ་གསོ་བྱེད་དུ་དབུལ་པོས་ཞ་ཆད་ཆད་ལས་བྱེད་ན་ཟེར།

455 Through pleasing the rich man, the pauper burst a blood vessel.

༤༥༦ འཕུང་འགྲོ་ལ་འཕུང་། ནོར་ཕྱུགས་ལ་རྒྱུ་རྒྱུགས་མང་པོ་ལྷན་ཅིག་ཏུ་འབྱུང་ན་ཟེར།

456 Decay upon decay. (Misfortune following in quick succession.)

༤༥༧ འཁྲུགས་ན་འཁྲུགས་ན་མཁས་པ་འཁྲུགས། མཁས་པ་འཁྲུགས་ན་བཅོ་ཐབས་མེད། མཁས་པ་འཁྲུགས་ན། ཡང་བཅོ་ཉན་པ་མི་འདུག་ཟེར།

457 The wise man does not err, but if he does err there is no way of mending the matter.

༤༥༨ ཕྱོགས་ལ་མི་མེད་ན། ཞི་ཏི་ལ་བཟན་མེད། ཕྱོགས་པ་མེད་ན་བཟན་ཐོབ་ཅིས་དཀགས་པོ་ཡིན་ཟེར

458 If you have no one to take your part, there will be no food in front of you.

༤༥༩ ཕྱུག་གསར་ནས་བུ་ལོན་མ་སྐྱི། ཕྱུག་པོ་སོ་མས་ཕོ་སོ་བྱེད་པས། དེ་ལྟ་བུ་ལས་ནོར་མ་སྐྱི་ཟེར་རོ།

459 Don't borrow from the ' Nouvean riche '.

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༤༦༠ ཕྲུ་གུའི་ཆུང་དུས། ཕ་མའི་རྒུད་དུས། བུ་སྨུག་ན་སོ་ཆུང་དུས་མི་ལག་དཀོན་པས། ཕ་མ་ལ་རྒུད་པ་འབྱུང་ཟེར།

460 When the children are small, then parents become weak.

༤༦༡ ཕྲུ་གུ་སྐྱུ་ན། སྤྲིན་དང་སྐྱུས། ཕྲུ་གུ་སྐྱུ་བའི་ཐབས་སྣ་མོ་ཡིན་ཟེར།

461 If you want to soothe a child, soothe him with the wind. (Any distraction will suffice to keep a child from crying.)

༤༦༢ ཕྲུ་གུ་ལ་ཡེ་རེ་དང་། བཙུན་ཆུང་ལ་ཟ་ཞུ། ཕྲུ་གུ་ཆུང་བ་ལ་ཡེ་རེ་མི་དགོས་པས། དེའི་ལག་ཏུ་ཡེ་རེ་མ་གཏང་ཟེར།

462 Money to children and a shilling to a monk. (Children do not want money, but food and clothing.)

༤༦༣ ཕྲུ་གུ་དགུ་སྐྱེས་པའི་མ་རེ་ལ་སྙིང་གཏམ་མ་ཤོག། ཉེན་ཅན་གྱི་སྙིང་གཏམ་ནི་བུ་དགུ་སྐྱེས་མཁན་གྱི་ཆུང་མ་ལ་ཡང་མ་བཤད་ཟེར།

463 Don't confide a secret to your wife who has borne nine children.

༤༦༤ ཕྲུ་གུའི་ཁྲིམས་བདག་ཕ་མ། ཕྲུ་གུའི་དབང་ཕ་མ་ལ་ཡོད་ཟེར།

464 Parents are the judges of their children. (Tibetans got this custom from the Chinese whose judges would condemn a disobedient child to death at the instigation of its parents.)

༤༦༥ ཨོ་རོག་ཀྱིས་ཀན་བརྡབ་པ་སང་། འུག་པའི་མིག་འཛུམ། གཉན་གྱི་ཆེད་ལུགས་ལ་འཇིགས་ན་ཟེར།

465 The smacking sound made by the raven against his palate made the owl blink his eyes. (These birds are known to be enemies of each other.)

༤༦༦ ཕྲུ་གུ་དང་ལྗང་པ་སྐྱེ་སྟོབ་ནས་ཤེས། ཕྲུ་གུ་ཆུང་ངུའི་དུས་ནས་ཇི་ལྟ་བུ་འབྱུང་ཡིན་ཤེས་ཟེར།

466 The nature of a child and that of a blade of corn can be ascertained by the way they grow.

༤༦༧ སྨྱེད་ལྷ་རྗེ་རང་། སྨྱེད་ལྷ་རྗེ་མི། རང་གི་ནད་ཀྱི་ཐབས་ཕྱེད་རང་གིས་ཤེས་ཟེར།

467 One is partly one's own doctor and partly a physician to another.

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༤༦༨ བ་ངན་འབུག་ཡིན་བཞོ། འོ་མ་ཅུང་ཙུ་གཏོང་བའི་བ་ལ་ཁ་བཀྱི་བཞིན་དེའི་འོ་མ་འཚིར་བ་ལྟར། གཅིག་ལ་འབུག་གིན་དེ་ལས་ཕན་ཐོགས་ན་ཟེར།

468 Whilst grumbling at her, he milked the cow.

༤༦༩ བ་མ་བཞོ། རྩྭ་བཞོ། འོ་མ་མང་པོ་ཐོབ་པ་ལ་རྩྭ་མང་པོ་ཐོང་ཟེར།

469 Don't milk the cow, but milk the grass.

༤༧༠ བ་བཞོས་ཏེ་ཡ་རི་གང་ནའང་གང་། ར་བཞོས་ཏེ་ཡ་རི་གང་ནའང་གང་། ཡ་རི་གང་དགོས། རང་དོན་གང་ལས་འགྲུབ་ནའང་འགྲིག་ཟེར།

470 The pot must be filled, whether by milking the cow or the goat.

༤༧༡ བ་ལུ་མེད་པ་མེད་ཐབས་མེད། བསད་ད་མི་རྒྱལ་བཀོལ་བ་རྒྱལ། ལས་ནང་བྲམ་པ་ཡོད་པའི་ལས་པ་མ་བསད་པར་ཁྲོལ་ཟེར།

471 A dwarf is indispensable, so better not kill him but let him work for you. (A hard worker should not be dismissed.)

༤༧༢ བ་གསོ་བ་ལ་ཞུག་རགས་དགོས། ཆུང་མ་སྐྱེལ་བར་ནོར་ཟན་དགོས་ཟེར།

472 To feed a cow you need a store of grass. (A man must have money to keep a wife.)

༤༧༣ བ་རྒན་གྱི་བྱ་བ་ཐལ། དུས་ཀྱི་ལོ་མ་བུད། ད་རྒས་ནས་ལས་བྱེད་པའི་དུས་ཟིན་ཟེར་རོ།

473 The old man is beyond work, the leaf of time has fallen.

༤༧༤ བག་མའི་ཕྱག་ཁྱི་ཞི་ལ་ལ། བག་མ་སོ་མས་མི་ཆེ་ཆུང་ཚང་མ་མ་ཟད་ཁྱི་དང་ཞི་ལ་ལ་ཡང་ཕྱག་བྱེད་དགོས་སོ་ཟེར།

474 The bride must pay her respects even to dogs and cats. (A bride in Ladakh is obliged to pay her respects to every one.)

༤༧༥ བག་ལམ་ཁ་བས་གཅད་ན་ངན། རོ་ལམ་ཁ་བས་གཅད་ན་བཟང་། བག་མ་དང་རོ་འཁྱེར་བའི་འོག་ཏུ་ཁ་འབབ་ན། བོད་པས་ལྟས་སུ་འཛིན་ནོ།

475 Unlucky for the snow to cut off the progress of a bridal party; lucky when the snow cuts off the road to a funeral pyre.

༤༧༦ བག་མ་བདེ་མོ་ལ་སྣ་གཡོན་ཏེ།

476 The beautiful bride has a curved nose (i.e. a beautiful face or thing with one defect).

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༤༧༧ བྱི་ལ་ཙོགས་པ་མིག་བཙུམ་སྟེ་ཟ་ཅེས། མིག་གིས་མ་ལྟ་བར་རང་གི་ཁ་ཟས་ཟ་ན་ཟེར།

477 To eat whilst closing one's eyes like a cat.

༤༧༨ བྱི་ལ་ཤོར་ཏེ་དཀར་ཁུང་བཀག་ཅེས། གནོད་པ་ཞིག་སོང་ཟིན་ཏེ་ག་དར་བྱེད་ན་ཟེར།

478 To shut the window after the cat has escaped.

༤༧༩ བྱི་ལའི་ལག་པ་ལ་ཚིལ་བཅོལ་མཁན། མི་ངན་ནོར་འདོད་ཅན་གྱི་ལག་ཏུ་ནོར་བཅོལ་ན་ཟེར།

479 He who gives suet in trust to a cat.

༤༨༠ བལ་གྱི་རྩུབ་པ་མི་ལ་མི་ཟུག། བལ་རྩེ་ལྷུར་རྩིང་ཡང་སྐྱེའི་གཟུགས་པོར་མི་ཟུག་པས་ཁོལ་ཟེར།

480 The coarse wool will not prick anyone.

༤༨༡ བུ་ངན་གསད་ད། ལག་ངན་གཏུབ། རང་ལྷུག་རྩོག་པོ་འདོན་ན་ཟེར།

481 May I kill my son, or may I cut off my own bad hand?

༤༨༢ བུ་འཆར་ན་པང་ལ་མི་ཤོང་། བུ་ཞིག་ཆེ་མོར་སྐྱུར་ནས་ཕ་མས་འཛུན་མི་ཐུབ་ཟེར།

482 There is no room for the grown-up son on his father's lap.

༤༨༣ བུ་ལོན་མེད་ན་བག་མི་ལ་འདུག། ཚེར་ཀ་མེད་ན་རྟ་རྒན་ཉོས། ལག་མི་དང་འཚོང་མེན་མ་གཏང་ཟེར།

483 If you are not in debt, then become a surety. If free from trouble, buy an old horse.

༤༨༤ བུ་ལོན་གྱི་མཆེ་བ་ཟེབས་ན་འབུད་ཅེས་དཀའ་པོ།

484 If in the grip of debt, it is hard to get free from it.

༤༨༥ བུ་རྩ་བ་ཤི་ས་མེད། བུ་མོ་ལ་མ་ཁང་མེད། སྐྱེས་པ་བྱེས་དང་བུད་མེད་བག་མར་འགྲོ་དགོས་ཟེར།

485 A son has no place where he may die: and a daughter no home. (A man has to travel to earn his living, so cannot be certain where he will die; and a daughter, when she gets married, cannot remain in her mother's home.)

༤༨༦ བུན་གཡོག་ལ་མི་མི་ཤི། རྡོ་གཡོག་ལ་འབུ་མི་ཤི། བུ་ལོན་ལྕི་ཡང་རིམ་གྱིས་འཁོར་ཡོང་ཟེར།

486 A man does not die under a load of debt, nor a worm under the weight of a stone.

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༤༨༧ བུན་པ་ཡུལ་ན། ལག་མི་རི་ན། བུན་པ་ཐབས་ལག་མིར་ཕྱོད་པ་ལ་འདེད་པའི་ཕྱིར་བར་དོ་ཚེ་བ་འབྱུང་ཟེར།

487 The debtor in the city, and his surety in the mountains.

༤༨༨ ཐལ་དང་ལག་པ་འཁྲུ་ཅེས། ནོར་ལྷ་བུ་སྤོར་ན་ཟེར།

488 To wash one's hands with soda. (When a man loses his wealth or position at his own free will.)

༤༨༩ བེར་ཀར་བེར་ལན་མ་གཏང་ན། བེར་ཀ་མང་དུ་འཐོག། ཟས་ལ་ཟས་ལན་མ་གཏང་ན། ཟས་ཁ་ཉུང་དུ་ཆ། གཞན་ལ་ཟ་ཅེས་མ་བཏང་སྐྱེ་ཕྱུག་པོར་མི་འགྱུར་ཟེར།

489 If you don't repay sticks with sticks, the stick will hurt you the more; and if you don't return food for food, you will have so much less to eat.

༤༩༠ བོ་མོའི་གྲོད་པ་དང་མཛོ་མོའི་གྲོད་པ། བུད་མེད་ཀྱིས་ཇ་མང་པོ་འཐུང་ཟེར།

490 A woman's belly is like that of a cow. (Thought that a woman has a larger appetite.)

༤༩༡ བོ་མོའི་རྒྱ་ལབ་དང་། རྟ་པོའི་ཉིན་ལམ། བུད་མེད་གཉིས་དཔེ་ར་གཏང་འཚེར་འཚེར་ལ། རྟས་ཉིན་ལམ་གཅིག་གཅད་ཟེར།

491 The conversation of a woman is as long as a day's march on horseback.

༤༩༢ བོང་བུ་སྒལ་མེད་ཅིག་རང་འཐག་གི་སྒོ་ལ། ལས་ལ་དགོས་དུས་སུ་མི་ཞིག་སླེབ་ཆ་ན་ཟེར།

492 A donkey without a load at the door of a flour mill.

༤༩༣ བོང་བུ་ག་རུ་བཏགས་ཏེ་ཡོངས་པ་ཡིན། ཁ་ཟས་ཀྱི་ཁར་འགོར་ཏེ་ཕྱིའི་མི་ཞིག་སླེབ་ན་ཟེར།

493 Having tied up your donkey where have you come from? (When a stranger comes after the meal is over.)

༤༩༤ བོང་བུ་དང་རྐྱག་པ་ཁ་ཐུག་ཆ་ཅེས། མི་ངན་པ་ཞིག་དང་སྐད་དེ་གཏོད་པ་འབྱུང་ན་ཟེར།

494 To meet a donkey with dung.

༤༩༥ བོང་ཞོན་ལག་ཆག། རྟ་ཞོན་མགོ་ཆག། བོང་བུར་ཞོན་པ་ལག་པ་དང་རྟར་ཞོན་པ་འགྲིལ་ན་དེ་འདྲ་འབྱུང་ཟེར།

495 He breaks his arm who rides upon an ass, and his head who rides upon a horse. (Of a man when he falls from a donkey or a horse.)

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༤༩༦ བོང་བུ་ལ་དམ་ཆོས། ཏ་མི་གོ་བའི་མི་ལ་བསླབ་བྱ་གཏང་ན་ཟེར།

496 Scriptural advice to an ass.

༤༩༧ བོང་བུ་ལ་ཞོན་ཏེ་བོང་བུ་བཙལ་ཅེས། དངོས་པོ་ཞིག་རང་གི་ལག་གམ་མདུན་དུ་ཡོད་པ་མ་མཐོང་བར་བཙལ་ན་ཟེར།

497 He looked for the donkey on which he was mounted.

༤༩༨ བོད་ཀྱི་ཤིང་བཤག་ས་ལ་མ་འདུག། ཤིང་ཙར་ཏེ་འཕོག་སྲིད་ཟེར།

498 Do not stay where Tibetans are chopping wood. (The splinters might hit you.)

༤༩༩ དབང་པོ་ཆེའི་ཟབ་པོ་གྱེན་ལ། དབང་ཅན་གྱི་དབང་ཆོས་ལ་ཟེར།

499 A strong man can roll a stone uphill.

༥༠༠ དབུས་གཙང་ལ་པང་སྒ། ཆུ་ཁ་ལ་ཆུ་འཚོང་དུ་འཁྱེར་བ་ལྟ་བུའི་འཚོང་བྱེད་པ་ལ། ཡང་ན་རིན་མེད་ཀྱི་ནོར་འཚོང་དུ་རྒྱང་རིང་དུ་འགྲོ་ན་ཟེར།

500 To take a wooden saddle to Tibet. (Like taking coal to Newcastle.)

༥༠༡ འབུ་ཚོག་ལ་ཤིང་བཙུག་ཅེས། མི་དབུལ་པོ་ལ་འཚོག་པ་སྡིག་པའམ་གནོད་སྐྱེལ་ན་ཟེར།

501 To pierce a worm with a stick. (Injuring a harmless person.)

༥༠༢ འབུ་ལམ་ནོར་ཞིག་གྲོག་མོ་གི་ཚང་ས་ལ། ཉེན་ཆེ་བའི་ནང་ལ་སྐྱིབ་ན་ཟེར།

502 The worm, which lost its way, arrived at the ant's nest. (To be visited by calamity suddenly.)

༥༠༣ བོད་ཀྱི་ལག་པ་ལ་ཚོན་ཤི། བོད་ཀྱི་ལག་ཏུ་དངོས་པོ་ཚང་མ་ནོགས་སོ་ཟེར།

503 The colour was destroyed in the hands of Tibetans.

༥༠༤ འབུ་འཁྱུལ་བ་ཉི་མའི་བཀའ་དྲིན། ང་ལ་ཁྱོད་ཀྱི་དྲིན་མེད་དེ་གཞན་གྱི་དྲིན་ནོ་ཟེར།

504 The worm wriggles because of the goodness of the sun.

༥༠༥ འབེ་ད་གཅིག་གླུ། མི་གཅིག་འཐབ་ཞིག་གིས་གླུ་ལེན་ན་ཟེར།

505 One musician singing a solo. (When there is only one musician instead of many.)

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༥༠༦ བྱ་རྒས་པ་ཚང་དྲན། མི་རྒས་པ་རང་ཡུལ་དྲན།

506 An aged bird remembers his nest; and an old man his home.

༥༠༧ ཟ་གཉིད་དུམ་དུམ། སྙོ་གཉིད་འཁམས་པ། གཉིད་ཡང་སྐྱི་ལོག་ཏུ་ཟེར།

507 To sleep for a short time like a bird; and to sleep soundly for one's pleasure.

༥༠༨ བྱ་ཕོ་ལོང་མེད་ཡིན་ན། རྡོ་བ་ཕོ་ལོང་ཆུས་ཁྱེར་པ། མི་ཅོལ་ཆུང་གི་དྲས་གཏམ་ལ་ཟེར།

508 If the rock-bird had not been there, the water would have carried away the rock.

༥༠༩ བྱ་གནམ་ལ་འཕུར་ནའང་གྲིབ་ས་ས་ལ། རྒྱང་རིང་དུ་ལས་བྱེད་ཀྱང་དེའི་སྐད་ཆ་བཟང་ངན་ཐོས་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

509 Though a bird flies in the sky, his shadow falls on the ground (e.g. news from afar).

༥༡༠ བྱ་ཕོས་འབོད་དེ་མ་ནི། བྱ་མོས་འབོད་དེ་ནམ་མི་ལངས། སྐྱེས་པའི་ལས་ཀྱིས་མ་གཏོགས་བུད་མེད་ཀྱིས་ཆེ་མི་ཕྱེད་ཟེར།

510 Until the cock crows, the hen does not stir herself at dawn.

༥༡༡ བྱ་དགོངས་ཤིག་འདུག་ནའང་ཚང་ཞིག་དགོས། དགོངས་གཅིག་གི་ཕྱིར་ཡང་མི་ལ་བླང་ས་དགོས་ཟེར།

511 A bird needs a nest if it is only for a night.

༥༡༢ བྱ་སྤུ་གནམ་ལ། བྱ་ཁྲག་ས་ལ། ཁྲི་གཏོར་ལ་ཆ་ན་ཟེར།

512 The bird's feathers are in the sky and its blood upon the ground. (When families or persons are scattered.)

༥༡༣ བྱ་ཡང་མ་འཁྲུགས་ས། སྒོ་ལོ་ཡང་མ་འཁྲུགས་ས། ཐན་རྩོད་གཉིས་པོ་མ་འཁྲུགས་པར་འགྲིག་བཟུག་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

513 Without disturbing the bird or the egg. (Making up quarrels between two parties peaceably.)

༥༡༤ བྱི་བ་འདུག་གི་གནས་མི་འདུག། སྐྱོ་ཐུད་དེ་གར་ཆེན། འདུག་པའི་གནས་མེད་དེ་གནས་སྐྱོ་བ་ལ་ཟེར།

514 The mouse has nowhere to live. So where will he go when he has dragged off the ladle?

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༥༡༥ བྱ་འཕུར་བའི་ཁར་རྔ་མཇུག ། ཁྲོས་པའི་མིར་ལྷག་པར་སློ་དཀྲུག་ན་ཟེར །

515 To beat the drums when the bird is on the wing. (To provoke a man who has lost his temper.)

༥༡༦ བྱེ་མ་བཙིར་ཏེ་མར་མི་འཐོན ། དབྱལ་པོ་ལ་ སྡམ་བཞག་གཏང་ན་ཡང་ཕག་སྒུག་མི་ཐོབ་ཟེར །

516 You cannot produce butter by pressing sand. (Same as 'you can't get blood out of a stone'.)

༥༡༧ བྱམས་ན་གནམ་གྱི་བྱ་ཡང་འཁོར ། རྩིང་ན་པང་གི་བུ་ཡང་ཤོར ། ཡ་ཞ་དང་རྩུབ་པོ་བྱེད་པའི་ཁྱད་ལ་ཟེར །

517 Birds will gather round him who loves them, and a son will escape from the bosom of him who is severe towards him.

༥༡༨ བྲ་ཟན་ལ་ཤ་རི ། བྲ་བོའི་ཟན་གྱི་ཁར་ཤ་རི་མི་མཛེས་པ་ལྟར ། མི་ཐོབས་པའི་ཁ་ཟས་ལ་ཟེར །

518 To dress buckwheat cake with a piece of meat (i.e. preparing an unsuitable meal).

༥༡༩ བྲག་བར་ལ་ས ། མི་བར་ལ་གཏམ ། བྲག་སྦུབས་ནང་ས་ཞུགས་ན་བྲག་འགྱེ་བ་ལྟར ། མི་བར་ལ་གཏམ་གྱིས་དཀྲུག་ན་སོ་འགྱེ་བའི་དོན་ནོ །

519 Earth between rock, and a go-between amongst men. (Earth in the crevice of a rock tends to split it. A go-between tends to make agreement impossible.)

༥༢༠ བྲག་སྣ་ཆུས་མི་སྒྱུར ། ཡུལ་ཁྲིམས་མིས་མི་སྒྱུར ། ཡུལ་སྲོལ་འཇིག་པར་མི་བྱེད་ཟེར་རོ །

520 Water cannot move the spur of a rock, and men will not change the customs of their country.

༥༢༡ བྲག་དང་ཙ་རག ! དབང་ཙན་དང་ཁ་དམན་འཐབ་ན་ཟེར །

521 A rock and an earthen pot. (When a strong man and a weak one compete.)

༥༢༢ བྲེ་གང་ནང་ལ་མེད་པ ། ཕྱི་ལ་ཁལ་ཅིག ། ནང་ན་ཏོར་མེད་པར་ཕྱི་རུ་ཡོད་ཁྱངས་སྟོན་པ་ལ་ཟེར །

522 In his house he had not a measureful of flour. Yet he pretended to offer a bushel to an outsider.

༥༢༣ འབྲོག་པ་བརྒྱ་ཤི་སྟོང་ལང ། བརྒྱུད་རྩ་མང་པོ་ཡོད་ཟེར །

523 If a hundred Dards die, a thousand sons will rise up. (Of one who foreruns a long lineage.)

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༥༢༣ འབྲོག་པ་གྲལ་ལ་མ་བོར། སྟ་རི་ཕུར་ལ་མ་བོར། འབྲོག་པ་ལ་སྟེ་སྣང་བྱེད་ན་ཕུར་ལ་གཏོང་པ་སྐྱེལ་ཟེར།

524 Don't put a Dard in the row and don't hang up your axe. (Used derisively when speaking of Dards.)

༥༢༥ འབྲོག་པ་མི་མིན། ཨས་ཀུ་ཏ་ཤིང་མིན། འབྲོག་པ་ལ་སྨད་སྨྲ་ཡིན།

525 Dards are not men, the Askuta is not wood.

༥༢༦ བླ་མས་སྒོ་ང་བཅག་ཚོག་ན། སློབ་མས་བྱ་ཧྲི་གསད་ཚོག། སློབ་དཔོན་རྒྱལ་ཁྲིམས་དམ་པོར་མི་སྣང་བ་ལ་ཟེར།

526 If a priest may break an egg, his disciple may kill the hens.

༥༢༧ བླ་མའི་ནོར་དང་གོང་ཀའི་ཐལ་བ། གོང་ཀའི་ཐལ་བ་རླུང་གིས་འཕྱེར་བླར་བླ་མའི་ནོར་ཐོབ་ན་ཡང་མགྱོགས་པ་ཟད་ཟེར།

527 The wealth of a priest is like the dust on the top of a hill. As the dust is swept by wind so the wealth of a lama disappears.

༥༢༨ སྦལ་ཏི་ལ་ཚྭ་ཐོབ་པ་ཙོགས། ཅི་ཞིག་ཐོབ་ནས་མང་དུ་འཐད་ན་ཟེར།

528 Like a Balti who has got some salt. (Salt is rare in Baltistan. A Balti will eat salt as if it were sugar.)

༥༢༩ སྦལ་ཏི་སྙིང་ཅན་ཉེས་བློ་བཀོལ་བཀོལ་ལ། བོད་སྙིང་མེད་དེ་སྙིང་པོ་བརྐུས། སེམས་བཏད་དེ་བློ་རྐུ་ན་ཟེར།

529 The reserved Balti pretended to be honest, and the heart of the frank Tibetan was stolen.

༥༣༠ སྦུར་པའི་མཐོང་བཟོ་ལ། རྩིག་མིག་གཞལ་ཡས་ཁང་། རང་ནོར་དང་རང་ཁང་ལ་དྷ་ལས་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

530 To a beetle the crack in the wall seems like a mansion.

༥༣༡ སྦུར་པའི་མགོ་ལ་ཕྱེ་བཏབ་རྒྱུ་མེད་མཁན། བོད་པས་དཔྱིད་ལ་སྦུར་པ་ཐོག་མར་འཐོན་དུས་སུ་དེའི་མགོ་ལ་ཕྱེ་གཏོར་བའི་སྲོལ་ཡོད་པས། ཟ་རྒྱུ་ཅིའང་མེད་པ་ལ་སྨད་དེ་ཟེར།

531 He has not enough flour even to put on the head of a beetle. (When Tibetans see a beetle for the first time in spring they put flour on the head of the beetle.)

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༥༣༢ སྦལ་ཏི་ངོ་ལོག། རེས་ཚུར་གྱི་ཕྱོགས་དང་རེས་ཕ་རོལ་པའི་ཕྱོགས་བྱེད་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

532 The Balti is rebellious.

༥༣༣ དབྱར་དགུན་གྱི་དཔང་པོ་འབྲུག། དཔྱིད་ཀ་ཐོག་མར་འབྲུག་ལྡིར་ན་ཟེར།

533 Thunder is the witness of summer and winter. (With the first peal of thunder in spring, summer begins.)

༥༣༤ དབྱར་གྱི་གཡའ་ཟུགས་ལ་ཙག་ཙག། དགུན་གྱི་རྫ་མ་ལ་ཙག་ཙག། དུས་དུས་སུ་ཟ་དག་བྱེད་དགོས་ཟེར།

534 In summer be careful of your metal pots. And in winter of your earthen ones. (Rust will corrode metal in summer, and the freezing of water in earthen pots will crack them—i.e. take due care according to the season.)

༥༣༥ བླ་མས་དཀོར་མ་ཟ་བར་མི་འགྲིག། སྤྱང་ཀུས་ལུ་གུ་མ་ཟ་བར་མི་འགྲིག། སྤྱང་ཀུའི་ཟ་སྐལ་ལུག་ཡིན་པ་ལྟར། བླ་མའི་ཟ་སྐལ་ཡང་ཞི་དཀོར་དང་གསོན་དཀོར་ཡིན་ཟེར།

535 A lama cannot help taking his fee and a wolf cannot help eating a lamb. (A kor is given to lamas for performing ceremonies.)

༥༣༦ བླ་མ་འོན་པ། ཉེ་གནས་ལྐུགས་པ།

536 The priest is deaf, and his disciple is dumb. (When both teacher and pupil are stupid.)

༥༣༧ ཐེམས་སི་ལྷ་བཟང་པོ། ཅེས་སུ་འགྲོ་ན་ཁམས་བཟང་ལུས་པའི་དོན་ནོ།

537 The god of travel is kind hearted.

༥༣༨ བོང་བུ་ལ་གནམ་རྡིབ་པའི་འཇིགས་པ། མཚན་མོར་བོང་བུ་མགྱོགས་པར་འགྲུལ་བ་ནི་གནམ་རྡིབ་པའི་འཇིགས་པ་ཡིན་སེམས།

538 At night the donkey fears lest the sky drops upon him. (A donkey walks more briskly at night and Ladakh people think this is because the donkey is afraid of the sky falling upon him.)

མ

༥༣༩ མ་སྨུག་ས་ལ་བབས་ན། གནམ་གྱི་སྒོང་ནས་ཤར། ན་བུན་ས་ལ་འབབ་དུས་སུ་ཟེར།

539 When a fog settles on the ground, the dome of the sky will be clear.

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༥༤༠ མ་བུ་གྲུབས་མཐུན་ཆ་ན། འཚལ་མགོ་ཚོད་མས་ཚོད། མ་སྨད་ཁ་མཐུན་ན། ཚོད་མ་འཚལ་མ་ལ་ཐོས་ཏེ་འཁྱིག་རེད།

540 If mother and son agree, the vegetables will be sufficient for breakfast.

༥༤༡ མ་ཉན་ན་སྣང་བུ་མེ་ཕྱིབ་མེ་ལ་ཕྱིབ་ཕྱིབ་ཕྱིབ་རྟེ་ཡང་མི་ཉན། ཕ་མས་བྱམས་པའི་ཐབས་མང་པོས་བྲུ་གུ་བཙུན་ཏེ་མ་རྒྱུན་ན་རེད།

541 If he is disobedient, he will not become obedient through embracing him as a moth hovering over a fire.

༥༤༢ མ་སྙིང་བུ་དང་བུ་སྙིང་རྡོ། མས་བུ་ལ་བྱམས་ཀྱང་། བུས་མ་ལ་མི་ཆགས་རེད།

542 A mother's heart on her child; a child's heart on a stone. (Of a child who is incapable of expressing his feelings.)

༥༤༣ མ་མཐོང་བའི་ཡུལ་པོ་སྐྱིད་པོ་ཙན། གཞན་ཡུལ་སྐྱིད་དོ་སེམས་ཤིང་དེར་ཕྱིན་འདོད་པ་ལ་རེད།

543 The country you have not seen is a pleasant one.

༥༤༤ མ་རབས་དང་འགྲོགས་ན་མནའ་རེ་དང་ཟོ་རེ། ཡ་རབས་དང་འགྲོགས་ན་དཔེ་རེ་དང་དོན་རེ། མི་བཟང་ངན་དང་འགྲོགས་པའི་ཕན་གནོད་སྟོན་ན་རེད།

544 If he keeps company with low-bred people, he takes false oaths, and when he associates with cultured folks, he learns good manners.

༥༤༥ མ་གཉེན་པོ་གོག་སྒྲུགས་ལ། ཕ་གཉེན་པོ་སྒོ་རྒྱབ་ལ། ནང་བདག་མོ་ཕལ་ཆེར་གྱིས་རང་གི་གཉེན་ལ་ཟོ་ཟོ་འབྱུང་འབྱུང་མང་པོ་རེད་པ་དང་། ཁྱོའི་གཉེན་ལ་དེ་འདྲ་མི་བྱེད་ན་རེད།

545 Mother's relations are at the head of the hearth. Father's are behind the door.

༥༤༦ མག་པའི་མགོ་ལ་ཐག་པ། བག་མའི་མགོ་ལ་སོག་གྱིར། བག་པོའི་བལ་ཞོད་དང་བག་མའི་བག་ཏེབ་ལ་བཞད་དགད་དུ་རེད།

546 A rope on the head of the bridegroom and a straw ring on the head of the bride. (A skit on the wooden turban of the bridegroom and the peculiar hat of the bride.)

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༥༤༧ མག་པ་མགྱོགས་ས་བག་མ་མགྱོགས། བག་སྟོན་དུས་སུ་དེ་གཉིས་སྡེར་མ་གཅིག་གི་ནང་དུ་འབྲས་སྦྱིན་པའི་ཚེ། མིག་རྩ་ཆེ་ཆུང་ལ་ལྟ་བར་གང་དེས་ལག་པ་སྔོན་དུ་རྐྱབ་པའི་ཕྱིར་ཟེར།

547 Who is quicker, the bridegroom or the bride? (When both have to eat rice from the same plate.)

༥༤༨ མན་ལ་སྨན་མེད། མན་རང་ཟེར་ཞིང་མགོ་ཤིལ་བ་དེ་ཙམ་དུ་འཇུག་མི་ནུས་ཟེར།

548 No remedy for those who refuse. (An offer.)

༥༤༩ མར་གྱི་ཁྲོད་ལ་རལ། དངོས་པོ་ལེགས་པའི་ཁྲོད་ན་ཟུ་བ་རེ་ཡང་འབྱུང་ན་ཟེར།

549 To find hairs in the butter. (When a bad article is found amongst good ones.)

༥༥༠ མང་ཟོས་མང་གནོད། ཉུང་ཟོས་ཉུང་གནོད། རང་ལས་ཕན་མང་དུ་ཐོགས་པས་གནོད་པ་ཡང་མང་བོ་སྐྱེལ་ལོ་ཟེར།

550 He suffered more who overate, and he who ate little suffered less. (When a friend repays good with evil.)

༥༥༡ མལ་ཐུལ་ལ་དཔེས་ཏེ་རྐང་པ་རྐྱོང་། ཡོང་སྣོ་བཞིན་དུ་འབུད་སྣོ་འགྲོར་ཚུག་ཟེར།

551 Stretch your feet according to the length of your blanket. (Same as: cut your coat according to your cloth; spend your money according to your income.)

༥༥༢ མང་ད་རི་ལ་རྣ་ལོ་མང་། གཅད་ན་ཟོར་ཆུང་གཅིག་གིས་བཅད། དགྲ་བོ་ལང་ལོང་མང་ཡང་དེ་དག་གཅིག་གིས་འཇོམ་ནུས་ཟེར།

552 True, there are many polygona on the mountain, but you can cut them down with a small sickle (i.e. many enemies can be subdued by one strong man).

༥༥༣ མར་དུག་འཐོག་ན་དཀར། དཀར་དུག་འཐོག་ན་མར། མར་གནོད་པ་ལ་ཞོ་དར་བ་དང་། ཞོ་དར་བ་ཐོག་པ་ལ་མར་ཕན་ཟེར།

553 If butter is poison to you, use curds, and if curds are a poison to you, then take butter.

༥༥༤ མར་ཞུལ་ལ་ཆུ་བླུག་མཁན། ལེགས་པའི་ཚབ་ལ་ཟུ་བ་རྫེར་བ་ལ་ཟེར།

554 He poured water into the pot of butter.

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༥༥༥ མི་གཅིག་གི་ཀྲང་ཀྲང་དང་། རྟ་གཅིག་གི་ཀྱིར་ཀྱིར། མི་ལག་དགོས་པའི་ལས་དེ་མི་གཅིག་གིས་སྒྲུབ་ཏུ་བརྩོན་ན་ཟེར།

555 The talk of one man, and a pony at a stand-still. (When a man attempts to do the work of many people.)

༥༥༦ མི་གཅིག་གི་ངོ་ལ་མི་བརྒྱ་ལ་བཟན། མི་གཅིག་གི་ངོ་ལ་བལྟས་ཏེ་དེའི་འགྲོ་པ་ཀུན་ལ་ཁ་ཟས་སྟེར་ན་ཟེར།

556 Out of regard for one man, he feeds a hundred.

༥༥༧ མི་ངན་ཚོགས་གསེབ་ལ་ཆ་ན། ཤིང་ངན་ཏ་ཀུ་དང་ཟུག། མི་སྡིག་ངན་ནགས་གསེབ་ཏུ་ཕྱིན་ཀྱང་ཤིང་དྲང་པོ་མ་ཁྲིངས་ཟེར།

557 If an evil man goes to the forest, he will find crooked sticks (like hockey sticks).

༥༥༨ མི་ངོ་རེ་དང་གསེར་ཕྱང་རེ། མི་རྒྱགས་ཅན་གྱི་ངོ་ལ་ལས་སྣ་མོར་འགྱུབ་པའམ་འཚོང་ཁྲི་མོར་ཐོབ་ན་ཟེར།

558 Out of regard for one man, he welcomed a religious musical band.

༥༥༩ མི་རྒས་པ་ཤིག་གིས་ཚོད་བཙད། རྒས་པར་ལུས་ཀྱང་ཚོད་གཙད་དོ་ཟེར།

559 Even a louse oppresses a man when he is old.

༥༦༠ མི་ཆེན་ཕྱག་ལ་འཁང་། མི་ཆུང་ཟན་ལ་འཁང་། མི་ཆེན་དང་མི་ཆུང་གི་འཁང་ས་ཀ་སྟོན་པའོ།

560 The high-born long for salutations, and the insignificant man yearns for food.

༥༦༡ མི་རྒས་པ་གོང་དུ། ཐང་སྐུ་རྒས་པ་འོག་ཏུ།

561 A man rises to dignity as he grows old; and an old painting gets a lower place.

༥༦༢ མི་དོན་ལ་རང་སྲོག། གཞན་དོན་གྱི་ཕྱིར་འཛིང་འཐབ་བྱེད་ན་ཟེར།

562 One's life for another (i.e. defending another man's cause and suffering for it).

༥༦༣ མི་དྲིན་ཞིག་གི་སང་རང་དྲིན་རྒྱལ། གཞན་མིའི་དྲིན་འཁུར་བ་བས་རང་གི་མིའི་དྲིན་འཁུར་བ་རྒྱལ་ཟེར་རོ།

563 Better to seek the gratitude of your own folk than that of another.

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༥༦༤ མི་ནོར་ལ་ཧམ་པ། རང་ནོར་ལ་སེར་སྣ། གཞན་ནོར་ཐོབ་པ་འདོད་མཁན་ལ་ཟེར།

564 To covet another man's goods, and to be miserly with one's own.

༥༦༥ མི་ཐབས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ། བོང་བུ་ཟླིན་གྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ། མི་ནི་བོང་བུ་མིན་ཏེ་ཐབས་ལ་མཁས་པ་ཟེར།

565 Man is the king of resourcefulness, and a donkey the king of the wind.

༥༦༦ མི་བརྡེའི་རྡོ་ལོང་། ནང་ཚང་གི་མི་ཞིག་ལ་མ་དགའ་ན། དེས་རང་ལ་ལྟས་ཏེ་ཟེར།

566 The miserable boulder. (When a man is hated by every one.)

༥༦༧ མི་ངན་འབྱུག་ས་ལ། མི་ཞིག་གི་སྐོར་ལ་གཏམ་བྱེད་ཙ་ན་མི་དེ་རང་སླེབ་ཚ་ན་ཟེར།

567 The evil-doer arrives when others are slandering him (i.e. talk about the devil and he is sure to appear).

༥༦༨ མི་ངན་ལ་དབང་ཐོབ་ན། ཆུ་ལ་བྲེ་བཏབ། དཀགས་པོ་སྟོན་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

568 If an evil-doer obtains power, he bales out water with a measure. (A wood measure like a pail.)

༥༦༩ མི་མགོའི་སང་ཁྱི་མགོ་མཐོ་བ། མི་ཆེ་གྲུས་ལས་ཆུང་གྲུས་གྲལ་མགོ་ལ་འགྲོ་ན་ཟེར།

569 The head of the dog is higher than that of a man. (When a man of low birth takes precedence over one of higher rank or birth.)

༥༧༠ མི་ངན་ལ་ཁ་གང་ཟེར་བ་སང་། ཞོ་གང་བཙལ་ན་རྒྱལ། མི་ངན་པ་དང་ནོར་གྱི་ཕྱིར་འཐབ་པ་བས། དེ་ལ་ཆོན་དུ་ནོར་བྱིན་ན་ལེགས ཟེར།

570 Better to pay one 'zho' than to utter one mouthful of talk. (1 'zho' is worth $4\frac{4}{5}$ of a rupee.)

༥༧༡ མི་གསུམ་གྲོས་འཆམས་ན། བྲམ་ཟེའི་ར་མ་ཁྱི་ལ་འཁྱུམ། ར་མ་ཁྲིད་ནས་འགྲོ་བའི་བྲམ་ཟེ་ལ། རྐུན་མ་ལྔ་འགག་སོ་སོར་བཤད་དེ་སླུས་པ། བྲམ་ཟེ་ཁྱི་འཁྲིད་པ། དེས་རྣམ་རྟོག་ཟློས་ནས་ར་མ་ཕུད་བཏང་བས་རྐུན་པོས་ཟོས་སྐད། དེ་ལྟར་དུ་ཁ་འཆམ་ན་ཅི་ཡང་བྱེད་ནུས་པའི་དཔེར།

571 If three men are agreed, the Brahmin's goat will become a dog. (Once a Brahmin was about to sacrifice a goat to his god, when five thieves gathered to hold a consultation. Each of them exclaimed, 'the Brahmin is going to sacrifice a dog to his god', whereupon the Brahmin handed the goat to the thieves who at once ate it; i.e. unity is strength.)

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༥༧༢ མི་གཏམ་དང་སོ་ནམ་འབད་ན། ཕ་རོ་གདང་ལ་བཀལ། མི་གཏམ་ལ་མ་ཉན་པར་རང་ཚོད་
ཀྲིས་རང་ལས་ཐོས་ཟེར།

572 If you cultivate your fields according to the advice of other people, they will say 'Place your father's corpse on a rack " (i.e. don't take notice of other folks' talk but arrive at a decisive theory according to your own observation).

༥༧༣ མི་རྟ་ཁྱི་གསུམ་འཚོ་བ་ལ། ཕ་མཐོང་ཐོམས་ཅན་གྱི་བུ་མོ་དགོས། ཤིང་མཁན་བཙན་འདས་
ཟེར་བའི་མནའ་མས་ཕྱེ་བཙག་པའི་བཙག་རོ་རྟ་ཆག་ཏུ་བཏང་། ཕྱེ་ལ་བཟན་གཡོས་ཏེ་མི་
ལ་བཏང་། བཟན་ཤུལ་བཀྲུས་ཏེ་ཁྱི་ལ་བཏང་། ཕྱེ་སྣ་གཅིག་ལས་མི་རྟ་ཁྱི་གསུམ་ལ་སྐྱོ་
ཐེན་པ་ལྟར། འདི་འདྲ་མཁས་པ་ཐོས་ཅེས་བུད་མེད་ལ་ཁ་བརྡར་ཟེར།

573 You need a resourceful father's daughter to look after the men, the horse, and the dog. (This hangs on the following story : 'The daughter-in-law of Tsandas sifted flour and cooked porridge, with the fine flour and the husks she prepared food for the horse. The porridge she gave to the men and with part of the flour she scoured the pot and gave it to the dog. Thus she fed three species of animals with one kind of flour.)

༥༧༤ མི་མང་གི་རོ་མང་འདུས་པ། མི་མང་ཡང་ལས་བྱེད་པ་ཉུང་དུ་ཡོད་ན་ཟེར།

574 If there are many men, there would be many corpses. (The more workers there are, the more food will be needed.)

༥༧༥ མི་ནོར་ལ་གར་རྩེ་ཅེས། གཞན་གྱི་ནོར་སྐུག་ན་ཡང་ན་ཟ་ན་ཟེར།

575 To dance upon the wealth of others.

༥༧༦ མི་ཚེ་ཡུན་རིང་ན། བྱ་སྒྲོས་སྡོང་པོ་ཆོད། ཤིང་གི་ཁར་འཁད་པའི་བྱ་རོ་རླུང་གིས་བསྐྱོད་
པས། དེའི་ཤོག་པས་གདར་ཏེ་རིམ་པར་ཤིང་སྡོང་ཆོད་པའི་ལོབ་ལོ་ལྟར། སུ་ཞིག་
གིས་ཆད་མེད་བརྩོན་འགྲུས་བྱེད་ན་བྱ་བ་ཆེན་པོ་སྒྲུབ་ནུས་ཟེར།

576 If life is long, you can cut the trunk of the tree with a feather. (According to a Tibetan tale, the corpse of a dead bird got caught on the branches of a tree. When the wind blew, it caused the feathers of the bird to cut through the trunk of the tree. Thus, if one tries hard enough and long enough, one can achieve almost anything.)

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༥༧༧ མི་ཞིག་རྐྱུད་ན་རྩ་ཡང། རྟ་ཞིག་རྒྱགས་ན་རྩ་ཡང། འདི་ལྟར་འབྱུང་ངོ།

577 A thin man shows his veins, as also does a fat horse.

༥༧༨ མི་བཟན་ཟ་བ་ལ་ལྕགས་ཀྱི་འགྲམ་པ་དགོས། མི་ཞིག་གི་གཡོག་རྒྱུག་ཏུ་བཙོད་སྲན་ཆེ་བ་དགོས་ཟེར།

578 To eat another man's food one would need iron jaws. (Of a servant who has a hard taskmaster.)

༥༧༩ མི་བསོད་བདེ་མེད་ཅིག་བླ་མའི་ཇོ་ཟ་ས་ལ། ཁ་ཟས་ཞིམ་པ་ཟ་དུས་སུ་མི་ཞིག་སླེབ་ན་ཟེར།

579 The unfortunate man arrived when the lama was eating food. (An ironic expression.)

༥༨༠ མི་ཚེ་སང་གཏམ་ཚེ་རིང། ཤི་རྗེ་ཡང་གཏམ་ངན་ལུས་ཡིན་ཟེར།

580 One's reputation outlives one's lifetime.

༥༨༡ མི་མཁས་པས་ཉི་མ་རྒྱབ་ནས་ཞྲོ། ཉི་མ་རྒྱབ་ནས་ཞྲོ་ན་གདོང་མི་སྲེག་པ་ལྟར་མི་མཁས་པའི་བྱེད་ལུགས་ལ་ལྟོས་ཟེར།

581 The wise man warms his back by the sun.

༥༨༢ མི་མེད་དེ་ཡུལ་ལ་སྲེག་པའི་ལོངས་སྤྱོད། འདོར་དེ་མེད་པའི་ཁྲོད་དུ་མི་སྲེག་པ་འདྲ་བ་ལ་གང་དགའ་བྱེད་པའི་སྐབས་རྙེད་ན་ཟེར།

582 In a sterile country the partridges enjoy luxury.

༥༨༣ མི་མ་ཤི་བར་ཁྲབ། རྟ་མ་ཤི་བར་རྔོག། མ་ཤི་བའི་སྔོན་དུ་འཕྲོག་ན་ཟེར།

583 Before the man died he divested him of his armour, and before the horse died he clipped his mane.

༥༨༤ མི་མང་གི་ལག་པ་ལ་གསེར། མི་མང་མཐུན་ཏེ་ལས་བྱེད་ན་བྱིན་རླབས་ཆེ་ཟེར།

584 There is gold in the hands of a group of men (i.e. much blessing comes through co-operators).

༥༨༥ མི་ཞིག་ཆུ་ལ་བཀལ་ན། རང་ཡང་རྐེད་པ་ཚུག་པ་ཆུབ་དགོས། གཞན་ལ་གནོད་སྐྱེལ་ན་རང་ལའང་གནོད་པ་འབྱུང་ཟེར།

585 Throw a man into the river, and you yourself will sink up to the waist in it.

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༥༨༦ མི་ཞིག་མགོ་ནས་ཟད། རྟ་ཞིག་རྐང་ནས་ཟད། མི་རྒུད་ན་གདོང་དང་སྐྲ་ཟད། རྟ་རྒུད་ན་ ར་སྙོ་དང་རྫ་མ་ཟད་ཟེར།

586 An old man grows weak from his head downwards, a horse from his feet upwards. (A man's failing strength is first seen in his face, and a horse in the loss of his tail and boofs.)

༥༨༧ མི་རེ་ཤོད་རེ། མི་རེ་ལ་ལོབས་ངན་རེ་ཡོད་ཟེར།

587 Each man possesses a bad habit.

༥༨༨ མི་ལས་ལ་བྲམ་པ། རང་ལས་ལ་རྡིད་པ། གཞན་གྱི་རྟར་ལས་བྱེད་ཀྱང་རང་གི་ལས་མི་ བྱེད་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

588 He is assiduous for others and careless of his own interests.

༥༨༩ མི་ལ་སྐྱིད་མི་ཐེག། ར་ལ་ཚིལ་མི་ཐེག། མ་ཤེས་པར་སྐྱིད་པོའི་དུས་སྐྱང་ན་ཟེར།

589 A man does not tolerate happiness, nor does a goat carry fat. (When a man does not know when he is well off, e.g. the prodigal son.)

༥༩༠ མི་ཤི་འགྲོ། གད་པ་རྡིབ་འགྲོ། མི་ཤི་དང་མཉམ་དུ་དེའི་ནོར་ལ་ཡང་རྡུ་རྡུགས་འབྱུང་ན་ཟེར།

590 With the death of a man, the cliff also falls on him. (As a falling cliff disintegrates, so does everything belonging to a man when he dies.)

༥༩༡ མི་ཤི་བའི་གདེང་པ་སུ་ལ་འང་མེད། ཤི་བ་དང་མི་རྟག་པའི་སྐོར་དུ་ཟེར།

591 No one can believe that there is no death.

༥༩༢ མི་སྙིང་ལ་གཏམ་དང་། གཡག་སྙིང་ལ་རྡོ་བ། གཡག་ལ་རྡོ་བ་འཕོག་ན་སྙིང་དུ་འཁྲུར་བ་ ལྟར། མིའི་སྙིང་ལ་གཏམ་འཕོག་ཟེར།

592 Speech hurts a man's heart as a stone hurts the heart of a yak.

༥༩༣ མི་ལ་འཚེར་ཚད་མེད། ཁྱི་ལ་ལྟོགས་ཚད་མེད།

593 Man is always in trouble, and a dog is always hungry.

༥༩༤ མི་ཤ་སྟོང་གཅིག། མི་ཤ་དངུལ་སྟོང་ཡིན་ཟེར།

594 For manslaughter a fine of 1,000 pieces of silver.

༥༩༥ མི་ཟའི་རྩུལ་དང་རྩུལ་ཟ། ཕིག་མོའི་འོག་ན་ཕིག་ཆུ་འཐུང་མཁན། ལས་ངན་པ་མི་བྱེད་པའི་ ཁྲུངས་ཀྱིས་བྱེད་པ་དང་། ཁ་ཟས་དང་པག་སྒྱུ་མི་ཟ་ཟེར་གྱིན་ཟ་མཁན་ལ་ཟེར།

595 Feigning not to eat, he eats offal, and drinks the water under his knee.

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༥༩༦ མི་འཁྱམ་ཡོངས་པ་ཡུལ་ལ་གནོད། ཁྱི་འཁྱམ་ཡོངས་པ་སྲང་ལ་གནོད། མི་འཁྱམ་པོས་གནོད་སྐྱེལ་ན་ཟེར།

596 A vagrant ruins a country, a pariah dog contaminates a street.

༥༩༧ མི་ཡུལ་ཁྲ་མ་ཁྲོ། འཇིག་རྟེན་ན་འགྲོ་མི་གཅིག་པ་མང་སྟེ། སྲུས་ལྗང་ངན་བྱེད། སྲུས་དཀར་རྟོན་བྱེད། སྲུ་ན། སྲུ་ཁམས་བདེ། སྲུ་ཕྱུག། སྲུ་དབུལ་བ་ལ་སོགས་འཇིག་རྟེན་ཁྲ་བོ་ཡིན་ཟེར།

597 The world has different colours.

༥༩༨ མིག་མལ་ལ་མིག།

598 An eye instead of an eye. (When a mother bears another son in place of one that has died.)

༥༩༩ མིག་གཡས་གཡོན་ལ་ཁྱད་མེད། རང་ཕྲུག་ཀུན་ལ་ཁྱད་མི་བྱེད་ཟེར།

599 There is no difference between the right and the left eyes. (When a man loves his children equally.)

༦༠༠ མིག་རྩ་ལ་ལྟས་ཏེ། རུས་རྩ་ལ་ཁྲག། མི་ཚོད་བླངས་ནས་གནོད་པ་སྐྱེལ་ན་ཟེར།

600 When testing his courage, he drew his blood.

༦༠༡ མིག་འཚག་ལ་དུ་བས་སྡང་། མིག་ན་བ་དང་དབུལ་པོ་ལ་དགྲ་བྱེད་པ་འབྱུང་ན་ཟེར།

601 Smoke is an enemy to the secretions of the eyes.

༦༠༢ མིག་བསོད་བདེ་ཙན་ནི་མཐོང་སྟེ། ཁ་བསོད་བདེ་མེད་ལ་མི་མྱང་། མིག་གིས་མཐོང་ཚད་ཁ་ལ་མི་སླེབ་ཟེར།

602 That which he saw with his lucky eyes his unlucky mouth could not taste.

༦༠༣ མིའི་ཁྲེལ་བ། རང་གི་འཕུང་བ། Or མི་ཁྲེལ་རང་འཕུང་། ཁྲེལ་བ་དང་གནོད་པ་འབྱུང་དུས་ཟེར།

603 Defamation from men and ruin to oneself.

༦༠༤ མིའི་ཏོ་གོར་ཆེན་མོ་མཐོང་ཙམ། མི་གཞན་ལ་ཐོབ་པ་དེ་རང་ལ་ཐོབ་པ་བས་ཆེ་བ་མཐོང་བ།

604 To regard another man's portion of food bigger than that of one's own.

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༦༠༥ མིའི་མགོའི་ཁ་བྱ། རང་རྗེ་མགོའི་ཁ་རི། ཕར་རྡོའམ་ཁ་བཀྱེ་བ་གཞན་ལ་ཡང་མོ་དང་རང་ལ་ལྕིན་ཏི་ཚོར་ན་ཟེར།

605 As a bird on another's head and as a mountain on one's own head (i.e. one who regards other people's troubles lightly and one's own troubles seriously).

༦༠༦ མིའི་རྒྱུ་ལ་རྩམ་པའི་སྤུན། མི་གསོན་དུ་རྩམ་པ་དགོས་ཟེར།

606 Bread is the warp and weft of man.

༦༠༧ མིའི་ལད་མོ་ལ་ཁྱི་ཀྲོང་ཀྲོང་། མི་ཆེན་གྱི་ལད་མོ་མི་ཆུང་གིས་བྱེད་ན་ཟེར།

607 The dog imitates man by standing erect.

༦༠༨ མིས་བསགས་པའི་ནོར་དང་། སྦྲང་མས་བསགས་པའི་སྦྲང་རྩི་འདྲ། ནོར་བསྡུ་བ་ནི་གཞན་དོན་ལ་བསྡུ་བ་འདྲ་ཟེར།

608 Wealth accumulated by man is like honey collected by bees (i.e. it is collected only for someone else to use).

༦༠༩ མིས་ཅི་ཟེར་ལ་མ་ཉན། ཅི་བྱེད་ལ་ལྟོས། དོན་དེ་ན་ཡིན།

609 Don't listen to what a man says, but observe what he does.

༦༡༠ མེ་འབར་རི་ཁ་ཤིང་སྣོན་མ། མི་ཞིག་ལ་ཟེབ་སྐྱོ་ཡོང་བཙུག་ན་ཟེར།

610 To pile on wood to a burning fire.

༦༡༡ མེ་འབུ་སར་ས་འཚིག། མགྲོན་ཞིག་གཏང་ན་འབུད་སྒོ་འབྱུང་ཟེར།

611 The earth burns where the fire is alight. (When giving a feast, no expense is spared.)

༦༡༢ མེད་དེ་རྐུ། ཡོད་དེ་བ་ཤལ།

612 Not possessing anything he stole, but on possessing he had to pay a fine.

༦༡༣ མེད་པའི་སྒོ་ལ་ཁྱི་མི་འཁད། དབུལ་པོའི་རྟར་ཁྱི་ཡང་མི་ལུས་ཟེར།

613 A dog is not caught in a house without a door (i.e. in the house of the poor even a dog will not be seen).

༦༡༤ མེ་དམར་རི་ནང་ལ་ལག་དམར། ཉེན་ཆེ་བའི་ནང་ལ་མི་འཛུལ་བའི་དོན་ནོ།

614 To thrust a red hand into a red-hot fire.

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༦༡༥ མོ་གྲོས་ཐལ་བ། བུད་མེད་ཀྱི་གྲོས་ཐལ་བ་འདྲ་ཟེར།

615 The advice of a woman is as dust.

༦༡༦ མིག་ཟུན་ན། ཤོ་ཟུན་ཕན། མིག་ཟུན་ན་མིག་ན་བ་དང༌། ཤུ་བ་དང་རྨ་ཁ་ཟུན་ན་ཕན་པའི་ རྟགས་ཡིན་ཟེར།

616 If the sore itches, this means a cure, and if the eye smarts it means pain.

༦༡༧ མི་རྒན་གྱི་ཁ་ལ་མ་ཉན་ན། བྱ་རུས་སྦལ་གྱི་ཁ་ནས་རྐྱེན་ཞིག་ལང༌། རྒན་པོའི་ཁ་ལ་མ་ཉན་ན་ གནོད་པ་འབྱུང་ཟེར།

617 If you do not listen to the advice of an old man, the bird-tortoise will suffer harm.

༦༡༨ མིག་གི་ནང་རྡུལ་མི་ཤོང༌། ཆོས་སི་ནང་ལ་རྫུན་མི་ཤོང༌། དོན་དེ་ན་ཡིན།

618 There is no room for dust in the eyes, and no room for fallacy in religion.

༦༡༩ མེ་ཤུལ་ཆུའི་སང་གྲང༌། ཆུ་ཤུལ་མེའི་སང་དྲོ། མེ་ལྡེས་འོག་གྲང་བ་དང་ཆུར་ཞུགས་འོག་ དྲོའོ་ཟེར།

619 Colder than water after leaving the fire: warmer than fire after leaving the water. (When leaving a fire one feels colder and after a cold bath one feels warmer.)

༦༢༠ མོན་མིག་ལ་ཐལ་བ། མོན་ལ་མགོ་བསྐོར་སླ་མོ་ཟེར།

620 Dust in the eyes of a Mon. (Lahoulis say it is easy to deceive a man from Kulu in a trading transaction.)

༦༢༡ མོས་ན་ཁྱི་སོ་ལ་འོད་འབར། དད་པ་བྱེད་ན་ཁྱི་སོ་ནས་འོད་འཕྲོ་བ་མཐོང་ཟེར།

621 If you trust the teeth of a dog then it will shine. The Buddhists think that trust is more important than the object of one's trust.

༦༢༢ དམག་རྒྱལ་པོ། དམག་ཅིག་ལོག་ན་མཁར་ཞིག་བཞིག། ཡུལ་མི་ཐམས་ཅད་གཅིག་བྱེད་ན་ མཁར་ཡང་གཞིག་རུས་ཟེར།

622 The public is the king. If the people revolt, the fort will be destroyed.

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༦༢༣ དམག་ཚ་ས་ལ་བུ། ཉེན་རན་ཡོད་ཀྱང་ཐམས་ཅད་འགྲོ་སར་རང་གི་བུ་ཡང་གཏོང་དགོས་ཟེར།

623 Where the people go, there my son must also go.

༦༢༤ རྨ་བྱ་ལ་རང་མཐོང་སྐྱེ་ཅེས། གོས་ལྷ་བུའི་ཕྱིར་སྒོ་སོ་རྩེད་ ... ཟེར།

624 The peacock grows proud through viewing his own beauty.

༦༢༥ སྨན་པ་ཙ་ག་ཙོ་གེ། ནད་པའི་གཤན་པ། ཨམ་ཆི་གྲུབ་ཀྱིབ་ཀྱིས་ནད་པ་གསོད་དོ་ཟེར།

625 The ignorant physician is the executioner of his patients.

༦༢༦ མ་སྤྲད་པ་བྱས་དོན་ཆེན་གྲུབ་ན། ངང་ཆེན་སྡིང་། ལས་དོན་འགྲུབ་རྒྱུ་ཡོད་ན་སྡིང་དགོས་ཟེར།

626 If you can fulfil your purpose without cost, then pause a while.

༦༢༧ མར་ཟ་བ་སང་། ཤ་མཐོང་ང་རྒྱལ། མར་ལས་ཤ་གཟུགས་པོར་ཕན་ཟེར།

627 Better to look at the meat than eat the butter. (Meat is more nutritious than butter.)

༦༢༨ མ་སྡོང་དགུ་སྡོང་སྡོང་ཅེས།

628 To collect whatever there is to be gathered together. (A man afflicted with several diseases at once.)

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༦༢༩ ཙན་དན་ནི་རྒྱབ་ནས་བཞོག་སྐྱེ་མདུན་ལ། དཔོན་པོ་སོགས་ལས་ཏོར་ཕྱོར་ནས་དེ་ལས་དཔོན་པོ་ལ་མགྲོན་གཏང་ན་ཟེར།

629 To hew sandalwood from behind and to place the chips in front of it. (When a servant gives a feast to his master from a present he has already secured from him.)

༦༣༠ ཙན་དན་ལ་ལྡུ་མག་གི་སྐོར་ར། ཙན་དན་ལ་འཛག་མ་སྐོར་བ་ལྟར། མི་ཆེན་གྱི་གཏམ་གྱི་ཁར་ཆུང་བས་སྣན་མ་ཞུ་དུས་སུ་ཟེར།

630 To surround a sandal tree with blades of grass. (Used when a servant adds his advice to what his master has already stated.)

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༦༣༡ བཙུགས་པའི་ཤིང་དང་། བསྐོས་པའི་མི། ཤིང་སྐྱངས་པ་ལྟར་ལས་སྐྱེར་སྐོས་པ་ལ་སྤྱི་སྟང་
རྩིས་ཟེར།

631 A tree planted, and a man appointed to a position (i.e. a man thus appointed must be obeyed).

༦༣༢ བཙེམ་པའི་ཁབ་དང་། གཅད་པའི་གྲི། མཐུན་འཇུག་མཁན་ཁབ་དང་འཛིང་མོ་སློང་མཁན་
གྲི་དང་འདྲ་ཟེར།

632 A needle with which to stitch, and a knife to cut (i.e. an arbitrator is like a needle to sew a rent in cloth; a man who causes strife among friends is like a knife which cuts).

༦༣༣ བཙོས་པའི་ཤ་ལ་རྗེན་ལོག་ཅེས། གཏམ་ཐག་བཅད་པའི་འོག་ཏུ་ཡང་གཏམ་དེ་ལ་སྐོར་རེ་ལོག
གཏང་ན་ཟེར།

633 To turn cooked meat into raw (meat). (When a man opens up a disputed subject which has already been closed.)

༦༣༤ རྩི་ཤུ་མངར་མོའི་འཚོར་ངེས་ཞག་བདུན། འཚོར་ངེས་ཅན་གྱི་འཚོར་ངེས་རྒྱུར་པོར་འབྲུད་
ཟེར།

634 The enjoyment of a sweet kernel lasts seven days. (Like ‘a new broom sweeps clean’.)

༦༣༥ རྩིག་རུལ་སློང་ན་ཕུག་རུལ། མི་ངན་པའི་ཁ་སློང་ན། ལྷག་པར་གཏམ་ངན་པ་མིན་པ་བཟང་
པོ་མི་འཐོན་ཟེར།

635 Search through a rotten wall, and you will find rotten straw. (Moral: Don't go into the details of the causes of a quarrel, but try to reconcile the disgruntled parties.)

༦༣༦ ཙན་དན་ནི་མེ་གཡོག་དང་། གོས་ཆེན་ནི་ཐབ་ཕྱིས། བཀོལ་དུ་མི་རུང་བ་ཞིག་བཀོལ་ན་
ཟེར།

636 To use sandalwood as a fire iron and to wipe the hearth with one's silk clothes.

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༦༣༧ རྩམ་པའི་ཁག་ཐེག་བུལ་གྱིས་བྱས་ལྷགས་པས་འཁྱེར་ན་འཁྱེར་མཉམ། དབུལ་པོ་ཞིག་གི་འགྲན་དབུལ་པོ་གཞན་གྱིས་འཁུར་ན་དེ་ལྟར་འོང་ཟེར།

637 If soda is used as a guarantee for roasted barley flour, the wind carries them both away. A bad man cannot give aid to another poor person.

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༦༣༨ ཚྭ་མེད་བྲོ་མེད་ཟ་བ་སང། གར་མེད་ཡང་མེད་ཤོར་བ་རྒྱལ། ཁ་ཟས་བྲོད་མེད་ཟ་བ་སང་མ་ཟ་ན་ལེགས་ཟེར།

638 Better to run away than to eat food which is without salt and taste.

༦༣༩ ཚེ་ན་མེད་པའི་རོ་འཁྱེར་ཅེས། ཚེ་ན་མེད་པས་རོ་ལ་ཡ་ཞ་མི་བྱེད་པ་ལྟར་ལས་ངབ་རོབ་བྱེད་ན་ཟེར།

639 To carry off a corpse without sympathy. (When a servant does careless work.)

༦༤༠ ཚིལ་མཐོང་སྐྱེ་ཁ་གས་ཅེས། གཞན་གྱི་ནོར་མཐོང་ནས་སྙིང་འཁམ་འཁམ་ཆ་ཅེས་ལ་ཟེར།

640 His lips cracked on seeing the fat. (Used of a covetous person.)

༦༤༡ ཚུགས་ས་ལ་རྒྱུན་དུ་ཅེས། མི་འཚོགས་སར་བྱེད་མི་འོས་པའི་ལས་བྱེད་ན་ཟེར།

641 To slice ones skin to make string in a public place. (When a person does something unseemly in a public place.)

༦༤༢ ཚར་གཅིག་ལ་དྭགས་གོང་ཀ་ལ་མཚན་སོང་ཟེར་ཏེ། ནག་དང་མི་ཆ། ཚར་གཅིག་དཀའ་བ་སྡང་བ་ལྟར་རྒྱུན་དུ་མི་འོང་ཟེར།

642 If it gets dark at Ladaksgonga once, it will not always be dark.

༦༤༣ ཚར་གཅིག་འདུག་མ་ཤེས་ན། ཚར་བརྒྱ་ལང་དགོས། ཅི་ཞིག་བསམས་པ་མ་བཏང་བར་བྱེད་ན། ཡང་ཡང་བྱེད་དགོས་སོ་ཟེར།

643 If you do not know how to sit down, you will have to rise up a hundred times (i.e. if a person does his work thoughtlessly, he must do it over again many times).

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༦༤༤ ཚོང་པ་དྲེད་མ་ཆུག ། རྐུན་མ་རྟོགས་མ་ཆུག ། ཚོང་པ་དང་ཉེ་མོ་དང་རྐུན་མ་དང་ཐག་རིང་ཐོས་ཟེར །

644 Don't let traders become weary, and don't let a thief become inured to theft (i.e. be friendly towards traders and avoid a thief).

༦༤༥ འཚོང་པོ་འཚོང ། ངོ་པོ་ངོ ། མི་ངོར་མ་ལྟ་བར་འཚོང་ཐོས ། ངོ་ལ་ལྟ་ན་རིན་མེད་པར་ཚོང་ཟེར །

645 A bargain is a bargain, and concession is a concession. (When drawing a bargain you need not consider the bargainer's feelings.)

༦༤༦ མཚན་གཅིག་ལ་མཚན་བརྒྱ་མཐོང་ཙེས ། མཚན་མོར་གཉིད་མི་ཁོང་བའི་བར་དོར་ཟེར །

646 One night seemed like a hundred.

༦༤༧ མཚན་འགྲུལ་པ་ལ་སྔ་ཕྱི་མེད ། མཚན་ལ་འགྲུལ་མཁན་ལ་མགྱོགས་འགོར་མེད །

647 For him who travels during the night, it is neither early nor late.

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༦༤༨ འཛིང་བ་ལྷ་ཡུལ་ལ་ཡང ། སྐུམ་པ་སྲིན་ཡུལ་ལ་ཡང ། བཟང་འགྲིག་བྱེད་པ་ལ་ཟེར །

648 Fighting goes on even in Paradise, and arbitration even in the land of the cannibals. (When compromising a dispute.)

༦༤༩ འཛུམ་འཛུམ་བྱེད་པའི་ལི་ཀྱིར་རི་ལྷ་སྐུ ། ཁྱོད་ཀྱི་ནང་ལྟོའི་རྒྱུས་པོ་ང་ལ་ཡོད ། སྦོན་ཀྲུ་འཕྲིལ་དུ་སྤྱན་རས་གཟིགས་ཀྱི་སྐུ་ཞིག་བཞེང་དུས་སུ་སྤྲུལ་ཧི་ཞིག་བསྐྱེབ་ནས ། ས་དང་འཇིམ་པ་ལས་སྐུ་འདྲ་བྱེད་པ་མཐོང་ནས་བྱང་ཐང་དུ་སོང་ནས་ལོག་དུས་སུ་སྐུ་དེ་ཚོན་རྩིས་མཚར་པོ་བྱས་ཧི་རབ་གནས་བྱེད་པ་དང་ཁ་ཐུག་སོང་བས ། དེས་གོང་འདུ་སྨྲས་པ་དེ་གཏམ་དཔེར་ལུས ། རྒྱུས་ཡོད་པ་ལ་ཚོ་སོ་བྱེད་ན་ཟེར །

649 Oh you grinning idol of Likir, I am acquainted with the inside of your belly. (A Balti saw an artist in Likir making a clay idol. When the Balti returned from Changtang to Likir, he saw a crowd gathered for the dedication of the idol when he quoted this saying.—Now the saying is used when a man makes a boast before someone who knows him too well.)

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༦༥༠ མཛའ་བོའི་ཁོག་པ་རྟ་ནོར་དང་གཡག་ནོར། ཚབ་ཚི་གཏང་ན་ཁབ་དང་སྐུད་པ། ཉེ་དུས་སུ་མཛའ་བོས་རྟ་གཡག་ཀྱང་སྦྱིན་ནུས་ཀྱི། མ་མཐུན་ན་ཁབ་དང་སྐུད་པ་ཙམ་ལའང་རྩིས་བྱེད་ཟེར།

650 In the mind of a friend he will make provision for a horse and a yak, but when doing business he calculates even to a needle and thread (i.e. when a man is friendly he is generous, but when his friendship ceases, he calculates even to a needle and thread.)

༦༥༡ མཛའ་བོ་ཉེ་ན་ཡང་། རྒྱག་སྒྲིག་ལ་ཁ་ཏིག། ཉེ་མོ་ཡོད་ནའང་རང་ནོར་ལ་ཉར་བྱེད་དགོས་ཟེར།

651 Though you should have an intimate friend, you should lock up your bag of provisions.

༦༥༢ མཛའ་བོ་བརྒྱ་ཡང་ཉུང་། དགྲ་བོ་གཅིག་ཀྱང་མང་། དགྲ་བོ་གཅིག་ཡོད་ན་དེ་ཡང་མཛའ་བོ་བཟོས་ཟེར།

652 A hundred friends are too few, and one enemy is too many. (It means, one should make friends with an enemy, for even a hundred friends could not prevent him from killing you.)

༦༥༣ མཛའ་བོ་ཅི་ལ་འཁོན། ནོར་རི་ཞི་ལ་འཁོན། ནོར་གྱིས་མཛའ་བོ་ཡང་དགྲ་བོ་བྱེད་ཟེར།

653 Why do friends bear you malice? Because they count your wealth.

༦༥༤ མཛའ་བོས་ནི་གྲི་མི་རྐུ། ཁྱིས་ནི་གྲི་མི་ཟ། མི་གཉིས་བྱེས་སུ་ཡོད་སྐབས་སུ་གྲི་སྟོར་བས་དེ་སྐད་སྨྲས་པ་ཡིན།

654 A friend will not steal my knife and a dog will not eat it. (Once upon a time a man, his friend and a dog went on a journey, and on the way he lost his knife. The friend then made this remark.)

༦༥༥ མཛུག་གུ་མ་ནི་གྲུ་མོ་འཛོང་ཁའི་ནང་ལ་མི་སླེབ། དགོས་དུས་སྤུ་རང་གི་གཉེན་མིན་པ་གཞན་མི་ཕན་ཟེར།

655 It is not one's elbow, but one's finger which can reach one's mouth. (When in trouble it is only one's relatives, and not others who will help you.)

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༦༥༦ མཛུག་གུ་གཅད་ན་ཁྲག་མི་ཤེགས། སེར་སྣ་ཅན་གྱི་མི་ལ་ཟེར།

656 Even if he cuts his finger, he will not waste the blood (of a miserly person).

༦༥༧ མཛོ་མོ་བྱང་ཐང་འཁོར་ན་ཡང༌། སྣ་ལོ་བུ་ཚའི་ལག་ལ། ཆུང་མ་འབོན་ནས་གང་དུ་ཕྱིན་ཀྱང་ངའི་དབང་དུ་ཡོད་ཟེར།

657 Though the dzomo* should wander to Changtang, her tether remains in the lad's hand. (A married man still has authority over the wife who has abandoned him.)

༦༥༨ མཛོ་ལ་དྲིས་ཏེ་ཞིང་རྨོ་མཁན། གཡོག་པོ་ལྷ་བུར་དྲིས་ནས་ལས་བྱེད་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

658 He who ploughs after consulting with his ox.

༦༥༩ རྫ་མ་ལ་རྫ་ཐུག། མཉམ་དུ་སྡོད་པའི་ནང་དུ་རེས་འཛིང་འཐབ་ཡོང་ཟེར།

659 The earthen pot came in contact with the clay. ('Familiarity breeds contempt.')

༦༦༠ རྫུན་ཁར་ལེན་ན། རྗེས་ཆུང། རྫུན་མཐོལ་ན། དེའི་སྐྱོན་ཆུང་དུ་འགྲོ་ཟེར།

660 To confess a fault lessens its severity.

ཝ

༦༦༡ ཝ་ཁ་པ་དང་འགྲན་ན་སྐེད་པ་འཐོག། མི་སྟོབས་ཅན་དང་ང་འགྲན་མི་ཐུབ་ཟེར། སྔོན་དུས་སུ་ཝ་ཁ་པ་ཀྱད་པ་ཞིག་ཆུང་བ་ཡིན།

661 To compete with the man from Wakha, one's spine would be dislocated.

༦༦༢ ཝ་མི་འཁྲུལ་འདྲེའི་འགྲམ་ལྟག། བོད་པས་མཚན་མོར་ཝ་ལ་ལྷ་འདྲེ་ཞོན་ནས་འདེད་དོ་སེམས་པས། མི་དབང་མེད་ཞིག་གིས་གཡོག་མི་བྱེད་ཁ་མེད་ཡིན་ཟེར།

662 The ghost slapped the face of the fox who was then obliged to go on. (Tibetans have the story of a ghost riding upon the back of a fox. Used of a man who must perform a task whether he likes it or not.)

* A dzomo is a hybrid between a yak and a cow.

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༦༦༣ ཝ་འགྲོ་འགྲོ་མང་ན། ཝ་ལྤགས་དང་འབྲལ། བྱ་འགྲོ་འགྲོ་མང་ན་བྱ་རྐང་ཆག། Or
རྐུན་འདྲ་གང་ན་ཐུབ། ལན་མང་རྐུ་བ་འམ་ངན་པ་བྱེད་ན་ཞག་ཅིག་འཁད་རེད།

663 If the fox runs too much, his hide will fall off him; if a bird hops too much he will break his leg. (If a thief or evil-doer persists in his evil deeds, he will be caught one day.)

ཞ

༦༦༤ ཞག་ངན་ལ་འཛིང་ན། ཞག་བཟང་ལ་མཐུན། སྨམ་དུས་ལ་རེད།

664 If you quarrel on an unlucky day, be reconciled on a lucky one.

༦༦༥ ཞག་ཤིག་འབེ་དའང་ཇ་སྐོལ་ཅས་ཞིག་འཚོར་ཡིན། ཞག་ཅིག་ང་ལའང་ཁ་ཟས་ཞིམ་པོ་ཐོབ་
ཡིན་རེད།

665 The musicians also will obtain one day the wherewithal to make some tea.

༦༦༦ ཞག་གསུམ་གྱི་མགྲོན་པོ། མགྲོན་པོ་ལྟར་མགྱོགས་པ་འབྲལ་རྒྱུ་ཡོད་པ་ལ་རེད།

666 The guest of three days. (Of those who cannot stay for long, i.e. ‘ A bird of passage ’.)

༦༦༧ ཞར་ར་ཁང་བཤིག། ཞ་བོ་ཡུལ་བཤིག། ཞར་བ་དང་ཞ་བོས་གཏམ་མང་འབད་ཅིང་འཁྲུག་
སྐྱོལ་བྱེད་རེད།

667 The blind man ruins his home, and the lame man destroys his village.

༦༦༨ ཞིང་རྒྱ་ཆེ་ན་འཕུང་རྒྱ་ཆེ། ཞིང་མང་ན་བདག་ཀྱིན་མི་འགྲོངས་ཏེ་མང་ཆེར་འཕུང་རེད།

668 If the field is too large, the damage will be great. (Of a man who has too many fields to cultivate.)

༦༦༩ ཞིང་མེད་ལ་ཡུར་མ་མང་པོ། རང་ལས་མེད་པས་མིས་བཀོལ་བ་ལ་རེད།

669 He who possesses no fields has to do much weeding.

༦༧༠ ཞིང་མེད་སང་ཁང་མེད་ཟུ། རང་ཁང་མེད་པ་ལ་བར་དོ་ཡོང་རེད།

670 A man without a house is worse off than one without fields.

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༦༧༡ ཞིམ་པོ་མི་ལ། ལག་མོ་རང་ལ། གཞན་ལ་ཟས་ཞིམ་པོ་དང་་རང་གིས་གོས་ལག་མོ་གོན་ཟེར།

671 Delicious flavour for others, fine clothes for oneself.

༦༧༢ གཞིས་མད་མ་ལག་མཁན། ཁྱོ་དང་ཆུང་མ་རྒྱུན་དུ་མ་ལག་མཁན་ལྟར་འཁྲབ་ཀྱིན་སྡོད་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

672 Husband and wife behaving like a quarrelsome clown.

༦༧༣ གཞིས་མད་གཡོག་བུས་ཀྱི་མགོ་མཇུག་ལ་འཛིང། ཁྱོ་ཤུག་གཉིས་དོན་མེད་པར་འཛིང་ཟེར།

673 The married couple disputed for the top and the bottom end of the hearth stick.

༦༧༤ གཞོབ་སྣག་ན་ཞོབ་དྲི་མི་བྲོ། འདོར་དེ་མེད་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

674 If it is burned in the fire, there will be no smell of burning.

ཟ

༦༧༥ ཟ་ས་སྤང་བུ་དང་ཉལ་ས་བྲག་བུ། རང་གི་འདུག་ས་ལང་སའི་གྲལ་འགྲིག་ཡོད་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

675 The meadow for grazing, and the rock for resting.

༦༧༦ ཟ་བ་ཁ་ཏས་ཟོས། ལྷུང་ཀའི་ཁ་དམར་པོ། སྐྱོན་ཡོད་པ་བུད་དེ་སྐྱོན་མེད་ལ་སྐྱད་འཕོག་ན་ཟེར།

676 The meat was eaten by the crow, but the jackdaw's beak was red.

༦༧༧ ཟ་ཅས་ཀྱི་ལྷག་མ་སུས་ཀྱང་ཟ་ཡིན། ལས་ཀྱི་ལྷག་མ་སུས་ཟ་ཡིན། ལས་ཤེ་རིལ་དུ་མ་བོར་ཟེར།

677 Everyone will eat the remains of food, but who will complete the unfinished task ?

༦༧༨ ཟ་ཙ་ན་ཞིམ་པོ། བ་ཤལ་ཙ་ན་དཀགས་པོ། བུ་ལོན་བཟུང་བ་སླ་ཡང་འཇལ་བ་དཀགས་པོ་ཡིན་ཟེར།

678 To eat food is pleasant, but to pay for it, is difficult.

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༦༧༩ ཟ་མཁན་ལ་སླ་མོ། རིག་མཁན་ལ་དཀའ་པོ། དཀའ་ལས་ཚང་མ་ནང་གི་དོ་དམ་པ་ལ་འབབ་ཟེར།

679 Easy for those who eat, but difficult for him who provides it.

༦༨༠ ཟས་ཤེབ་ཟ་ན་ལྟོགས་ཤེབ། གོས་ཤེབ་གོན་ན་འཁྱགས་ཤེབ། མང་དུ་ཟ་བ་དང་གོན་པ་ལ་མང་དུ་དགོས་སོ་ཟེར།

680 The more you eat the hungrier you will be; the more clothes you put on the colder you will be.

༦༨༡ ཟས་ཕྱེད་ཚོད་མ། གོས་ཕྱེད་ལྷན་པ། ཚོད་མ་ཟ་བ་དང་ལྷན་པ་བཏབ་པ་གོན་ཟེར།

681 Half of one's food vegetables, and half of one's clothes patches.

༦༨༢ ཟི་ལིམ་མི་མིག་ནས་སྣུམ་བུ་ཁྲིད། སེམས་ཅན་བུད་མེད་མི་སྡུག་པ་ཡང་མཛེས་མོ་མཐོང་ཟེར།

682 Through the eyes of Zilim he sees Snum-bu-trid. (If a man loves a woman, her looks do not matter.)

༦༨༣ ཟེར་མཁན་པོ་ཡང་བླ་མ། བཙོ་མཁན་པོ་ཡང་བླ་མ། བླ་མས་མ་བྱེད་ཟེར་གྱིན་ལས་དེ་ཀ་བླ་མས་བྱེད་ན་ཟེར།

683 The priest was the speaker as well as the doer. (When a man commits the offence about which he warns others.)

༦༨༤ ཟོར་བ་བོར་ཏེ་ལག་རྔས། ཤེས་མཁན་ལ་བྱེད་མ་བཅུག་པར་མི་ཤེས་པས་བྱེད་ན་ཟེར།

684 Laying aside his sickle he reaped with his hand. (Of one who replaces a good workman with a bad one.)

༦༨༥ ཟོས་ཟོས་པའི་ཁབ་རྩུད་དང་། རྡུང་བརྡུངས་པའི་རྡིད་པ། ཁ་རྩུད་པ་དང་རྡིད་པའི་སྐོར་དུ་ཟེར།

685 Through continually eating he acquired the habit of eating, and by continually being beaten he got his lesson.

༦༨༦ ཟོས་པ་རྫུད་དེ། འཁུར་པ་འབུད་དེ། རང་གི་རྒྱགས་ཀྱི་ཁུར་ལས་ཟ་ན་ཁུ་རུ་ཡང་དུ་འགྲོ་ཟེར།

686 He eats food to repletion, and that which he eats from his load diminished in quantity. (A man's ration for the journey diminishes as he uses up his food.)

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༦༨༧ ཟོས་པ་རང་ནོར། འཁུར་པ་མི་ནོར། ཁ་ཟས་ཡོད་དུ་བཙུག་ནས་ཟོ་ཟེར།

687 What you eat is your own, what you carry is someone else's property.

༦༨༨ ཟོས་ཟོས་པའི་སྤྱང་ཀུ་ཁ་དམར། རྒྱུན་དུ་ཟ་ལོབས་སོང་ཧྲེ་ཡོད་པས་ཁ་གདང་ངོ་ཟེར།

688 The wolf's mouth is bloody through much eating. (Used in reference to a man who is always wanting something which he formerly enjoyed.)

༦༨༩ ཟ་མི་འཐད་མཁན་སྨྱོན་པ་ཡིན་ན། ནོར་ལེན་མི་འཐད་མཁན་སྨྱོན་པ་ཡིན་ནམ་ཟེར།

689 Is he mad who does not care to devour (other people's property)?

༦༩༠ གཟུགས་ཀྱི་མག་གདན་ཆེ་ན་རྒྱལ། རྐང་པ་ཆེ་བ་རྒྱལ་ཟེར།

690 Better to have the base of one's body larger (i.e. better to have larger feet).

༦༩༡ བཟང་ཁ་འཐལ། ཚོད་ལས་འཐལ་བའི་བཟང་པོ་བྱེད་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

691 To overdo charity.

༦༩༢ བཟན་གྱི་ཁར་འཛོམ། ལས་སི་ཁར་ཐིད། ཟ་བ་ལ་འོང་བ་དང་ལས་ལ་ཤོར་ཟེར།

692 To be present at a meal, and to flee from work.

༦༩༣ བཟན་མི་ཞིམ། སྐྱོག་ཞིམ། ཁ་ཟས་ཞིམ་པ་ལས་གྲལ་བདེ་བ་ཞིམ་པ་ཡིན་ཟེར།

693 Not the food, but the goblet has a good flavour. (Of a person who provides good table service.)

༦༩༤ བཟན་ཟ་སྔོན་ལ། མི་ཟ་རྗེང་ནས། བཟན་སྤྲོད་ཟ་དུས་དང་མིའི་སྤྲོད་རྗེང་ནས་ཚོར་ཟེར།

694 The flavour of food in anticipation, the character of a man in retrospect (i.e. a good man's worth not recognised until he is dead).

༦༩༥ བཟན་རློན་གྱིས་ལྕེ་གཅོད། ཁ་ཟས་ཀྱི་ངོ་སྲུང་དགོས་འབྱུང་ངོ་ཟེར།

695 The moist food cut his tongue. (When a man feeds another man, so that he cannot speak ill of his benefactor.)

༦༩༦ བཟན་དང་མཉམ་པོ་སྡེར། བཟན་མཉམ་དུ་སྡེར་མ་ཡང་འཁྱེར་འདྲའི་ལས་བྱེད་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

696 The plate as well as the food. (When a man behaves as one who steals the plate on which he received his food.)

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༦༩༧ བཟན་ངོ་ཁྲིས་མི་འོག། བཟན་ངོ་མི་སྲུང་བ་ལ་ཟེར།

697 A dog shows no gratitude for his food. (An ungrateful man.)

༦༩༨ བཟན་ཟོས་ཏེ་ཁ་ཕྱི་མི་ཤེས་མཁན། སྙོ་ཕྱོས་མེད་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

698 He does not know to wipe his mouth after food.

༦༩༩ བཟོ་ཟེ་རིལ་མི་ལ་མ་སྟོན། ལས་ཟེ་རིལ་མིས་མཐོང་ན་དེས་འཇིག་ཉེན་ཡོད་ཟེར།

699 Don't display your unfinished work.

༧༠༠ ཟླ་བ་དྲུག་པ་ཁ་ལ་རང་དྲོ་འཁོར་དུས། ཇི་གོན་བྱེད་དེ་ཇི་ཟའི་དུས། དབྱར་དཀྱིལ་ཟ་རྒྱུ་དགོན་པས་སོ།

700 July is the time when flies collect round your mouth. It is the time to say, 'what shall I eat ?', and not 'what shall I wear ?'. (Food scarce in summer, and no need to put on many clothes.)

༧༠༡ ཟླ་ཁྱིམ་འཁོར་ན་ཟླ་གཅིག་འཁོར། ཉི་ཁྱིམ་འཁོར་ན་ཉིན་གཅིག་འཁོར། དེ་བཞིན་འབྱུང་དུས་ཟེར།

701 If the moon has a halo, it will be cloudy for a month; and if the sun has a halo, it will be cloudy for one day.

༧༠༢ ཟླ་གཅིག་ཕང་འཁྲུར་བ་སང་། ཞག་གཅིག་ཁབ་འཁྲུར་ན་རྒྱལ། ཁབ་འཁྲུར་བའི་ཕན་པ་ཆེ་ཟེར།

702 Better to use a needle for one day than a spindle for one month. (Equivalent to: 'A stitch in time saves nine'.)

འ

༧༠༣ ཉུན་ཐུག་ལ་ཐུག་པ། གཡེངས་པའི་ཞོབ་ནང་ཉུན་ལ་ཐུག་མཁན་ལ་ཟེར།

703 Give soup to him who is exhausted. (Used to aggravate a man who has already lost his temper.)

༧༠༤ འོ་མ་དང་ཆུ་ཕྱེ་མཁན། གཞགས་དྲང་པོ་གཅོད་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

704 He who separates water from milk. (Of a just judge.)

༧༠༥ འོ་རྒྱགས་ཀྱི་ལུ་གུ། གཅེས་ཕྲུག་དྭགས་མེད་ལ་ཟེར།

705 The lamb well nourished with milk. (Of a child who is well nourished by his parents.)

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༧༠༦ ཨོབ་ཆེན་གསེར་གྱི་ཡོད་ནའང་། རྐང་པའི་གཡོག་ལ། མ་རབས་པ་ནོར་ཡོད་ཀྱང་མ་རབས་སུ་ལུས་ཟེར།

706 Though the stirrup is made of gold, yet it is under one's foot (i.e. though a man of low birth becomes rich, yet he remains ill-bred).

༧༠༧ ཙུག་པའི་ཁ་ནས་ཙུག་གཅིག། གཏམ་ལ་འགྱུར་འགྱུར་མེད་པར། ཛོ་ཟེར་བ་ལ་གནས་དགོས་ཟེར།

707 From an owl can come only an owl, and there is no adding to what has already been spoken (i.e. stand by what you say).

ཡ

༧༠༨ ཡ་རབས་མ་རབས་སྤྱོད་པས་ཤེས། ངོན་དེ་ན་ཡིན།

708 You know a well-bred or ill-bred man by his character.

༧༠༩ ཡང་ཡང་སྐྱེ་བའི་བ་ཤོན་སུ་ལའང་མེད། ཡང་སྐྱར་སྐྱེ་བའི་དབང་མེད་ཟེར།

709 No one has any power to be born again and again.

༧༡༠ ཡང་མོ་བལ་བཀལ་ནའང་། ལྕིན་ཏེ་ཚྭ་བཀལ་ནའང་། ཅེ་འཚོག་ནའང་ཚོག་ཟེར།

710 It does not matter whether you load me with light wool or heavy salt (i.e. impose on me whatever way you wish).

༧༡༡ ཡི་གེ་ཀྱུབ་ཀྱོབ་བསྟན་པའི་དགྲ། ཞག་གསུམ་སོང་བ་རང་ལ་མི་ཀློད། ཡི་གེ་ཅུང་ཙམ་ཤེས་ན་རང་ལ་གནོད་ཟེར།

711 Badly written letters are the enemy of religion; when he studied them after three days, he could not read them (i.e. the half-educated person is more dangerous than an illiterate man).

༧༡༢ ཡུ་རུ་པ་གནམ་ཆུ་ལ་ཁ་གདང་མཁན། རང་གིས་ལས་མ་བྱེད་པར་མིའི་ཁ་ཟས་ལ་རེ་བ་བྱེད་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

712 The people of Yuru wait for the rain. (Of those who will not work, but rely on others to feed them.)

༧༡༣ ཡུལ་མཐོང་ཀྱི་མ་ལ་རྫ་མ་ལ་དགོད་ཤོར། དགོས་པའི་སར་སླེབ་ཀྱིན་ཆང་རྫ་ཆག་པ་ལྟར་འབྱུང་ན་ཟེར།

713 The earthen pot laughed on seeing the village. (When a thing cannot be found when it is most needed.)

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༧༡༤ ཡུལ་གྱི་ནས་ལ་ཡུལ་གྱི་ཕབ། ཡུལ་གཅིག་པའི་མག་པ་མནའ་མ་ལེན་ཟེར།

714 A local hop for local barley (i.e. a man or woman must marry someone in the locality).

༧༡༥ ཡོང་ཙ་ན་སྒོ་དཀར་ཁུང་ཚང་མ་ནས་ཡོང་འདུག། ཆ་ཙ་ན་སྒོ་དཀར་ཁུང་ཚང་མ་ནས་ཆ་རྡུག།
ནོར་འཕྱོར་བ་དང་ཚར་བའི་དཔེ་ཡིན།

715 When anything comes, it comes through every door and window; when anything goes, it goes through every door and window. (Apropos prosperity and loss of wealth.)

༧༡༦ ཡོད་དེ་མི་དྲན། མེད་དེ་དྲན། ཐུགས་རྗེ་ཅན་གྱི་མི་ཡོད་དུས་མི་དྲན་མེད་དུས་དྲན་ཟེར།

716 Ungrateful when he is with you, and when he is absent you remember him.

༧༡༧ ཡོད་ན་ཡུལ་བཤིག། མེད་ན་ཡུལ་སྟོང་། མི་འཁྲུག་སྐྱུལ་ཡོད་ན་གནོད། མེད་ན་སྟོང་པ་ཚོར་ཟེར།

717 When he was present, he disturbed the village, and when he was absent the village was empty. (Of a crafty man who disturbs the peace of a village.)

༧༡༨ ཡོད་པའི་ཇོ་མོ། མེད་པའི་སྐྱ་མོ། ཕན་ཅན་ཞིག་བཤིག་ནས་ཕན་མེད་པར་བྱེད་ན་ཟེར།

718 A useful nun became a useless lay woman. (When a person destroys a useful article.)

༧༡༩ ཡོན་ཏན་པ་དང་གསེར་འཚོང་པ། གསེར་འཚོང་པ་ལྟར་ཡོན་ཏན་པ་ལ་གར་ཡང་རིན་ཐང་ཟེར།

719 An educated man is like a trader in gold.

༧༢༠ ཡོན་བདག་འཐད་ན་རན་ཐག་རྡོ་རོག (ཆོན་ལ)། བདག་པོ་འཐད་ན་ཆོན་ལ་འཐག་འཇུག་ཟེར།

720 If the owner so desires, he can make you grind flour for nothing.

༧༢༡ ཡོད་པ་བརྒྱ། མེད་པ་སྟོང་། ནོར་མེད་མང་པོ་ཡོད་ཟེར།

721 A hundred who have possessions, and a thousand who have none.

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༧༢༢ གཡག་བཤུས་ཏེ་རྔ་མ་ལ་འཁད། ལས་ཆུང་ཟད་ཅིག་མ་རྫོར་བར་འགོར་ན་ཟེར།

722 When skinning the yak, the hide got caught at the tail (i.e. breaking off work just as it is being completed).

༧༢༣ གཡོག་ངན་པས་དཔོན་འདྲུད། གཡོག་པོ་ངན་པས་དཔོན་པོ་ལ་ཁྲེལ་བ་འཁྱོང་ཙེ་ཟེར།

723 The wicked servant dragged his master down. (When a servant brought disgrace upon his master.)

༧༢༤ ཡུལ་དགུ་འཁྱམས་སྟེ། ཆུ་དགུ་འཐུང་མཁན། ཡུལ་མང་མཐོང་བའི་མི་གཡོ་སྒྱུ་ཅན་ལ་ཟེར།

724 He wandered in nine countries and drank in nine rivers. (Of a man who through travel becomes cunning and crafty.)

༧༢༥ ཡོས་ཟ་ཕྱེ་འགམ་འཚོལ་བ་ཡིན། དེ་འདྲ་བའི་ཚོལ་འཛེར་མི་ཚོད་ཟེར།

725 It is useless to eat parched grain or flour. (Advice to exercise economy.)

༧༢༦ ཡར་ལ་རྡོག་མར་ལ་སོ་ག། ཕན་ཚུན་གཉིས་ལ་འཛིང་ན་ཟེར།

726 He kicks on the right side and bites on the left. (Of the person who is always and everywhere quarrelling with people.)

ར

༧༢༧ ར་མ་བརྒྱ་ཟོས་པའི་ར་སུལ་ཁན། དབང་གིས་ར་བརྒྱ་ཟོས་པའི་མི་ཡིན་ཟེར།

727 Rasulkhan who ate a hundred goats. (Of a man who robs others by force.)

༧༢༨ ར་ཤ་ཟོས་ཏེ་ར་ཁུ་མ་འཐུང་། ར་ཤའི་ཁུ་བ་དང་ཞག་མང་བས་མ་འཐུང་ཟེར།

728 Don't drink broth from a goat after you have eaten its flesh (i.e. the fat and the flesh of a goat eaten together are too rich for one).

༧༢༩ ར་མ་ནག་པོའི་ཤི་སྐལ། འབེ་ད་ནག་པོའི་ཟ་སྐལ། གཅིག་ལ་གཞན་གྱི་ནོར་ཚོན་ལ་ཐོབ་ན་ཟེར།

729 It is the lot of the black goat to die, and musicians to eat it.

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༧༣༠ ར་རེས་ལ་བ་རེས། ར་རེས་དང་བ་རེས་འཁོར་གྱིན་སྐྱིབ་པ་ལྟར། སྡུག་བསྔལ་གྱི་རེས་ཡང་
སྐྱིབ་འོང་ཟེར།

730 Turn by turn the goats and the cows must be grazed (i.e. 'misery comes in due course to each of us, so don't rebuke me').

༧༣༡ ར་སྐྱེས་ལ་རི་ཕྲུའི་སྐྱུག་ལྷད། ཆེ་མི་ལ་ཆུང་བས་ཁ་ཏ་གཏང་ན་ཟེར།

731 The kid taught the he-goat to chew the cud. (When a child or ignorant person attempts to correct his elders.)

༧༣༢ རང་འཁུར་རང་ལང། ཡ་རོ་མེད་པར་གཅིག་པོས་ལས་རང་མ་བྱེད་ན་ཟེར།

732 To rise up and carry oneself. (When a man has to do work unaided.)

༧༣༣ རང་ཟོས་ཏེ་རང་ཤི་མཁན། མི་དྲིན་པོ་གཞན་ལ་ཁ་ཟས་མི་སྟེར་བ་ལ་ཟེར།

733 To eat one's own food, and die alone. (A miserly man.)

༧༣༤ རང་སྟོད་མ་གཏང་ན་སངས་མི་རྒྱས། རང་གིས་ལས་བཟང་བྱས་པ་བཤད་ན་ཟེར།

734 Unless you praise yourself, you cannot attain Buddhahood.

༧༣༥ རང་གི་མགོའི་ཐལ་རྒྱབ་པོ་སྤྲུག། གཞན་ལ་བསླབ་བྱ་མ་བཏང་བར་རང་སྐྱོན་དེ་ཀྲོལ་བ་ཚོས་
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735 Shake off the dust from your own head.

༧༣༦ རང་གི་སྐྲ་རང་གིས་འབྲེག་མི་ཉན། རང་ཐོག་ལྷུང་དུས་སུ་ཞེས་མཁན་ལ་འདང་བར་རོ་འབྱུང་
མཁན་སེལ་མི་ནུས་ཟེར།

736 You cannot shave the hair from your own head (i.e. you need others to help you when you are in trouble).

༧༣༧ རང་ཐོག་ལ་ལྷུང་ཙ་ན་ཤེས་ཀྱང་མི་ཤེས། རང་ལ་སྡུག་བསྔལ་དུས་ཡཁས་པའང་མི་ཤེས་
ཡཁན་དུ་འགྱུར་རོ།

737 When troubles fall upon your head then you become as one who knows nothing.

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༧༣༨ རང་སྐྱོན་ཨད་གང་བོར་རྟེ། མི་སྐྱོན་སྐྱི་གང་ལ་ཁྲིལ་ཅེས། རང་སྐྱོན་མང་བས་ཆུང་བ་ལ་ཁྲིལ་ན་ཟེར།

738 To expose a bagful of faults in another, whilst having a sackful of one's own faults.

༧༣༩ རང་བེར་རང་ལ་གནོད། རང་གི་བེར་ཀ་གཞན་གྱིས་ཐོགས་ནས་བདག་པོ་རང་ལ་རྒྱབ་ན་ཟེར།

739 One's own stick injures one. (When a man is beaten by others with his own stick.)

༧༤༠ རང་གདོང་མ་མཐོང་ང། མི་གདོང་ལ་ལྟད་མོ། རང་གདོང་བརྗེད་དེ་གཞན་གདོང་ལ་ཁྲིལ་ན་ཟེར།

740 To make another a laughing stock, whilst not seeing one's own face.

༧༤༡ རང་དོན་འགྲུབ་ན་ཆ་ལུགས་ངན་ནའང་ངན། རང་དོན་འགྲུབ་ན་མིས་ཅི་ཟེར་ནའང་འགྲིག་ཟེར།

741 So long as one fulfils one's purpose, it matters not whether the method is a bad one.

༧༤༢ རང་ཕྲུག་ལ་ལོག་པར་བཙོ་མཁན་སུ་ཡོང་ཡིན། ངས་ཁྱོད་ལ་ལོག་པར་མི་བྱ་ཟེར་བའི་ཚེ་ཟེར།

742 Who will deal treacherously with his own child? (When a man expresses friendship with another.)

༧༤༣ རང་ཟ་ན་བྲང་འཚིག། མི་ཟ་ན་སྙིང་འཚིག། རང་ཡང་མི་ཟ་གཞན་ལ་ཡང་ཟ་འཇུག་མི་ཕོད་ཟེར།

743 If he eats alone his chest burns, if another man eats he gets heartburn. (Equivalent of 'a dog in the manger' attitude.)

༧༤༤ རང་འཐག་པ་ལ་ཕྱེ་སྣ་དགུ། ཁོ་ལ་གླ་ཕྱེ་སྣ་མང་པོ་ཐོབ་པས་ཟེར།

744 The miller has nine varieties of flour. (In Tibet wages for grinding flour are paid in kind.)

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༧༤༥ རང་མ་འབྱུང་ན། རྒྱ་མཚོའི་མཐའ་མ་ལ་མ་ཞིང་སྐམ། རང་ནོར་མེད་ཚ་ན་གཉེན་དྲུང་གིས་
མི་ཕན་ཟེར།

745 If one should fail, the fertile field by the bank of the river will dry up (i.e. if one should fail in business, etc., friends and relatives cannot help him).

༧༤༦ རང་ཡུལ་ལ་ཇོ་ཕྲུག། མི་ཡུལ་ལ་སློང་ཕྲུག། རང་ཡུལ་དུ་ཆེན་མོ་ཡིན་ནའང་། གཞན་
ཡུལ་ལ་སློང་མཁན་འདྲ་བ་འགྱུར་རོ་ཟེར།

746 A son of a lord in one's own country, and a beggar in a foreign land.

༧༤༧ རང་འགལ་ཏེ་མེད་ན། གཤིན་རྗེ་ཆོས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ལ་ཅི་ལ་འཇིགས་ཡིན། གནོང་ས་མེད་ན་
དམྱལ་བའི་དབང་ཡོད་མཁན་ལ་མི་འཇིགས་ཟེར།

747 If you are innocent, why then fear the judge of the dead?

༧༤༨ རང་ཤ་རང་གིས་མི་ཟ། གཅན་གཟན་གྱིས་ཀྱང་རང་རིགས་ཀྱི་ཤ་མི་ཟ་ཟེར།

748 Do not eat the flesh of your own class. (It is said that even carnivorous animals do not eat the flesh of their own kind. This means 'do not quarrel or go to law against your own family'.)

༧༤༩ རང་སེམས་མདའ་ལྟར་མ་སྲང་ན། མི་སེམས་གཞུ་ལྟར་མི་འགུག། རང་སེམས་མ་སྲང་
བར་མི་སེམས་འགུག་མི་ནུས་ཟེར།

749 If you do not straighten your own mind as an arrow, you will not be able to bend other people's minds as you would a bow.

༧༥༠ རང་རང་ངི་ཟུར་མོ་རང་རང་ང་ཡོད་དགོས། རང་གི་ལས་ཀྱི་ཚོར་ཀ་རང་ལ་ཡོང་དགོས་
ཟེར།

750 One must feel one's own pain.

༧༥༡ རང་སྐལ་རུས་པ་ཡིན་ནའང་རྩོད། རང་སྐལ་ལ་རིན་ཐི་དགོས་ཟེར།

751 Scrape the bone if such be your lot.

༧༥༢ རང་སྐལ་རྡོ་བ་ཡིན་ནའང་མིད། དོན་པོང་ལྟར།

752 Swallow the stone if such be your lot.

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༧༥༣ རང་སེམས་མཐེ་བོ་ཙམ་པོ་མནན་མ་ཐུབ་ན། བྲག་སྲིན་མོའི་དགྲར་ལངས། ཉམ་རྙོག་བྱེད་ན་
རང་ལ་གནོད་པ་འབྱུང་ངོ་ཟེར།

753 If you cannot subdue your thumb-sized heart, it will rise against you as a she-demon.

༧༥༤ རི་རྡོ་ཀྱུངས་ལ། ཀྱུངས་རྡོ་རི་ལ། དཀའ་ལས་ཆེན་མོ་ཞིག་བྱེད་ན་ཟེར།

754 To carry stones from the mountain to the fields, and to transport stones from the fields to the mountain. (Of one who performs a prodigious task.)

༧༥༥ རི་ལ་ཤི་ན་བྱ་རོ། ཀྱུངས་ལ་ཤི་ན་ཉ་རོ། ངའི་རོ་ལ་ཉ་ར་བྱེད་མཁན་མེད་ནའང་མེད་ཟེར།

755 To die in the hills and become like a dead bird; to die in the fields and become like a dead fish. (When a man is in despair concerning the future bestowal of his corpse.)

༧༥༦ རིག་གི་ཐེར་ཀ་ས་ལ་ཀྱབས་པ་སྣ་ལ་འཐོག།

756 Through striking the ground with his stick, it hit his nose.

༧༥༧ རིག་པ་ནང་མོ་འཆི་ཡང་སློབ། ཡོན་ཏན་ཤི་ཙེས་ཡོད་ན་ཡང་སློབ་ཟེར།

757 Learn wisdom though you should die tomorrow. (This is also to be found in the Saskya-Legs-bshad. Buddhists think that the more you learn in this life, the better it will be in your next birth.)

༧༥༨ རིགས་ངན་ཁ་ཏའི་བུ། ཟེར་བ་ཐུགས་སེ་ཐུར་ལ། གཞོག་ག་ཐུགས་སེ་རོམ་དུ། ཙམ་བསླབ་
བུ་གཏང་ན་ཐུ་བར་འགྱུར་བའི་བུ་ལ་ཟེར།

758 The son of the ignoble crow became worse the more he was lectured, and the more his body was chopped the larger it became. (Of a disobedient child who grows worse the more he is lectured.)

༧༥༩ རུམ་རོ་གཅིག་མི་ཡུལ་རོ་གཅིག། བོད་པས་རུམ་ཆེན་མོ་ཡིན་བསམས་ཏེ་དེ་ལ་འགྲན་མི་ནུས་
ཟེར།

759 The Rum family is one weight, and the world is another (i.e. the family of Rum is prolific).

༧༦༠ རུལ་ཞི་ཁ་སྦལ་ཏོ་ཁག་གནོན། (སྤྲུལ་གྱི་ཁར་སྦལ་ཏོ་ཁ་གནོན) གཅིག་གི་ཁར་གཅིག་
དབང་ཅན་ཡིན་ཟེར།

760 The mongoose overpowered the snake. (Of a strong man who faces up to a stronger one than he.)

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༧༦༡ ར་ཕོད་ན་སྟེར་ཕོད། སློང་ཕོད་པར་སྟེར་ཡང་ཕོད་དགོས་ཟེར།

761 If I have the courage to beg, you also must have the courage to bestow.

༧༦༢ ང་བ་ཙོ་རེ། ཁ་པག་གེ། ཐོབ་ཏུ་རེ་བ་བྲུས་ཏེ་མ་ཐོབ་པས་ཁ་སྐྱེངས་ན་ཟེར།

762 Through the intensity of his hope he grew ashamed.

༧༦༣ རམ་པའི་ལས་པོ་སླ་སླ་རེག། གྲོད་མོ་ཆེའི་ཟས་པོ་ཞིམ་ཞིམ་རེག། རམ་པའི་ལས་བྱེད་ལྟགས་དང་གྲོད་པོ་ཆེའི་ཟ་ལྟགས་ལ་ཟེར།

763 The work of a strong man looks easy, and the food of a glutton looks appetizing.

༧༦༤ རོ་ཡོད་སར་མ་ངུ་བ། རོ་མེད་སར་ངུ་ཅེས། ཟེར་དགོས་སར་མ་ཟེར་བར། ཟེར་མི་དགོས་པའི་སར་ཁོ་རྡོད་གཏང་ན་ཟེར།

764 To weep where there is no corpse, and not to weep where there is one. (Of the person who complains about a man to someone unconcerned in the matter.)

༧༦༥ རི་བོང་ཁ་ཕྲུང་ཞོར་རེ། གསང་གཏམ་དང་རང་ལ་གནོད་པའི་གཏམ་གཞན་ལ་བཤད་མཁན་ལ་ཟེར།

765 The hare hurt himself through cracking his lips. (When a person tells a secret or says something which afterwards recoils upon himself.)

༧༦༦ རོའི་མདུན་ལ་ཁ་མ་དལ། འོངས་ཀྱི་མདུན་ལ་ལག་མ་དལ། རོའི་ཕྲར་མ་ཎི་འདོན་པ་དང་འོངས་ཀྱི་ཕྲར་ལས་ཅོས་ཟེར།

766 Don't let your mouth be idle when in front of a corpse, and don't let your hands be idle when you stand in front of the threshing floor (i.e. pray when before a corpse, and work at your threshing floor).

༧༦༧ རལ་འགྲུལ་ལ་མ་ཤེས་ནའང་། ཐག་པ་འགྲུལ་ལ་སུས་མི་ཤེས། ཚིག་ཟབ་མོ་ངས་མ་གོ་ནའང་། ཚིག་གསལ་པོ་ཅི་ལ་མི་གོ་ཟེར། མིའི་སྐྲ་བ་ནས་གནོད་སྐྱོལ་འབྱུང་ན་ཟེར།

767 Though one may not be aware of the moving of a hair, who is there who does not notice the moving of a rope? (i.e. it may not be easy to understand that which is profound, but anyone can understand plain speech).

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༧༦༨ སྐྱུ་ཐོག་གཅིག་ལ་གཡོ་ཐོག་གཉིས། སྐྱུ་བའི་རྩམ་པ་མི་གཅིག་འགྲང་བ་ལས་ཟན་གཡོ་ན་མི་
གཉིས་འགྲང་ངོ་ཟེར།

768 One's kneading of dough is sufficient for one person, but if baked it suffices for two.

༧༦༩ རང་བཙུགས་པའི་ཟམ་པར་རང་ཐར་དགོས། རང་གིས་སྨྲས་པའམ་བྱས་པ་བཞིན་དུ་རང་
ཐར་དགོས་ཟེར།

769 You must cross the bridge which you yourself have built (i.e. you must abide by the words which you have uttered).

༧༧༠ རི་རྙིང་པ་ལ་བུག་པ་སོ་མ། སྔར་ཁྲིམས་བཤིག་ནས་སོ་མ་ཞིག་བྱེད་ན་ཟེར།

770 A new tunnel in an old hill. (When a man breaks an old custom and introduces a new one.)

༧༧༡ རང་ལུས་ལ་དཔེ་བླངས་ནས་མི་ལ་བསླབ་བྱ། རང་དཔེར་བླངས་ནས་གཞན་ལ་ཚོས་ཟེར།

771 To give others advice whilst acting independently oneself.

༧༧༢ རང་རྟུས་ལ་རང་མཁས་པ། མི་རྟུས་ལ་དཔོན་མཁས་པ། དཔོན་གྱིས་གཞན་གྱི་མཆོད་
ཁང་ལྷ་བུ་རི་མོས་རྒྱན་པ་ལྟར་རང་ལས་ཀྱི་རྟུས་ལ་རང་འདྲ་མི་འོང་ཟེར།

772 One is wise enough to achieve one's own purpose, and an artist is wise in achieving the purpose of others.

ལ

༧༧༣ ལ་སྔོན་བདེ་མོ་ལུས་ན། ཛུ་ཤག་མ་ཡིན། ལུས་ཁམས་བཟང་ལུས་ན་དངུལ་ཞོད་འཐད་
ཐོབ་ཡིན་ཟེར།

773 If the Sngon pass is safe, farthings are as plentiful as pebbles (i.e. if my health remains good, I shall be able to earn as much money as I want).

༧༧༤ ལ་ཨ་བས་བརྒྱབ་པ། ལ་དུགས་ཨ་མ་ལ་ཐོག། གནོད་དགོས་པ་ལ་མ་གནོད་པར་གནོད་
མི་དགོས་པར་གནོད་ན་ཟེར།

774 Father crossed the pass, and mother got mountain sickness. (When a quarrel affects the wrong person.)

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༧༧༥ ལ་ཕུག་ཕོ་བ་ལ་ཞིན་ཏེ། སྨན་པའི་བུ་ལའང་མི་འཇུ། ལ་ཕུག་འཇུ་བར་དཀའ་ཟེར།

775 The radish being indigestible, even the son of the physician could not digest it.

༧༧༦ ལག་པ་ཉར། སྡིག་པ་ནར། ཐོང་ཟེར་ཏེ་ལག་པ་བརྐྱང་ནས་མ་གཏང་ན་ཟེར།

776 Stretching out one's hand and extenuating the evil. (When a person does not get the thing he has asked for.)

༧༧༧ ལག་པས་བཏང་སྟེ། རྐང་པ་དང་བདའ་ཅེས། བུ་ལོན་རྗེ་ད་དུ་འགྲོ་དགོས་ན་ཟེར།

777 He who gave with his hands had to chase with his feet. (Of a creditor who pursues a debtor.)

༧༧༨ ལག་པས་བཙོས་ཏེ། རྐང་པ་དང་བཞིག་ཅེས། རང་གིས་བྱས་པའི་ལས་རང་གིས་བཞིག་ན་ཟེར།

778 To achieve a thing with one's hands and destroy it with one's feet.

༧༧༩ ལག་རྩེས་དགྲ། ཁ་རྩེས་ཉེན། ལག་དང་ཁ་གཉིས་བསམས་ཏེ་མ་བཀོལ་ན་དགྲ་འཛལ་བ་དང་ཉེན་ཆེ་བའི་ནང་སླེབ་པོ་ཟེར།

779 Harmful to play with one's hands and dangerous to crack a joke (i.e. be careful when you play or joke with others).

༧༨༠ ལག་རྡུམ་བྲག་ལ། མི་འཕྲད་མེད་ཞིག་གིས་ཧམ་པའི་ལས་བྱེད་ན་ཟེར།

780 To climb a rock with maimed hands. (Of an incompetent person desiring an honourable post or position.)

༧༨༡ ལག་ཤེས་ཀུན་གྱི་གཡོག་པོ། གཏམ་ཤེས་ཀུན་གྱི་དཔོན་པོ། ལག་ཤེས་ལས་གཏམ་ཤེས་པ་གཙོ་ཆེ་བ་ཡིན་ཟེར།

781 A craftsman is the servant of all and an eloquent person is the master of all.

༧༨༢ ལག་པ་མི་འཚིག་པའི་སྐམ་པ། བཀོལ་ལེ་ཡང་རྩེ་བྱེད་པའི་མི་ལ་ཟེར།

782 Pincers which prevent one's hands from being burnt. (Of children and incompetent people capable only of performing ordinary and trifling domestic tasks.)

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༧༨༣ ལ་མགོ་ལ་བསླེབས་ཏེ་མདོར་མ་དྲན་ཅེས། ཏོག་འདོམ་པའི་ཁར་དྲན་ན་ཟེར།

783 To remember one's trousers on reaching the top of a pass.

༧༨༤ ལམ་ནོར་ན་ལོག་ཉན། དཔེ་ར་ནོར་ན་ལོག་མི་ཉན། གཏམ་བྱེད་པ་ནོར་མ་འཇུག་ཟེར།

784 Lose your way and you can return; say the wrong thing and you cannot revoke it.

༧༨༥ ལས་དང་རྐུན་མའི་རྗེས། རྐུན་མའི་རྐང་རྗེས་ལྟར་ལས་ངན་ལའང་རྗེས་ལུས་སོ་ཟེར།

785 The signs of one's labour and the imprint of a thief.

༧༨༦ ལས་ཀྱིས་ལས་སྟོན། ལས་ཀྱི་པོམས་ཚུད་རིམ་གྱིས་ལྷག་པར་ལེགས་པ་བྱེད་ཐུབ་ཟེར།

786 One's work demonstrates one's efforts.

༧༨༧ ལགས་བརྒྱ་ཐམ་པ་ཐམས། བདེན་གཅིག་དགའ། ལེ་ལེ་བརྒྱ་ལས་བདེན་ཚིག་གཅིག་ལེགས་ཟེར།

787 One word of truth is better than a hundred affirmations.

༧༨༨ ལམ་སྟོན་མཁན་མང་པོ། རྒྱགས་ཚུ་སྒྲིག་མཁན་དཀོན་མོ། དཔེ་ར་བསྟན་མཁན་མང་ཡང་རོགས་བྱེད་མཁན་ཉུང་ངུ་ཟེར།

788 Many to show you the road, but few to provide you with food for the journey.

༧༨༩ ལི་ཀྱིར་རི་སྐུ་འདྲ་པད་མའི་མེན་ཏོག། ཟ་བ་ལ་རེམ་པ། ལས་ལ་འཇངས་པ། བུད་ལེགས་གྲོད་པ་ཆེ་བ་ལས་མི་རྣམ་པའི་བུད་མེད་ལ་ཟེར།

789 The idol at Likir is like a lotus flower, a powerful eater, and a lazy worker. (Of good-looking women who eat much and work little.)

༧༩༠ ལུག་གི་ཁྲོད་ལ་བེ་ཡ། ར་མའི་ཁྲོད་ལ་ཀྱ། ཕན་ཚུན་གཉིས་པོ་འཐད་པའི་གཏམ་བྱེད་པའི་མི་ལྐྱེ་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

790 One who bleats amongst the sheep and cries amongst the goats. (Of a person who talks plausibly to friend and foe.)

༧༩༡ ལུག་བརྒྱ་འཚོས་དང་གཅིག་འཚོས། ལུག་རྫི་དང་སློབ་དཔོན་དང་སྒྲོག་པོར་གྲངས་མང་ཡང་གཅིག་པ་ཡིན་ཟེར།

791 It's the same whether one herds one sheep or a hundred.

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༧༩༢ ལུག་ལ་འབྲག་རྒྱུ་ཡོད་ན། ར་ལ་གཤད་རྒྱུ་ཡོད། ལུག་ལ་བལ་དང་ར་ལ་ལེ་ན་ཡོད་པ་ལྟར། ཁྱོད་ལ་ཟེར་རྒྱུ་ཡོད་ན་ང་ལའང་བཤད་རྒྱུ་ཡོད་ཟེར།

792 If there is reason to shear the sheep, there is also reason to shear the goats (i.e. if you have reason to complain against me, I too have reason to complain against you).

༧༩༣ ལས་ཀྱི་མགོ། གཏམ་གྱི་མཇུག། ལས་ལ་མགོ་ཟུག་པ་གལ་ཆེ། གཏམ་སླས་པ་ལྟར་བྱེད་དགོས་གལ་ཆེ་ཡིན་ཟེར།

793 The beginning of a task and the ending of a conversation (i.e. if it is important to begin a task, it is also important to keep one's promise).

༧༩༤ ལུས་གཡོང་ཆེ་ན། ཁ་གཡོང་ཆེ། ལས་ལ་བྲམ་པ་བྱེད་ན། ཁ་ལ་ཡང་ཟ་རྒྱུ་མང་པོ་འབྱུང་ངོ་ཟེར།

794 If your body is active, your mouth will be active too (i.e. more work, more income).

༧༩༥ ལུས་དང་གྲི་མག་ (གྲིབ་མ)། འབྲལ་མེད་གཏན་དུ་འགྲོགས་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

795 The body together with its shadow (i.e. these are inseparable).

༧༩༦ ལོ་བརྒྱ་བསགས་པའི་དགེ་བ་དེ། ཉིན་གཅིག་ཁོང་ཁྲོས་གཞོམ་པར་བྱ། ཟེན་མ་བྱེད་ན་ལོ་མང་བསགས་པ་དེ་ཉིན་གཅིག་ནང་སྟོར་ཡོང་ཟེར།

796 The anger of one day obliterates the virtues of a hundred years.

༧༩༧ ལོ་སྐོར་ལ་བུ་སྐོར། ལོ་༡༢ཆ་ན་བུ་དང་བུ་མོ་ཕ་མ་ལ་འཁྱུར་ཟེར།

797 At the age of twelve, he will be surrounded by children. (Boys and girls in Tibet marry early and become parents at an early age.)

༧༩༨ ཁྱིག་ལམ་ཁྱིམ་ཡང་ཤེས། རྫོན་དེ་ན་ཡིན།

798 Even a dog knows his way home.

༧༩༩ ལག་པ་ལ་ཚེར་མང་ཟུག་ན་བཏོན་ཉན། སྙིང་ལ་ཚེར་མང་ཟུག་ན་བཏོན་མི་ཉན།

799 If you have a thorn in your hand, you can extract it; but if a thorn pierces your heart, you cannot take it out.

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༨༠༠ ཤ་བོ་ཏ་ལལ། པགས་པ་ཏ་རམ། མི་ལ་མི་དགའ་བར་དེའི་ནོར་ལ་དགའ་ན་ཟེར།

800 The flesh is lawful to eat, but it is not lawful to use the skin. (When a person hates a man, but covets his wealth.)

༨༠༡ ཤ་བཙོང་བའི་ཤ་བཙོང་བཙོང་བཙོང་ཅེས། ཤ་བཙོང་བའི་ཤ་འཕྱར་འཕྱར་འཕྱར་ཅེས། } གཞན་མ་ལ་རང་གི་མིའི་སྐྱོན་བཤད་ན་ཟེར།

801 To sell one as a butcher sells meat. To hang one as a butcher hangs meat. (i.e. To expose the faults of one's friends and relations to strangers.)

༨༠༢ ཤ་དང་གྲི། མི་གཉིས་ཞེན་ཏུ་མ་མཐུན་ན་ཟེར།

802 Like a piece of meat and a knife. (Of two people who hate each other intensely.)

༨༠༣ ཤ་མི་ན། རུས་ན། རང་གི་གཉེན་ལ་སྡུག་བསྔལ་འབྱུང་དུས་སུ་ཉེ་སོ་མེད་པའི་གཉེན་གྱིས་ཕྱོགས་བྱེད་ན་ཟེར།

803 No pain in the flesh, but pain in my bones. (Here 'bones' denotes one's relatives. So this means: I have no sympathy personally, but must stand up for my kith and kin.)

༨༠༤ ཤ་ཝོ་ཐང་ཆད་པའི་ཉི་མ། དབྱར་གྱི་ཉི་མ་རིང་མོ་ལ་ཟེར།

804 A day on which even the deer gets tired (i.e. a long summer's day).

༨༠༥ ཤ་རྙིང་དུག། མར་རྙིང་སྨན། སྦལ་ཏི་དང་གར་ཞ་པས་མར་རྙིང་རྒྱུན་དུ་ཟ།

805 Stale meat is a poison and rancid butter a remedy. (Baltis and Lahaulis are particularly fond of very rancid butter.)

༨༠༦ ཤ་ཟ་རེས། པགས་པ་གོན་རེས། མི་མདའ་གཉིས་དྲག་ཏུ་རྒོལ་ན་ཟེར།

806 Their turn to eat each other's flesh and wear each other's skin. (When two people quarrel violently and sue each other in Court.)

༨༠༧ ཤ་ར་ལ་ཤ་རམ་ཅི་ཡོད། ཆོས་ཁྲིམས་བཞིན་ལབ་པའམ་བྱེད་པ་ལ་ངོ་ཚ་མེད་ཟེར།

807 What shame is there when acting according to law?

༨༠༨ ཤ་ལོག་ནས་གྲི་ལ། འབངས་ཀྱིས་ལོག་གི་བླ་བ་ལ་ཟེར།

808 The meat turned upon the knife. (Of a subject who rebels against his master.)

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༨༠༩ ཤཱཀྱ་མི་དཀོན་ཆ་ན། འབྲོང་ཕྲུག་མཁར་དཔོན་ལྡན། མ་རབས་དང་ཐ་མལ་པ་ཞིག་ལས་
སྐྱེར་སྐྱོ་ན་ཟེར།

809 If Sakya is short of men, the Drongprug becomes the governor. (When a man of low birth obtains a high position.)

༨༡༠ ཤི་ཁ་འཐོད་ན། མི་ཁ་འབུད། ཤི་བའི་ལོ་རྒྱུག་ན་མི་དེའི་མི་ཁ་འབུད་ཟེར།

810 If others announce his death prematurely, talk which would harm him is dissipated.

༨༡༡ ཤིའི་ཁ་རོབ་གནོན། ཤི་བའི་མི་ལ་རྡུང་བ་ལྟར། སྡུག་བསྔལ་བ་ལ་འཚེ་ན་ཟེར།

811 To press down a man who is dying (i.e. aggravating a man who is already in trouble).

༨༡༢ ཤི་ཡིན་ཞིག་ཀྱང་འབྲ། སྲོག་དང་འབྲལ་ཏེ་ཡང་དཀྲུར་གཏོལ་ཟེར།

812 Even whilst dying, he struggled.

༨༡༣ ཤིག་ལ་རྒྱུ་མ་རྒྱང་མཁན། མི་ཉམས་ཅན་མི་རྣན་དགུ་རྣན་ལ་ཟེར།

813 He who fills the guts of a louse. (Of an extremely deceitful or resourceful person.)

༨༡༤ ཤིང་དྲང་པོའི་རྩ་ནས། མི་དྲང་པོའི་མགོ་ནས། ཤིང་དྲང་པོ་རྩད་ནས་གཅོད། མི་དྲང་
པོ་ལ་མགོ་སྐྱུ་སླ་བའི་དོན་ནོ།

814 The straight tree is cut at its root and the upright man at his head (i.e. the simple man is easily deceived).

༨༡༥ ཤིག་མང་པོས་ཟ་བ་མི་ཚོར། བུ་ལོན་མང་པོ་རྟོད་པ་མི་ཚོར། ཤིག་དང་བུ་ལོན་མང་པོ་
ཡོད་པའི་མི་དྲེད་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

815 One does not feel the bites of many lice, nor does one take notice of the demands to pay many debts.

༨༡༦ ཤིང་མཁན་དལ་བུ་ནའང་རང་འབོས། ཤིང་མཁན་ལག་དལ་བུ་ཀྱང་རང་གི་ཟས་སྐོལ་འབོས་
ཀྱི་ཤིང་ཤོག་འཚོན་ཟེར།

816 The slow carpenter has sufficient fuel for his needs.

༨༡༧ ཤུལ་ལྟོ་རྡོས་ཧ་མ་འགྲུལ། གྲོད་པ་འགྲངས་ཧ་མ་འགྲུལ། ཟས་ལ་འགྲོ་ཙ་ན་གོས་དང་
རྒྱགས་ཤེབ་འཁྱུར་དགོས་ཟེར།

817 Don't go on a full stomach and don't walk when your body is warm (i.e. when going on a journey, take more food and clothes than you need when you set out).

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༨༡༨ ཤུ་བའི་ཁ་ནས་རྣ་སེར་འཇིབ་ཅེས། མི་དབུལ་པོའི་ནོར་འཕྲོག་ན་ཟེར།

818 He sucks the pus from other people's sores. (When a person deprives a poor man of something.)

༨༡༩ ཤེ་པའི་ཁ་མགྲོན། ཁ་མ་འཕངས་སུ་མགྲོན་ལ་འབོད་ན་ཟེར།

819 The Sheh man's feast of words. (When someone calls a man to a meal with no intention of carrying out his invitation.)

༨༢༠ ཤེ་ནས་སྨན་ལྷ། འཚེམ་པོ་རྒྱང་ཅན་གཏང་ན་ཟེར།

820 From Sheh to Smanla (i.e. to sew a garment in a haphazard fashion).

༨༢༡ ཤེས་སོ་རང་ལ་ཡོད་ན། དྲི་སོ་མི་ལ། རང་གིས་ཤེས་ཀྱང་གཞན་ལ་དྲིས་ཤིག་ཟེར།

821 Though you may have knowledge, you should take counsel from someone else.

༨༢༢ ཤེས་རབ་ཅན་ཞིག་གངས་ལ་ཉི་ཤར་འདྲ། བརྩོན་འགྲུས་ཅན་ཞིག་ནགས་ལ་མེ་ཤོར་འདྲ།
རིག་པ་ཅན་ལས་བརྩོན་འགྲུས་ཅན་དགའ་པ་ཡིན་ཟེར།

822 A wise man is like a glistening glacier, and a painstaking man is like a forest on fire.

༨༢༣ ཤེས་པའི་ནང་ནས་མི་ཤེས་པ། མི་མཁས་པ་ཞུགས་ན་ཟེར།

823 He who is wise and behaves unwisely.

༨༢༤ གཤང་པོའི་བཙོང་རན། གླེན་པའི་ཉོ་རན། གཙང་པོའི་ཁྲམ་གྱིས་གླེན་པར་ཕྱིང་བཀལ་ན་ཟེར།

824 The time for the smart man to sell and the dunce to buy. (When an astute person sells a thing to a fool.)

༨༢༥ གཤགས་མིན་པོ་ཇོས་བས་སེ། འབོད་བ་སུ་ལ་གཏང། བླ་མ་དང་དཔོན་པོས་མི་རིགས་པ་བྱེད་ན་ཟེར།

825 When the prince pronounces an unjust verdict, to whom shall I cry?

༨༢༦ གཤང་པོ་ཕྱེ་འགམས་ཏེ། གླེན་པའི་མགོ་ལ་རྐྱལ་པ། རང་སྐྱོན་མི་གཞན་ལ་འགེལ་ན་ཟེར།

826 The smart man ate the flour and placed the bag on the stupid man's head. (Of one who deceives someone to vindicate himself.)

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༨༢༧ ཤང་སྤྲེ་ལུག་སྤྲེ་ལ་ཟ་མཁན། ཚོད་མ་འཛོན་པར་ཟ་བ་ལ་ཟེར།

827 To eat with the appetite of a wolf and a sheep.

༨༢༨ གཤོལ་གྱི་རིད་དང་རམ་པ། ཞོར་དུ་གཞན་རྩྭ་བ་ཞིག་འབྱུང་ན་ཟེར།

828 Together with the plough there came up long grass roots.

༨༢༩ གཤང་པོའི་མདུན་བསུས། གླེན་པའི་རྒྱབ་བདས། གཙང་པོས་སྔོན་དུ་བྱེད་པ་དང་གླེན་པས་ཕྱིས་ནས་བྱེད་ཟེར།

829 The smart man anticipates a thing, and the stupid man follows after it.

༨༣༠ ཤེས་གཡངས་པ། མ་ཤེས་དོན་དམ། གཞན་གྱིས་མཐོང་ན་གཡེངས་པ་དང་། མ་མཐོང་ན་བརྐུས་འཁྱེར་བའི་ཐབས་ལ་ཟེར།

830 If he is found out, he pretends it is a joke; and if not, he actually commits the deed.

༨༣༡ ཤིང་གས་མཁན་གྱི་བར་ལ་ལག་པ། གནོད་པའི་ནང་ལ་འཛིས་ན་ཟེར།

831 To have one's hand caught between the chink of wood (i.e. to be entangled in a quarrel, etc.).

༨༣༢ ཤར་ཀྱི་ཧ་རམ་ཟ་ད་དང་ནུབ་ཀྱི་ཧ་རམ་ཟ་ད། མགོ་བསྐོར་ཅན་གཉིས་ཐུག་ན་ཟེར།

832 The impostor of the East and that of the West. (When two impostors meet.)

༨༣༣ གཤང་ཁ་འཐལ། ཚོད་ལས་འཐལ་ན་གཙང་པོ་ཡང་གནོད་ཟེར།

833 To over-reach oneself in resourcefulness. (Of a cunning person who through his craftiness brings trouble and sorrow upon himself.)

༨༣༤ གཤིན་པོའི་ཁ་མ་སྐང་ན། གསོན་པོའི་ཚོ་མི་ཐེད། ཤི་བའི་དོན་དུ་ཚོ་ག་དང་དགེ་བ་མ་བཏང་ན། གསོན་པོ་ཡོད་པ་ལ་དེའི་ནོར་ཐོབ་པས་ཚོ་མི་ཕྱིད་ཟེར།

834 If you do not close the mouth of the dead, he who is alive will not get a livelihood (i.e. if one does not perform the necessary funeral ceremonies, one will not be able to subsist on the belongings and property of the deceased).

༨༣༥ ཤའི་ཁ་མར་རྩག། དབུལ་པོ་ནས་ཕྱུག་པོ་ལ་ནོར་ཐོབ་ན་ཟེར།

835 To heap butter on the flesh. (When a rich man gets a poor man's property.)

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༨༣༦ ས་དང་སོ་ནམ་ནམ་ཟླས་མི་ཁྲེལ་བ་ཞིག། ཆོས་རང་སེམས་ཀྱིས་མི་ཁྲེལ་བ་ཞིག། ཞིང་ལས་དང་ཆོས་བྱེད་པའི་དཔེ་ཡིན།

836 Your agricultural efforts must be such that the season can't blame you, and your faith such that one's conscience does not blame you.

༨༣༧ ས་ངན་གྱི་གད་པ་རྡིབ་ན་རྒྱལ། མི་ཕན་པའི་ནད་པ་ཤི་ན་རྒྱལ། དོན་དེ་ན་ཡིན།

837 Better that the bad soil of the cliff should crumble, and better that the incurable patient should die.

༨༣༨ ས་མེ་བཏུག་མཁན། ཕག་ནས་གནོད་པ་སྐྱེལ་བ་ལ་ཟེར།

838 To light a fire beneath the earth. (In times of war men blow up their enemies with land mines or dynamite, etc. Thus this means 'to do someone an injury by stealth'.)

༨༣༩ ས་བྱི་ཞིག་ཐར་ཆག་གི་ཁར་འཛོན་ན་ཚོགས། ཕོ་སོ་བྱེད་ཀྱིན་ཀྱིད་ཀྱིད་ལ་འཁྱལ་བའི་མི་ལ་ཟེར།

839 Like a mouse mounting a broken tray. (Of a foolish man who boasts.)

༨༤༠ ས་བྱི་ཞིག་གི་སྲོག་དང་ཆ་རྡུག། བྱི་ལ་གཡངས་པ་ཡོང་འདུག། གཅིག་ལ་བར་དོ་ཡོད་པ་ལ་གཞན་གྱིས་འཚོག་པ་སྲིག་ན་ཟེར།

840 The mouse loses his life and the cat enjoys the fun. (When making fun of a man in trouble.)

༨༤༡ ས་འཇམ་གྱིས་ཆུ་བཀག། མི་འཇམ་གྱིས་མི་བཀོལ། ཁ་འཇམ་པོས་མི་བཀོལ་ཐུབ་པོ་ཟེར།

841 The fine earth blocks the water and a gentle person makes use of others. (Equivalent to: A gentle word turns away wrath.)

༨༤༢ ས་ལ་སྐྱ་རེ་སྔོ་རེ། མི་ལ་སྐྱིད་རེ་སྡུག་རེ། སྔོ་སྐྱ་བྲེལ་མ་ལྟར། སྐྱིད་སྡུག་ཀྱང་།

842 The soil becomes gray and green by turns, and a man is happy and miserable by turns.

༨༤༣ ས་ལ་འདུག་ལོང་མེད་པ། གནམ་ལ་ཐལ་རྒྱབ། ལས་སྣེ་ཞིག་ཐོབ་མ་ཐག་ཏུ་ཧྲི་ལོངས་བཏོན་པའི་མི་ཚོ་སོ་ཙན་ལ་ཟེར།

843 Hardly had he sat down before a cloud of dust rose in the sky. (Of a man who causes trouble to one who has only recently obtained a good post.)

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༨༤༤ ས་རུལ་ལུད། ལུད་རུལ་ས། རྡོན་དེ་ན་ཡིན།

844 Rotten soil becomes manure and rotten manure becomes earth.

༨༤༥ སངས་རྒྱས་ལ་དམྱལ་བ་དྲིན་ཅན། དམྱལ་བ་ལ་སངས་རྒྱས་དྲིན་ཅན། སངས་རྒྱས་ལ་དམྱལ་བ་མེད་པར་སྙིང་རྗེ་སྒོམ་ཐབས་མེད་པ་ལྟར། དམྱལ་བ་ལ་སངས་རྒྱས་མ་སྒོམ་པར་སངས་རྒྱས་ཐབས་མེད་དོ་སེམས་པས། མི་ཆེན་ལ་མི་ཆུང་དྲིན་ཅན་ཡིན་ཟེར།

845 Hell is merciful to the Buddha and the Buddha is kind to hell. (Unless there were a hell, there would be nothing to which the Buddha could be gracious. Likewise those in hell have the Buddha to show them the way of escape. So this saying means that all beings, high or low, are dependent upon each other.)

༨༤༦ སིན་ཏིག་གི་ཚངས་སིན་ཏིག་གིས་སློང་འདུག། རང་གི་མིའི་སྐྱོན་འཐིང་ན་ཟེར།

846 Sintig the bird explores his own nest. (When a man finds fault with his own kith and kin.)

༨༤༧ སུ་ཁུས་བསགས་པ་མུ་ཁུའི་རྒྱན། བོད་དེས་བསགས་པ་བླ་མའི་རྒྱན། རྒྱུ་བོའི་ནོར་བླ་མ་ལ་ཐོབ་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

847 That which Suku collected, was used by Muku; and what the laymen collected, the lamas received. (When lamas obtain food, etc. from laymen.)

༨༤༨ སུ་རྒྱལ་ལ། རང་རྒྱལ་ལ། རང་བཟང་པོ་ཡོད་ན་གཞན་མས་ཀྱང་བཟང་པོ་བྱེད་ཟེར།

848 Who is good? I myself am good (i.e. if a man is honest and good, others will also regard him as a good man).

༨༤༩ སེང་གེ་ནད་ཀྱིས་སྐྱུམ། སེང་གེ་སང་ནད་རེམ་པ་ཡིན། མི་རེམ་པ་ནད་ཀྱིས་སྐྱུམ་ཟེར།

849 The lion was reduced through disease.

༨༥༠ སེམས་བཏད་དེ། བློ་རྐུ་ཅེས། སྙིང་བཏད་མཁན་ལ་དྲང་པོ་མ་བྱེད་ན་ཟེར།

850 To steal the mind of him who trusts you.

༨༥༡ སེམས་ལ་འཁོར་ན་དུག། ཁ་ལ་ལེན་ན་སྨན། རང་སྐྱོན་གསང་བ་བས་བཤད་ན་ལེགས་ཟེར།

851 If you keep a thing in your heart, it is poison; but if you confess it, it is a remedy.

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༨༥༢ སེམས་ངན་པོ་མགྱོགས། དུར་སྐྱགས་པོ་འགོར། ཟ་ཅེས་གཏོང་དུ་འགོར་ནས་ཁྲིས་ན་ཟེར།

852 The evil spirit was in a hurry, and the food for the grave was late. (When a quarrel arises over the lateness of a meal.)

༨༥༣ སོ་ཁྲག་ནང་ལ་འཛིབས་ཏེ། སྐ་རགས་ཅག་བསྡམས་ཏེ་ནང་ཆེད་དགོས། ནང་ཆེད་དུ་སྡུགས་རེ་སྒྲིམ་དགོས་ཟེར།

853 One must suck the blood from one's teeth and tighten up one's waistband to prepare a home (i.e. must work hard and suffer much to obtain a livelihood).

༨༥༤ སོ་བ་ནས་ཀྱི་འཛེ་པོ། དབུལ་བ་ཅན་མིའི་འཛེ་པོ། ནོར་མེད་ལ་ནག་ནག་བྱེད་པ་འབྱུང་ཟེར།

854 The grain of shelled barley is ugly, and the poor are ugly in the sight of men. (When a man is despised because he is poor.)

༨༥༥ སོ་སོའི་ཡུལ་ལ་སོ་སོ་རིན་ཅན། མདའ་དང་ཧ་ནུ་ལ་འབྲོག་པ་རིན་ཅན།

855 One is respected in one's own country; in Da and Hanu villages, the Dards are respected.

༨༥༦ གསང་ཅེས་ལ་རང་མཁས་པ། བཤད་ཅེས་ལ་མི་མཁས་པ། གསང་གཏམ་གསངས་ཏེ་མི་ཡུས་ཟེར།

856 Oneself is clever in concealing one's secret, whilst others are skilful in talking about them.

༨༥༧ གསེར་མགར་རི་བརྒྱ། མགར་རའི་གཅིག། གཞན་གྱི་གཏམ་མང་བ་དེ་ཚིག་གཅིག་གིས་བཅག་ན་ཟེར།

857 A hundred goldsmiths and one blacksmith (i.e. the hammering of one blacksmith is more effective than the hammering of a hundred goldsmiths) (i.e. the clinching of an argument by an apposite phrase).

༨༥༨ གསེར་པོ་ཨན། ཨན་པོ་ཐལ་བ། འཚོང་ལ་ཏ་ལོག་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

858 Gold into chalk and chalk into dust. (When a man goes bankrupt.)

༨༥༩ གསེར་ཐོར་ཏེ། གསེར་སྒྲོག་མ་ཐོར། ནོར་ཐོབ་ནས་སྐྱོང་མ་ཐོབ་ཟེར།

859 He obtained some gold, but had no purse to keep it in.

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༨༦༠ གསོན་ན་ཁ་གཅིག། ཤི་ན་དུར་གཅིག། རིགས་གཅིག་པའམ་སྤུན་ཡིན་ཟེར།

860 They who are alive share one cup, and they who are dead share one cemetery.

༨༦༡ གསོལ་དཔོན་མར་ཁུའི་རྒྱ་མཚོ། ཤི་ན་དམྱལ་བའི་གཏིང་རྡོ། གསོལ་དཔོན་གྱིས་བརྐུས་ཏེ་མང་པོ་ཟ་ཟེར།

861 The cook is in the sea of liquid butter ; but if he dies, he will, like an anchor, go to the depths of hell. (Of a cook who steals.)

༨༦༢ བསགས་པའི་ནོར་ལ་སྲུར་ཐོབ་བར་ཆད། ཤི་དུས་དེའི་ནོར་ལ་སྲུར་ཐོབ་གཏང་ངོ་ཟེར།

862 The scramble to get hold of his pile of wealth.

༨༦༣ བསགས་པའི་ནོར་མེད་ནའང་། ཟོས་པའི་ཚིལ་ལུ་ཡོད། ནོར་མ་བསགས་པར་ཞིམ་པོ་ཟོས་པ་ཡིན་ཟེར།

863 Though I have not accumulated wealth, yet I have eaten fat (i.e. I am not wealthy, but possess physical strength).

༨༦༤ བསམ་ཅན་མེད་པའི་མི་རྒྱགས་པ། ཞོན་ཅན་མེད་པའི་རྟ་རྒྱགས་པ། བསམ་མེད་ཀྱི་མི་རྒྱགས་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

864 He is fat who cannot think; the horse is fat upon which no one can ride.

༨༦༥ བསམ་པས་རི་བཀུག། གཡོག་སྐེ་པང་ཟད། ཆེན་པོ་ལ་རྣམ་ཞིང་ཟ་རྒྱུ་མེད་པ་ལྟ་བུ་ལ་ཟེར།

865 Through his imagination he brought the mountain to him, but meanwhile the place where he sat crumbled away (i.e. of one who is ambitious).

༨༦༦ བསམ་ངན་གྱི་ཆོས་བཤད་ཅེས་སང་། སེམས་བཟང་གི་གླུ་གཏང་ཅེས་རྒྱལ། དོན་དེ་ན་ཡིན།

866 Better to sing with a good heart than to preach religion with an evil mind.

༨༦༧ བསམ་པ་སྔོན་ལ་མ་གཏང་ན། འགྱོད་པ་རྗེང་ལ། དོན་དེ་ན་ཡིན།

867 If you do not think beforehand, you will regret it afterwards.

༨༦༨ བསོད་བདེ་དང་ཟ་ཕོར་ཆེ་ན་རྒྱལ། དོན་དེ་ན་ཡིན།

868 Better that one's fortune and one's cup should be large. (When a person uses a large cup to drink out of.)

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༨༦༩ བསོད་བདེ་ལ་མེད་ན། རྐྱལ་བུ་ལ་ཅི་རྐྱང་ཡིན། ནོར་མི་འཛོར་མཁན་ལ་ཟེར།

869 If there is nothing in my luck, then what shall I put in my bag?

༨༧༠ སྲང་གི་བལ་ལྷུད། ཀྲང་པར་འབྲང་བའི་བལ་ལྷུད་ལྟར་སྲང་ལ་མིའི་ཕྱི་བཞིན་འབྲང་བ་ལ་ཟེར།

870 The rotten wool in the street. (Of a loose person.)

༨༧༡ སྲང་ས་མགོ་ལ་གོན་མཁན། ཁྲེལ་བའི་ལས་བྱེད་མཁན་ལ་ཟེར།

871 He who places the dust of the street on his head. (Of a man who consciously brings disgrace upon himself.)

༨༧༢ སྲན་མ་མ་ཐུབ་པ་ཆག་ཙོ། དབང་ཅན་ལ་མ་སློ་བར་དབང་མེད་ལ་སློ་ན་ཟེར།

872 He could not contend with a pea, but only with the oats. (Of one who cannot contend with a stronger man, but fights with a weaker person.)

༨༧༣ སྲན་སྲན་པའི་སྲན་ཟན། མང་དུ་བསྲན་ནས་ཐོབ་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

873 This is the meal which I have endured for a long time. (When a man is fully recompensed for his deeds.)

༨༧༤ སྲག་པ་མ་ཐུབ་པ་སྐམ་སྲག། མ་ཐོབ་གོང་དུ་ཐོབ་པ་ལྟར་གྲལ་བྱེད་ན་ཟེར།

874 To make a pouch before catching the partridge.

༨༧༥ སྲག་པ་ལ་འཇིགས་ཏེ་ཕ་ཡུལ་འཕང་ཙེས། མི་ཅོལ་ཆུང་ལ་འཇིགས་ཏེ་འབྲོས་སྐབས་བྱེད་ན་ཟེར།

875 To abandon one's home for fear of a partridge. (Of a timid man who runs away from responsibility for no adequate reason.)

༨༧༦ སློང་ངའི་ནང་ནས་འཕར་ཏེ། ཚག་མའི་ནང་ནས་འཛག་མཁན། ཅིའང་མི་ཕན་པའི་མི་ལ་ཟེར།

876 To splash from a frying pan and be sifted through a sieve. (Of a good-for-nothing person.)

༨༧༧ སློང་ཁ་འཁྱེར། ཟས་ཞིམ་པ་ཐོབ་ཏུ་ཁང་པ་མང་པོ་ལ་འཁོར་བ་ལ་ཟེར།

877 Take away the mouth accustomed to beg. (Of a man who continually goes from house to house begging.)

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༨༧༨ སླང་ཚན་གྱི་ཁ་ནས་ཡོས་རྫན་འཕར་ཅེས། རྡོན་མེད་དུ་འབར་ན་ཟེར།

878 The grain which jumps in the hot frying pan. (Of a man who gets abusive and finally consents to a proposal or plan.)

༨༧༩ བསླངས་པའི་དར་ར་ལ་ཁྱི་རྐུན་ཞུགས། གཞེར་ཁྱིངས་པ་དེ་ཡང་སྟོར་ན་ཟེར།

879 The dog stole the butter milk which was obtained through begging. (When a person loses a thing for which he begged.)

༨༨༠ སྤྲང་མཁན་རྒྱགས་པ་གཡང་ལ། མི་ནོར་མེད་ལ་ནོར་ཅོར་ནས་ཐོ་སོ་བྱེད་པའི་སྣོ་ནས་ཡལ་ན་ཟེར།

880 When the beggar grew fat, he fell down headlong.

༨༨༡ བསགས་པ་ལོ་དགུ། དགོས་པ་ཞག་གཅིག།

881 That which he collected in nine years, he required for one day.

ཧ

༨༨༢ ཧ་སོ་ར་ནས་བ། བ་ལ་བེའུ། བེའུ་ལ་ཁོལ་ཐག། ལས་ཅིག་མ་གྲུབ་པར་གྲུབ་མཁན་ལྟར་བྱེད་ན་ཟེར།

882 A cow from Hasora (Gilgit), a calf from the cow, and a collar for the calf. (Of one who contemplates a thing which he has not got.)

༨༨༣ ཧ་རི་ནམ་ཟླ་ལོག་ན། མགོའི་སང་པུག་མོ་མཐོ་བ། དུས་མགོ་ལོག་ཆ་ན། ཡ་རབས་ལས་མ་རབས་མཐོ་སར་སླེབ་པོ་ཟེར།

883 When times change, the knees will be higher than the head (i.e. when times change, the low-born will take precedence over people of noble birth).

༨༨༤ ཧ་མ་གོ་བར་མགོ་གུག་གུག། མ་གོ་ནའང་གོ་མདོག་བྱེད་ན་ཟེར།

884 Not understanding anything he bent his head (i.e. as if in assent).

༨༨༥ ཧུང་ཕད་མེད་མཁན། ཁ་ནས་སྐྱ་ཀྱུ་མེད་མཁན་ལ་ཟེར།

885 One who has nothing to say.

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༨༨༦ ཧག་ཟེར་པ་ཐུ། གཅིག་གིས་ཁ་ངན་ཟེར་ན། དེ་ལས་ཐུ་བའི་ལན་འབྱུང་ངོ་ཟེར།

886 One made the noise of spitting and the other spat at him. (Of a couple of quarrelsome people.)

༨༨༧ ཧན་འདྲང་ལྕང་མ་དགོད། དོན་མེད་ལ་དགོད་ན་ཟེར།

887 The idiot laughs at the willow tree. (Of one who laughs without understanding what he is laughing at.)

༨༨༨ ཧབ་པོ་ལ་ལྷུ་ལྷུ་ཧུབ་པོ་བུད། ཆེ་བ་ཞིག་ལ་ཧམ་ཅེས་ནས་ཆུང་བ་ཡང་མ་ཐོབ་ན་ཟེར།

888 In taking a mouthful he lost even a gulp.

༨༨༩ ཧལ་མ་འཐེར། རྡོ་མིན་ཤིང་མིན། བཟང་ངན་གྱི་དབྱེ་བ་མི་ཤེས་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

889 Neither one thing nor another, neither stone nor wood. (Of one who cannot discriminate between good or bad people or things.)

༨༩༠ ལྷ་མ་མགྱོགས་ས་འདྲེ་མགྱོགས། མི་ཆེ་བ་ལས་སྔོན་དུ་ཆུང་བས་ཁ་ཟས་འདུ་བ་ཟ་ན་ཟེར།

890 The devil was quicker than the gods. (When underlings eat their food before their superiors begin theirs.)

༨༩༡ ལྷ་སོ་མའི་སར་འདྲེ་རྙིང་པ་རྒྱལ། དཔོན་པོ་སོ་མའི་སར་རྙིང་པ་རྒྱལ་ཟེར།

891 An old devil is better than a new god. (An experienced official though bad is better than an inexperienced one.)

༨༩༢ ལྷ་ཞིག་མཚར་དགོས། མི་ཞིག་དྲང་དགོས། དྲང་པོ་ཡོད་དགོས་ཟེར།

892 A god must be glorious and a man must be honest.

༨༩༣ ལྷག་ན་ཆུ་ཆད་ན་གསེར། ལྷག་ན་སྣང་མེད་དང་། ཆད་ན་སྣང་ཅན་བྱེད་ན་ཟེར།

893 When there was ample food, it was treated like water, and when there was a scarcity, it was regarded like gold.

ཨ

༨༩༤ ཨ་ཀུས་ཆ་ན་མར་ལ་ཐོག། ཤིང་མེད་ན་སྐམ་ཤག་ཐུས། ཨ་ཀུས་ཆ་ན་འཚོགས་འདོད་བྱུས་པ་དེ་སྐྱག་དགོས་འབྱུང་ཟེར།

894 If there is no one to help you, eat butter; and if there are no trees, burn dry wood. (If you are in great need, use the butter you have put by for the future and burn the wood which you have stored for burning your corpse.)

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༨༩༥ ཨ་ཛོ་ནས་ཡོང་ཟ་ན་ཚོང་པ། ཨེ་ཛོ་ནས་ཆ་ཟ་ན་སྟོང་པ། ཚོང་པ་ཞིག་ལ་ནོར་ཚང་མ་ལ་
དགས་ལ་ཚར་ཏེ་ལོག་ཙ་ན་འདི་ཟེར།

895 From there he came as a trader and from here he went empty-handed. (Of a man who spends all his earnings and returns home empty-handed.)

༨༩༦ ཨ་པའི་རེས་དང་ཀྱལ་བུའི་རེས། ཀྱལ་བུ་ས་ལ་རྡབ་རེས་རེད། ཕར་ལན་སྐོར་དུ་སུ་ཟེར།
ཁྱི་ཡོད་དུས་ཀྱལ་པ་ཀྱབ་ཏུ་འཛོགས། དེའི་ཉང་ཁྱི་མེད་པ་དང་ཕ་ཕོང་ལ་རྡབ།

896 It is now the turn of father and his leather bag. His turn to throw down the leather bag. (When a man expresses his desire for revenge.)

༨༩༧ ཨ་ཅེ་ཛོ་ཛོའི་འགྲུལ་བཟོ་ལ་ལྟ་ལྟ། བོ་མོ་ང་རང་གི་འགྲུལ་བཟོ་ཡང་བཞག། རྒན་པ་ཞིག་
གི་དཔེ་བྱས་ནས་རང་གི་དེ་ཡང་རྗེད་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

897 Through watching the way in which the elderly lady walked, I myself forgot how to walk.

༨༩༨ ཨ་ཉེ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་ཨ་ཕུ། རོམ་ཁང་གི་ཁ་ལེབ། བྱན་ཆེན་ཅན་ཆུང་རྒྱུན་དུ་འཁྲབ་པའི་སྒོ་ནས་
ཨ་ཕུ་ཚེར་ཀས་ཤིའོ་ཟེར།

898 The husband of two wives is like the cover of a grave. (When a man marries two wives.)

༨༩༩ ཨ་ཕ་ལ་སྦྲུལ་གྱིས་འཐམས་པ། བུ་ཐག་པ་ཁྲ་བོ་ལ་འཇིགས། སྔོན་གྱི་དྲིད་པ་འཁུར་བ་ལ་
ཟེར།

899 Father was bitten by a snake, and his son was afraid at the mixed coloured rope. (Equivalent to 'once bitten, twice shy'.)

༩༠༠ ཨ་ཕ་ཅི་ཟ་དང་ཨ་མ་ཅི་གོན། ཕྲུ་གུ་མང་པོ་ཡོད་པའི་ཕ་མ་ལ་དེ་ལྟར་གཏང་དགོས་སོ་ཟེར།

900 Father, what shall I eat? Mother, what shall I wear? (Of parents who have many children.)

༩༠༡ ཨ་ཕ་ཤེ་ཡིན་བསམས་པ་ཡིན་ན། རྟ་རྒན་ཞིག་ལ་ཅི་ལ་མ་བཙོང་ངས། སྔོན་སྔོན་ལ་མ་ཤེས་
པར་ཕྱིས་ཧྲུ་ཧྲུགས་འཇུང་ན་ཟེར།

901 Why did I not sell father for an old horse?

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༩༠༢ ཨ་མ་ཤི་པས། ཀུ་རྟག་པོ་བཀྲ་ཤུས་ཤུས། མགོ་རེ་བྱེད་པ་ཤི་ནས་སྤྲུ་གུས་རང་འཐད་བྱེད་ཅིང་རྒྱུགས་ན་ཟེར།

902 After its mother died, the colt's coat became glossy (i.e. when their parents die, children think they can do whatever they like).

༩༠༣ ཨ་མ་མེད་ན་གཉེན་མེད། བྲ་བོ་མེད་ན་བཟན་མེད། ཨ་མ་ཤི་ནས་གཉེན་མི་འཁོར་བ་ལྟར། བྲ་བོ་མེད་ན་ཟན་མེད་ཟེར།

903 When mother dies, there are no relatives; when there is no buckwheat, there is no meal.

༩༠༤ ཨམ་འཐིད་རི་སྤུ་ལ་བཙོས། བཟན་པོད་མེད་པ་ལྟར་གཞན་ནོར་ཟ་ན་ཟེར།

904 To perform the act of swallowing (i.e. making away with other people's wealth).

༩༠༥ ཨ་མའི་འོ་མ། ཐོབ་གཤའ་བའི་མི་ལ་ནོར་ཐོབ་ན་ཟེར།

905 Mother's milk. (When a man gets possessions which are rightly due to him.)

༩༠༦ ཨ་ཞང་འབྱུང་ན་ཚ་བོའི་དཔལ། ཚ་བོ་འབྱུང་ན་ཨ་ཞང་གི་དཔལ། གཉིས་ཀ་འབྱུང་ན་ཀུན་གྱི་དཔལ། རང་གི་ནང་ནས་མི་མགོ་ཆོད་ཅིག་འཐོན་ན་དེ་ལྟར་ཟེར།

906 If an uncle is exalted, it is his nephew's glory; if a nephew is raised to dignity, it is his uncle's glory, and if both are honoured, it is the glory of all.

༩༠༧ ཨ་བའི་དུས་ལ་བསགས། བུ་ཚའི་དུས་ལ་དགོས། དོན་དེ་ན་ཡིན།

907 In father's time riches were accumulated, but in his son's time they were needed.

Miscellaneous Proverbs.

༩༠༨ ཁས་མཛང་བཙོ་ཅེས། གྲོད་པའི་ཡི་ཆད། ཁ་ནས་མི་ཟ་ཟེར་ནས་ལྟོགས་རི་ལ་ལུས་ན་ཟེར།

908 If your mouth remains closed, your stomach will suffer disappointment.

༩༠༩ ཁྲོམ་མཇུག་འཐབ་མོས་སྟུད།

909 A fight occurred on the verge of the crowd.

༩༡༠ འཁྱགས་པ་གསང་ཡང་། མངོན་སྦུམ་འདར།

910 Though you conceal being cold, you are actually shivering.

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༩༡༡ སྣག་ཅིག་རྒྱབས་པ། མཐོ་བ་རིག་སོང་། རྔང་ཟད་མགོ་བསྐོར་ཐོག་པས། སྔར་ལས་དྲག་པ་སོང་ཟེར།

911 If you stumble over an obstacle, the higher you go (i.e. though you may have been deceived, subsequently the more influential you will become).

༩༡༢ རྒན་མོ་འཁྲུན་ཏེ་འཚེར། ཕྲུག་གུ་ངུས་ཏེ་འཚེར།

912 An old woman dies groaning, and the child grows up crying.

༩༡༣ སྔ་མོའི་ཟབ་ཅབ་སང་། ཕྱི་ཐོག་གི་སྤྲོ་རག་རྒྱལ།

913 Better the leavings of last night's supper than a very light breakfast.

༩༡༤ ངའི་ཨ་མ་ལ་འགོང་མོ་གདོན་ན་ཡོད་སུས་ཡང་མི་ཟེར།

914 No one will say, 'My mother is possessed of a devil'.

༩༡༥ ཉ་ཆུ་དང་བྲལ་མཁན་ཚོགས། སྐྱིད་པོ་སོགས་དང་འབྲལ་ན་ཟེར།

915 Like a fish out of the water. (Of a man who is separated from his friends.)

༩༡༦ རྔང་ཡང་མི་ཤེས། སྐྱུག་ཡང་མི་ཤེས། ཐེ་ཚོམ་ནང་དུ་ཅི་བྱེད་མི་ཤེས་ན་ཟེར།

916 I neither know how to go to stool nor how to vomit. (When a man is in doubt and cannot decide what to do.)

༩༡༧ མཐོ་དྲུག་ཀུན་ལ་མཛེས། ཕོ་གོས་ཀྱི་རིང་ཐུང་ལ་ཟེར།

917 A garment six spans long fits everyone. (Of the proper length of a man's garment.)

༩༡༨ སྤྲང་པོ་ལམ་ལ་མི་འཆམ། ཁྱི་ཁྱི་གཞོང་སྟོང་པ་ལ་མི་འཆམ།

918 Beggars will fight for the right of way, and dogs for an empty trough.

༩༡༩ སྲང་ཁྱི་ཐོག་ཁར་བཞག་ན། ནམ་མཁའི་སྐར་མ་ལ་ཡང་འཆང་།

919 If you put a street dog on your roof, he will paw at the stars of the sky.

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༩༢༠ ཕོ་སྙིང་ཀྱང་རྒྱབ་ལ་དཔུང་ཞིག་དགོས། མོ་མཛེས་ཀྱང་པང་ལ་བུ་ཞིག་དགོས། དོན་དེ་ན་ཡིན།

920 Even a courageous man needs a supporter and a mother needs a child to nurse.

༩༢༡ པ་ཏ་ཨ་ལིའི་མཛོ་ཤི་པ། ཡུལ་གྱི་ནད་དག།

921 The dzo of Pata-Ali died and the disease in the village was cured.

༩༢༢ ཕྱུག་པོ་ནོར་གྱིས་མི་འགང་། རྒྱ་མཚོ་ཆུ་ཡིས་མི་འགང་། མི་ཞིག་ནོར་ལ་མི་འཚེམ་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

922 Riches do not satisfy the wealthy, nor does water fill the ocean. (Of riches which cannot completely satisfy a man's longing for wealth.)

༩༢༣ བྲག་ལ་འདུག་སྟེ། བྲག་ལ་རྐྱག་པ།

923 He who rested near the rock and then polluted it. (Of a man who defiles the thing or person which helps him.)

༩༢༤ བུད་མེད་ཀྱི་གྲོས་མགོ་ར་ཡི་ལམ་སྣ། ཐལ་བའི་ལྷ་རྫས། མར་གྱི་ཉི་འོད།

924 Asking advice of a woman is akin to the leading of a goat, and offering earth as a sacrificial thing to the deity, and putting an oil lamp in the sun.

༩༢༥ དབང་ཅན་དང་ཤེད་མ་འགྲན། གྲོད་མོ་ཆེ་དང་སྡེར་མ་གཅིག། དོན་གཉིས་ཀ་དེ་ན་ཡིན།

925 Don't match your strength with the mighty, nor share the same dish with a glutton.

༩༢༦ མི་ལ་ནོར་དང་ནོར་ལ་བདག་པོ་དགོས།

926 Man needs wealth and wealth needs an owner.

༩༢༧ མི་ངན་ཞིག་ལ་རེ་བ་སང་། བྲག་བཟང་ཞིག་ལ་འཐམ་ན་རྒྱལ། མི་ངན་ལ་རེ་བ་བས། དཀགས་པོ་ཞིག་སྐྱོང་ན་རྒྱལ་ཟེར།

927 It is much better to climb a steep rock than to entreat a bad man.

༩༢༨ མི་ལྟོགས་དང་གནམ་འཆམ། དབུལ་པོས་ཞིང་ལས་བྱེད་དུས་གནམ་འཁོར་འགྱུར་ན་ཟེར།

928 The hungry man and bad weather meet together. (When the poor plough their fields and the weather changes.)

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༩༢༩ མི་མཉམ་ཅིའུ་ཁྲ་དང་འགྲན་ན། ནམ་མཁའ་བྱ་སྤུས་ཁེངས་པའི་ངན་ལྟས་ཡིན།

929 It is a bad omen to fill the sky with feathers when a sparrow matches his strength with a kite.

༩༣༠ མཛའ་བོས་མ་ནི་གཏང་མི་གཏང༌། རྟ་རྒོད་མས་མ་ནི་འཕང་མི་འཕང༌།

930 If I suffer injury, it will be through my friend; if I am thrown, it will be by my mare.

༩༣༡ ཛ་མ་དང་ཛ་མ་ཛ་ཐུག།

931 The earthen pots touched each other. (When intimate relations disagree.)

༩༣༢ ཞག་གསུམ་སྡོད་པའི་དབང་མེད་ཀྱང༌། ལོ་གསུམ་སྡོད་པའི་གྲལ་སྒྲིག་དགོས།

932 Though you have no power to stay for three days, you ought to arrange to stay for three years.

༩༣༣ ཟླ་དཀར་བ་ཟླ་སྟོད། ཕ་མ་རྩང་བ་ཚེ་སྟོད།

933 The bright moon shines at the beginning of the month, and the living of parents happens at the age of youth.

༩༣༤ རང་ཡུལ་བཙོན་ཁང་ཡིན་ནའང་སྐྱིད།

934 Though one's own country is like a prison, one can enjoy oneself.

༩༣༥ རི་ཆེ་ས་ན་གཡང་ཆེ། ཁེ་ཆེ་ས་ན་ཉེན་ཆེ།

935 Where there is a high mountain there is a deep precipice—where there is great gain, there is risk of great loss.

༩༣༦ རོ་མགོ་མེད་ལ་གསོ་ཐབས་མེད།

936 You cannot bring to life a corpse without a head.

༩༣༧ མི་ལ་མིང་དང་མཚོན་ལ་ཡུ་བ།

937 As a weapon has a handle, so a man has a name.

༩༣༨ ཤིང་རྒྱལ་ལ་མར་སྐུ་ཅེས།

938 To smear butter on a noble tree (i.e. to waste good material to no purpose).

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༩༣༩ བསམ་པ་མེད་པའི་གཉིད་ལོག་ན། ཏོག་ཆུང་ཁྲོལ་ལེ་ལ་ཉི་མ་སྔས་མགོར་ཤར།

939 If you sleep without thinking, the sun shines on the pillow at Tokchung-khrole (Stok village).

༩༤༠ སྤྲོ་ཁྲི་ལ་ཡོད་ན། ཐལ་ལྕག་རང་གི་བུ་ལ། གཞན་ཞིག་གི་ཁྲིར་སྤྲོ་ཡོངས་ཏེ་རང་ལྷུག་ལ་རྡུང་ན་ཟེར།

940 You, being angry with another, give a blow to your child.

༩༤༡ ཟངས་འགོག་རྒྱབ་ན། བེར་འགོག་འཐོག།

941 When you threw the copper pot you were hit by a big stick.

༩༤༢ ཧ་གོ་བའི་མི་ལ་ཟེར་བདེ། ཤིང་འཛེར་པ་ཅན་ལ་འཛེགས་བདེ། གོ་མཁན་གྱི་མི་ལ་ཟེར་ན་ཉན་ནོ་ཟེར།

942 It is easy to speak to a person of understanding and to climb up a tree having knobs or branches.

༩༤༣ ཨ་ཕ་ཚྭ་ཁ་ལ་ཆ་ན། ཨ་མ་ལ་ཚྭ་དགོས་ཅི་ཡོད།

943 If father goes to the salt mine, why should the mother worry for salt ?

༩༤༤ ཨོག་མའི་ནང་ལ་འཁད་པའི་རུས་ཟེལ་ཚོགས།

944 Like the bone which stuck in his throat.

༩༤༥ གཏམ་ངོས་ལ་སྐྲ་ལོ་རྒྱབ་ལ།

945 Speech must be conducted face to face, and the hair plaited down the back.

༩༤༦ བཟན་མ་ཕྱི་རུ་ཟོས་ནས། སྒོ་ང་ནང་དུ་གཏང་།

946 Grain is eaten outside and eggs are laid in the house.

༩༤༧ ཐབས་ལ་མཁས་ན་ཤེས་རབ་མེད་ཀྱང་མེད།

947 If one is wise in contrivance, it does not matter if one has no knowledge.

༩༤༨ རིག་པ་དྭངས་ན་ངོ་འཛུམ་ནག་ནའང་ནག།

948 To have an ugly face does not matter if he possesses clear wisdom.

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༩༤༩ སྐྱིད་པོ་འབྱུང་ན་བསོད་བདེ་མེད་ཀྱང་མེད།

949 If happiness betides, fortune or luck is unnecessary.

༩༥༠ རྟ་ཤ་ཟོས་ཏེ་ཁ་མཆུ་ལོག་ནའང་ལོག།

950 Eating horseflesh, it does not much matter if the muzzle is turned inside out.

༩༥༡ རང་དོན་འགྲུབ་ན་ཆ་ལུགས་ངན་ཡང་ངན།

951 Though my methods are faulty. I have accomplished my purpose.

༩༥༢ གསེར་ས་འོག་ཏུ་ཡོད་ཀྱང་། མདངས་ནམ་མཁའ་ལ་ཁྱབ།

952 Although gold is under the earth, its brightness covers the sky. (The meaning is that when a man is efficient, his quality becomes known.)

༩༥༣ བཀའ་དྲིན་ལ་བསམ་ཤེས་དང་དྲིན་ལན་ལ་ངང་འཇལ།

953 To remember kindness is to return good for it.

༩༥༤ སྟེང་རྡོ་མ་ལྗིད་ན་འོག་རྡོ་འཕར།

954 If the upper millstone is not heavy enough, the lower stone moves. (The meaning is that if a man cannot control his wife, she becomes proud.)

༩༥༥ རང་ངོས་ལ་རྟ་རྒྱུག་པ་མི་མཐོང་། མི་དངོས་ལ་ཤིག་རྒྱུག་པ་མཐོང་།

955 The running of a horse in front of you is not seen, but the motion of a louse in front of another is seen.

༩༥༦ ཕོ་ཟོས་ནས་མི་འཕུང་ཉལ་ན་འཕུང་།

956 A man does not become ruined by eating, but by sleeping.

༩༥༧ ཡ་རབས་ཕྱག་དང་ཞེ་ས་མཁས། མ་རབས་གཉིད་དང་གྲོད་པ་ཆེ།

957 The courteous are wise in salutation and respect, and the uncouth are full of sleep and have a big belly.

༩༥༨ དམའ་ས་འཛིན་ན་མཐོ་ས་ཐོབ།

958 If a low place is chosen, a high place is acquired.

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༩༥༩ བོ་བ་མེད་པའི་གླང་ཆེན་ལ་རྒྱལ་པོའི་བཀའ་ལས་དབྱུག་པ་ཆེན།

959 To a stupid elephant a club is more effective than the command of a king.

༩༦༠ ནང་བཀྲ་མ་ཤིས་ན་ཕྱིའི་དོན་མི་འགྲུབ།

960 When one's home is not blessed, one's external object is not fulfilled.

༩༦༡ བྱམས་པ་ཕྱེད་ན་དགྲ་ཡང་གཉེན་ལ་འགྲོ། རྩུབ་ཚོད་མ་ཟིན་བུ་ཡང་ཞེན་པ་ལོག།

961 If one does not discriminate when being harsh, even one's own son will be disgusted, but if you love your enemy, he will become your friend.

༩༦༢ མི་ངན་སྤུངས་སྡེབ་ན་བཟང་པོ་མཐའ་ལ་བུད།

962 If the wicked are collected in a body, the good have to make their escape.

༩༦༣ ཉེས་པ་ཅན་ལ་ཉེས་པ་མ་གཏང་ན། ཡུལ་གྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་དེ་ལ་ཉེས་པ་ཐོག།

963 If the guilty are not punished, the monarch of a country should be charged with crime.

༩༦༤ ལན་གཅིག་རྫུན་དུ་སྨྲ་བ་དེ་བདེན་པར་སྨྲ་ཡང་དོགས་པ་སྐྱེ།

964 If a lie is once told, it is not believed even if it is true; or, if one has once told a lie, he is not believed even if he tells the truth.

༩༦༥ མི་མང་རྡུབ་ན་གཡག་ཆེན་སྒྱེལ།

965 If a number of men attack a large yak, it will fall.

༩༦༦ སྐྱེ་ལུགས་གཅིག་ལ་ཤི་ལུགས་བརྒྱ།

966 Birth is of one kind, but death comes in a hundred ways.

༩༦༧ སྐུ་ཡ་རབས་ལ་སྤྱོད་པ་མ་རབས།

967 He who was of high rank was a bad character.

༩༦༨ ཟ་རྒྱུ་འཐུང་རྒྱུ་མང་ན་དགའ། ལབ་རྒྱུ་སྐྱིང་རྒྱུ་ཉུང་ན་དགའ།

968 It is well to have much food and drink and to talk less.

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༩༦༩ མང་གྲགས་ན་རྒྱལ་པོའི་སྙན་སྣང་། ཉུང་གྲགས་ན་བློན་པོའི་བརྡ་མ་ཁྲོལ།

969 Much talking is shocking to the ear of the king, and speaking a little is not sufficient for the comprehension of the minister of State.

༩༧༠ མཐོན་པོ་རྒུད་ན་དར་ལས་འཇམ།

970 If the powerful become weak or indigent, they become softer than silk.

༩༧༡ མི་ངན་རེངས་ན་ཤིང་ལས་སྲོང་།

971 If the wicked are proud, they are harder than wood.

༩༧༢ མཐོ་བ་མཐོ་ཚད་མ་འཛིན་ན། ཉི་ཟླ་གཟའ་ཡིས་འཛིན་ཡོད།

972 If the exalted are not satisfied with their own position, they will be seized as the sun and moon, which are seized by rahula.

༩༧༣ དམའ་བ་དམའ་ཚོད་མ་ཟིན་ན། ཉ་མོ་ལྕགས་ཀྱུས་འཛིན་ཡོད།

973 If the lowly are discontented with their position in life, they will be caught like fish in fishing hooks (i.e. there must be a limit to humility).

༩༧༤ གཏམ་ཚོ་མེད་ནམ་མཁའི་ལྟོང་ལ་ཕྱིན། མི་གནོངས་ཅན་ཞིག་གི་མགོ་ལ་འཐོག།

974 Foolish or nonsensical talk reaches the atmospheric spaces and strikes the head of a guilty man.

༩༧༥ ཐོ་བ་ལ་མཉེན་མེད་ན། ལྕགས་ལ་ཤུན་ལངས།

975 If the hammer lacks weight, the iron itself will rise. (Of those who cannot exert discipline or authority.)

༩༧༦ མི་རྐུ་བསམ་པའི་རྐུས་པའི་རྣམ་གྲངས་མེད།

976 There are instances that they, who are not believed to steal, commit theft.

༩༧༧ མཁས་པ་ཅི་ཙམ་ཐབས་བརྟུགས་ཀྱང་། བླུན་པོས་འདུག་པའི་ལམ་མི་འགྲོ།

977 Although the prudent be destitute of means or plans, they will not take the course showed by the ignorant.

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༩༧༨ ཤེས་རབ་ལྡན་པ་མགོ་བསྐོར་ཀྱང་། བྱ་བའི་ཆ་ལ་རྨོངས་མི་འགྱུར།

978 Although the wise cheat, they will not be ignorant of acting.

༩༧༩ ཐབས་ལ་མཁས་ན་ཆེན་པོ་ཡང་། བྲན་དུ་བཀོལ་བ་ག་ལ་དཀའ།

979 If one is wise in devising, there is no difficulty in employing a noble as a servant.

༩༨༠ མ་བསྐུལ་གཞན་གྱིས་མ་སྨྲས་པར། བསམ་པ་ཤེས་ན་མཁས་པ་ཡིན།

980 He is wise who foresees a thing without admonition from another.

༩༨༡ སྨྲས་ཤིང་བསྐུལ་བར་གྱུར་པ་ན། དུད་འགྲོ་ལ་ཡང་གོ་བ་སྐྱེ།

981 If explanation and admonition are needed, even animals can understand.

༩༨༢ མཁས་པ་ཡོན་ཏན་དཔག་མེད་ཀྱང་། གཞན་གྱི་ཡོན་ཏན་ཆུང་ངུའང་ལེན།

982 The wise accept the little learning of others, though they themselves are extremely intellectual.

༩༨༣ སྐྱེ་བོ་དམ་པ་རྒུད་ན་ཡང་། སྤྱོད་པའི་ཁྱད་པར་ལྷག་པར་མཛེས།

983 Though the men of holiness decline, they are rendered glorious by their good actions.

༩༨༤ དམ་པའི་ཡོན་ཏན་སྦས་གྱུར་ཀྱང་། འཇིག་རྟེན་ཀུན་ལ་ཁྱབ་པར་གསལ།

984 Though virtuous action or doctrine is kept concealed, it lightens the whole world.

༩༨༥ སྣལ་མའི་མེ་ཏོག་ལེགས་བཀབ་ཀྱང་། དྲི་ཞིམ་ཀུན་ཏུ་ཁྱབ་པར་འགྱུར།

985 Even if fragrant flowers are covered, they diffuse sweet odour everywhere.

༩༨༦ རྒྱལ་པོ་རང་ཡུལ་ཆེ་བ་ཙམ། དམ་པ་གང་དུ་ཕྱིན་སར་བཀུར།

986 The virtuous are honoured wherever they go, but a king is great only in his country.

༩༨༧ དམ་པ་རྣམས་དང་ཕལ་པ་ལ། བྱས་པ་མཉམ་ཡང་དྲིན་མི་འདྲ།

987 Though the act done to both the virtuous and the vulgar is equal or alike, the return of kindness is different.

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༩༨༨ དམ་པ་སྲོག་ལ་བབས་ན་ཡང་། རང་བཞིན་བཟང་པོ་ག་ལ་འདོར།

988 Even if the honest meet with death, they never abandon their own nature.

༩༨༩ རྟག་ཏུ་གཞན་དོན་མི་སེམས་པ། དེ་ཡི་སྤྱོད་པ་ཕྱུགས་དང་མཚུངས།

989 The deeds of those who never think continually of the interest of others, resemble those of beasts.

༩༩༠ བཟའ་བཏུང་འབའ་ཞིག་དུད་འགྲོས་ཀྱང་། སྒྲུབ་པར་ནུས་པ་མ་ཡིན་ནམ།

990 Eating and drinking alone can be accomplished even by beasts.

༩༩༡ ལྟོ་འགྲངས་འབའ་ཞིག་དོན་གཉེར་བ། སྤུ་མེད་པ་ཡི་ཕག་པ་ཡིན།

991 To strive after food only, is like a pig with no hair.

༩༩༢ དམ་པ་ཁྲོས་ཀྱང་བཏུད་ན་ཞི། དམན་ལ་བཏུད་ན་ལྷག་པར་རེངས།

992 The virtuous, though angry, become calm when bowed to, but fools become more proud when honoured.

༩༩༣ སྐྱེས་མཆོག་རང་གི་སྐྱོན་ལ་རྟོག། སྐྱེ་བོ་ངན་པས་གཞན་སྐྱོན་འཚོལ།

993 The good are aware of their own faults, but the wicked seek out the faults of others.

༩༩༤ དམ་པ་དུལ་བས་རང་གཞན་སྐྱོང་། ངན་པ་རེངས་པས་རང་གཞན་སྡུག།

994 The virtuous are meek, so govern themselves and others well, but the wicked, being proud, hurt or trouble themselves and others.

༩༩༥ འབྱོར་བའི་དུས་ན་ཐམས་ཅད་གཉེན། གལ་ཏེ་རྒུད་ན་ཀུན་ཀྱང་དགྲ།

995 In prosperity all become friendly, but in poverty all become enemies.

༩༩༦ རིན་ཆེན་གླིང་དུ་རིང་ནས་འདུ། མཚོ་སྐམ་པ་ནི་སུ་ཡང་སྤོང་།

996 All gather at a precious continent from afar, and every one avoids a dried up lake.

༩༩༧ མཁས་པ་མཁས་པའི་ནང་ན་མཛེས། བླུན་པོས་མཁས་པ་ཇི་ལྟར་གོ།

997 The wise are sufficient unto themselves; how can fools understand the wise.

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༩༩༨ ཁྱི་རྒན་ཀུ་ཅོ་འདོན་པ་ན། རྒྱུ་མཚན་མེད་པར་གཞན་དག་རྒྱུག །

998 When an old dog howls, other dogs run after him without knowing why.

༩༩༩ སྐྱེ་བོ་དམ་པ་རིན་ཆེན་བཞིན། རྣམ་པ་ཀུན་ཏུ་འགྱུར་ལྡོག་མེད།

999 The upright like a precious stone never change at all.

༡༠༠༠ ཉམས་ཆུང་གྱུར་ཀྱང་ཟོན་བྱེད་ན། ཆེན་པོ་ཡིས་ཀྱང་གཞོམ་པར་དཀའ །

1000 If the humble are on their guard, it is difficult for the great to overcome them.

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ARTICLE No. 7.

The Epic of King Kesar of Ling.

By GEORGE N. ROERICH.

For more than a century the Kesar Epic, the heroic saga of Tibet and Mongolia, had been known to students of folklore, but up to now our knowledge of the various versions of this epic, its genesis, and its influence on the epos of Tibetan and Mongolian nomad tribes, has not advanced very far. This unsatisfactory state of affairs is mainly due to the inaccessibility of the Tibetan uplands, and the impossibility of making a survey of all the existing versions of the Tibetan epic of king Kesar of Ling. Without such a preliminary survey it is impossible to approach the intricate question of the origin of the Kesar Epic, and its date, or the problem of the Mongol versions and its translation into Mongolian. The first information about king Kesar (Geser∼Gessĕr in Mongolian) had been brought back to Europe by the explorer P. S. Pallas who gave a description of a Kesar temple (P. S. Pallas: Reisen durch verschiedene Provinzen des russischen Reiches, 1771–1776, St. Petersburg, III, pp. 118-9; also Pallas: Sammlungen historischer Nachrichten ueber die mongolischen Voelkerschaften, St. Petersburg, 1776–1801, I, p. 224). A little later Benjamin Bergmann in his 'Nomadische Streifereien unter der Kalmucken', vol. II, Riga, 1804, pp. 205–214; vol. IV, Riga, 1805, pp. 181–214, gave the translation of two chapters (the VIII-th and the IX-th) of the Kesar Epic. E. Timkovsky, who travelled through Mongolia to Peking in 1820-1, gave a brief account of the same two chapters (Kesar's fight with the twelve-headed demon, his return to Ling, and his fight with Andalma-xan) in his 'Putešestvie v Kitai čerez Mongoliyu v 1820 i 1821 gg.', St. Petersburg, vol. I, 1824, pp. 281–297 (there exists an English translation of this work published in London in 1827 with notes by J. Klaproth). The Academician J. Klaproth published in 1823 in the 'Severniy Arkhiv' in St. Petersburg an article on Kesar-Geser, and established his identity with Kuan-ti or Kuan-yü, the hero of the well-known Chinese historical novel San-Kuo-chih. In 1839 the Academician I. J. Schmidt published a German translation of the Mongol version of the Kesar Epic printed in Peking (177 pages) in 1716 by order of the Emperor K'ang-hsi ('Die Thaten Bogda Gesser Chan's', St. Petersburg, 1839 (a reprint of this edition appeared in 1925 in the series 'Die heiligen Buecher des Nordens,' I, Berlin). This version contained the first seven chapters of the Kesar Epic, and has been recently retranslated into Russian by S. A. Kozin ('Geseriada', Moscow, 1935). An excellent analysis of the epic had been given by

W. Schott in his essay 'Ueber die Sage von Geser-Chan' in the Abhandlungen der Berliner Akademie, 1851, pp. 263–295. These were the first works on the epic of king Kesar (Geser) which established the existence in Tibet and Mongolia of a voluminous epos. Already Grimm correctly pointed out that the epic must have originated among the nomad tribes of the Tibetan upland. The earliest works dealt with the Mongol version of the epic. A Tibetan version was known to exist, but very little was known about it. In 1884–1886 the well-known Russian explorer of Tibet and Mongolia, G. N. Potanin, succeeded in writing down fragments of an Amdo (North-East Tibet) version of the Kesar Epic ('Tangutsko-Tibetskaya Okraina Kitaya', St. Petersburg, 1893, vol. II, pp. 3ff.). This was followed in 1900 by the publication by the late Rev. A. H. Francke of a West Tibetan version of the epic ('Der Fruehling und Wintermythus der Kesarsage': Beitraege zur Kenntnis der vorbuddhistischen Religion Tibets und Ladakhs: Mémoires de la Société Finno-Ougrienne, XV, Helsingfors).[1] We now know that the epic exists in Western Tibet (Ladak, Zangskar, Rupshu, Lahul-Garž'a, Spiti), and throughout the nomad belt of Northern Tibet, and is especially popular among the tribes of the North-East and Eastern Tibet or Kham.

The epic exists in Tibet in oral and manuscript form, and certain chapters of it exist in printed form also. The existence of a printed version of the Kesar Epic had been long denied. Sir Charles Bell in his 'The People of Tibet' (Oxford, 1928), p. 10, stated that there did not exist a printed version of it. A similar statement had been made by Madame A. David-Neel, the well-known French explorer of Tibet, who quoted the opinion of the present Chief of Ling (gLiṅ) in North-East Tibet (A. David-Neel and Lama Yongden: 'La Vie surhumaine de Guésar de Ling', Paris, 1931, p. xvi). A printed version of the epic in a somewhat abridged and 'edited' form does exist. The Museum fuer Voelkerkunde in Berlin possesses one printed volume (out of three), secured by the brothers Schlagintweit. The late Dr. Berthold Laufer (*JAOS*, vol. 52, 1 (1932), p. 95) mentions an edition of the Kesar Epic in three volumes printed

[1] This West Tibetan version was obtained by Francke from the village of Sheh in Ladak. Another Ladaki or West Tibetan version, different in detail but similar in the story and in spirit, was obtained by Francke from the village of Khalatse, and the Khalatse version, in the original Ladaki dialect, with English abstracts and notes, was taken up for publication by the Asiatic Society of Bengal and was in print as early as 1905–1909. This has at last been published in 1941, eight years after Dr. Francke's death in 1933, from the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, together with an English rendering of the entire Sheh version, and Index of Names and other connected literature compiled and collected by Francke and published in the *Indian Antiquary* of 1901 and 1902, and with an *Introduction* on the Kesar Saga by Prof. Suniti Kumar Chatterji, and Francke's *Preface*.

in Lhasa. I have never come across this edition of the epic, but had seen printed editions from Kham in Eastern Tibet of the chapter 'The war against the Hor tribes' (Hor-dmag-skor ཧོར་དམག་སྐོར). This printed version of the 'War against the Hor tribes' is somewhat shorter than the manuscript version and has been apparently edited by the 'old-believers' or rÑiṅ-ma-pas of Tibetan Buddhism. We are now in a position to state that there exist several versions of the Tibetan epic about king Kesar. Several versions of it are known to exist in the regions of North-East Tibet. At least two versions are known to exist in Amdo alone. A copy of one of the Amdo versions of the Kesar Epic had been brought back by Mr. G. N. Potanin ('Tangutsko-Tibetskaya Okraina Kitaya', II, pp. 3–44, p. 114), and is now preserved in the Public Library at Leningrad. Fragments of another version from Amdo have been recorded by myself and will be published in a forthcoming publication on the Amdo dialect. The Kesar Epic is known to exist among the Bānak (sBra-nag, or 'Black Tents') tribes of the Kuku-nor region, and among the numerous tribes of the Goloks (mgo-log), and the eastern Hor-pas. Unfortunately our knowledge of these two versions is very scant, and we are as yet unable to establish their relation to the Amdo version of the epic. Among the Bānaks Kesar is worshipped as one of the amñē (lit. Tibetan: ཨ་མྱེས A-myes) or protecting deities (W. W. Rockhill: Diary of a Journey through Mongolia and Tibet, Washington, 1894, p. 130; also his 'Land of the Lamas', p. 94). The popularity of the Kesar Epic among the Golok tribes is very great. Kesar is said to have left his miraculous sword in the land of the Goloks, and many of the mountain peaks and localities of the Golok tribal area are connected with the name of Kesar, for example, the towering snow-massif of Amñē-ma-c'en (ཨ་མྱེས་མ་ཆེན A-myes ma-chen), which dominates the whole region, is popularly called གེ་སར་ཕོ་བྲང་ Ge-sar pho-braṅ, or the 'Palace of Kesar'. Madame A. David-Neel has given us a French rendering of the Kham version of the epic ('La Vie surhumaine de Guésar de Ling', Paris, 1931), and Dr. A. Tafel had reproduced several passages of the Kesar Epic written down by him at Jyekundo in Northern Kham (A. Tafel: 'Meine Tibetreise', Leipzig, 1923, pp. 374ff.). A Tibetan version of the epic is said to exist among the Shara-yughurs of the Nanshan (Potanin: 'Tangutsko-Tibetskaya Okraina Kitaya', I, p. 442). Further West and South the epic is known throughout the nomad belt of the chang-thang (བྱང་ཐང་ byaṅ-thaṅ) or the Great Tibetan Northern Upland, among the nomad tribes of Sikhim, Bhutan, and throughout Western Tibet (the Kailāsa region, Rupshu, Lahul (Garž'a), Spiti, Zangskar and Ladak). In the region of Western Hor or Nub-Hor (the area round the Dang-La Range, North of Nag-chu-ka), it is very popular among the Hor tribes, professing the ancient Bon faith,

and I had seen myself a beautifully written manuscript of the Kesar Epic in sixteen volumes in the possession of a headman (G. Roerich: 'Trails to Inmost Asia', Yale University Press, 1931, p. 360). Further west the epic is well known among the Chang-pas (byaṅ-pa) or 'northerners' of the Great Lake Region, situated immediately north of the Trans-Himālayas (the districts of gNam-ru, Nag-tshaṅ and 'Bum-ra). The West Tibetan version has been made known by the late Rev. A. H. Francke ('Der Fruehlingsmythus der Kesar Saga; Der Wintermythus der Kesar Saga' in the Mémoires de la Société Finno-Ougrienne, vol. XV, Helsingfors; 'The Spring Myth of the Kesar Saga', *Indian Antiquary,* vol. XXX, 1901, pp. 329–341; vol. XXXI, 1902, pp. 32–40 and 147–157; 'A Lower Ladakhī Version of the Kesar Saga' in the *Bibliotheca Indica,* Calcutta, 1905–1909, parts No. 1134, 1150, 1164 and 1218).

European and American libraries possess several versions of the epic. The Library of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences possesses two versions of the Tibetan Kesar Epic (S. Kozin: 'Geseriada', Moscow, 1935, p. 223). In the United States manuscripts of the epic are to be found in the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York, and at the Library of Congress (an abridged life of Kesar presented by the late W. W. Rockhill). Complete sets of the Kesar Epic are only very seldom met with. In most cases known manuscripts of the Kesar Epic contain only separate chapters or books (called skor or rnam-thar), such as the chapters on 'The destruction of the Demon king' (བདུད་རྒྱལ bDud-rgyal), the 'Birth of Kesar', the 'War against the Hor tribes', and the 'Story of the War against king Sa-tham of the country of Jang'. By far the most popular and the most extensive is the book on the 'War against the Hor tribes'. The number of chapters in the various versions of the epic vary considerably. Some contain only the chapters on the 'Birth of Kesar', in which is included the story of his marriage, the chapter on the 'Destruction of the Demon king of the North', and the chapter on the 'War against the Hor tribes'. In some localities only separate chapters are known, for example, the chapter on the 'War against the Hor tribes'. In Amdo in North-East Tibet the following chapters are popularly known:—

(*a*) The 'Birth of King Kesar of gLiṅ'. Throughout the Amdo version Kesar is called Dzamlaŋ-saŋ (འཛམ་གླིང་ཚང་. 'Dzam-gliṅ tshaṅ).

(*b*) The 'Destruction of the Demon king of the North' (བདུད་འདུལ bDud-'dul).

(*c*) The 'War against the Hor tribes' (ཧོར་དམག་སྐོར Hor-dmag-skor).

(*d*) The 'Conquest of China' (རྒྱ་འདུལ rGya-'dul).

(*e*) The 'War against the country of Jang' (ལྗང་སྐོར lJaṅ-skor).

(*f*) The 'Conquest of the country of Mön' (མོན་འདུལ Mon-'dul).

The West Tibetan version edited by A. H. Francke contains the chapters on the 'Birth of Kesar', the story of his youth and marriage to 'Bru-gu-ma (འབྲུག་མོ 'Brug-mo of the North-East Tibetan versions), the story of Kesar's visit to China, the destruction of the Demon king of the North, and the chapter on the 'War against the Hor tribes'. It must be added that the chapter on the 'War against the country of Jang' also exists in West Tibet. In Lahul-Garž'a only two chapters are known to exist: the chapter on the 'War against the Hor tribes' and the chapter on the 'War against the country of Jang'.

Madame A. David-Neel's Kham version of the epic contains the chapters on the 'Birth of Kesar', his fight with the Demon king of the North, Kesar's return to the land of Ling and his war against the Hor tribes, his war against the country of Jang, Kesar's war against the king of the South, and against the king of sTag-gzig (Īrān).

The West Tibetan version of the epic recorded by A. H. Francke is preceded by a Prologue containing the story of the eighteen heroes (དཔའ་བོ dap'-bo) of the land of Ling, and Madame David-Neel's Kham version contains a Prologue relating the story of the search by Guru Padmasambhava for a maiden destined to become the mother of king Kesar.

The Nub-Hor version of the epic, which I had occasion to see in the land of the Western Hor-pas, is closely related to the North-East Tibetan versions.

In North-East Tibet new chapters are being constantly added to the epic. Thus in Hua-rī in Lower Amdo a monk recently composed a new song for the chapter on the 'War against the Hor tribes', describing the war preparations of the troops of the land of Ling under the command of Tsha-žaṅ lDan-ma Žaṅ-khra- the lDan-ma'i dMag-sgrigs chen-mo (ལྡན་མའི་དམག་སྒྲིགས་ཆེན་མོ), and a song on the conquest of Jang (ལྗང་འདུལ་གྱི་ཟུར་རྒྱན་ཆེན་མོ lJaṅ-'dul-gyi zur-rgyan chen-mo). In Amdo a song composed by a rñiṅ-ma-pa bla-ma sTag-šam-pa about A-stag lha-mo, the consort of the Demon king (bDud-rgyal-gyi btsun-mo), who became afterwards one of the eighteen wives of king Kesar, enjoys great popularity (verbal communication by the dGe-bšes dGe-'dun Chos-'phel).

The greater part of the Kesar Epic must have originated among the nomadic tribes of North-Eastern Tibet. This does not exclude the possibility of many motifs being derived from foreign sources. From very ancient times the nomad regions of North-Eastern Tibet had been a sort of refuge for nomad tribes

forced to retreat into the mountain fastnesses of Tibet by political upheavals in the steppe belt of Central Asia. No doubt these newcomers brought with them their tribal epics and songs, which gradually became incorporated into the Tibetan tribal epics—the epic of king Kesar, the mighty warrior king of Ling. We are still unable to disentangle the history and evolution of the epic, to distinguish between the original Tibetan background and outside motifs. The Kesar Epic shows its heroes living in a country with a semi-sedentary, semi-nomadic population. The rich possess castles (called pho-brañ or mkhar) —stone buildings with fortified walls and watch towers. The commoners live in tents, the black tents of the Tibetan nomads. The nomads tend large herds of cattle, consisting of yaks and cross-breeds between yaks and domestic cattle (Tibetan མཛོ mdzo). A favourite occupation is the hunting of the wild yak (Tibetan འབྲོང་ 'broṅ) and of the wild ass or kyang (Tibetan རྐྱང་ rkyaṅ, Equus kyang), and horse races, and combats between warriors. All these are familiar themes from the Tibetan North-East, and one can say that the epic correctly reproduces the life of the Tibetan nomads in the North-East of Tibet.

It is as yet impossible to establish the date of the Kesar Epic, as we know it, but certain aspects of it, as for example Kesar's wars against the Hor tribes (that is Turkish tribes of the North), his conquest of Eastern Tibet (war against the country of Jang), his conquest of the South (Mon-yul or the Himālayan valleys), and war against the king of the Ta-zig (the countries lying between Western Tibet and Irān), and the story of Kesar's marriage to the daughter of the Chinese Emperor, show a certain similarity to the story of the famous Tibetan king Sroṅ-btsan sgam-po. This tends to indicate that the epic of king Kesar must have originated or at least taken its present form after the Tibetan Imperial Period, that is after the first half of the ninth century A.D.

The language of the epic often influenced by the spoken dialects of Tibet does not permit any deductions as to the date of the epic and of its origin. The epic of Kesar had spread all over Tibet, and especially among the nomad tribes of the North and North-East. In each district it is being told in the local dialect, but the subject of the epic, the main episodes of king Kesar's life remain the same. Naturally there is noticeable a considerable difference in details which often had been introduced from local folklore and tribal epics. The scarcity of manuscript versions of the epic resulted in a considerable variety of oral versions which differ considerably in respect of details. In some of the versions certain traces of a North-East Tibetan origin are still discernible. The language of the oral versions is not the classical written Tibetan, it is a style closely approaching the every-day colloquial language with certain archaisms. Thus

the Ladakī version edited by A. H. Francke in the *Bibliotheca Indica* has been chanted in the spoken dialect of Ladak. Generally speaking, the style of the language of the oral versions depends a great deal on the degree of literacy of the rhapsodist. Rhapsodists with a good knowledge of the literary language endeavour to preserve the literary character of the language, whereas those, who had learnt the epic by heart during recitals are apt to use their own dialect.

The manuscript versions of the Kesar Epic found in Tibet exhibit definite similarities to the North-East Tibetan versions. The oral versions seem to be an outgrowth of the manuscript versions, much enlarged and furnished with a wealth of details not to be found in the manuscript versions. From the point of view of the language, the manuscript versions are written in a language and style which differ considerably from the classical language, and show great similarity with the style and language of Tibetan songs and ballads many of which go back to the pre-Buddhist period. The language of the manuscript-versions points towards the North-East of Tibet and Kham (present tense forms in གདའ་བ gda'-ba, past tense forms in thel, and vocabulary. Ex. the a-gu of the Ladakī version which represents a local pronunciation of the Tibetan ཨ་ཁུ A-khu 'uncle', as shown by Dr. B. Laufer). The frequent use of the word in the West Tibetan version may be an indication of its East Tibetan origin. A-khu or uncle is a common form of addressing people in the East and North-East of Tibet (Amdo: a-k'ï).

The language of printed versions stands nearer to the classical form of the Tibetan language.

The similarity of the main episodes indicates the existence of a primitive Kesar Epic which must have originated among the Tangut and Tibetan tribes of the North-East. I venture to propose the following stages in the evolution of the Kesar Epic:—

1. Primitive Kesar Epic—an heroic epic which originated among the Tangut and Tibetan tribes of the North-East.

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2. Manuscript Versions of the epic (in some of the extant versions Buddhist elements predominate).

3. Printed abridged version of the epic, edited by Rñiṅ-ma-pa lamas in Kham (Derge-rDzogs-chen dgon-pa).	4. Oral Versions of the epic strongly coloured by local folklore.

The Kesar Epic in its primitive form must have represented an heroic nomad epos. It is as yet impossible to establish which of the known parts belonged to the primitive epic, but it seems probable that the accounts of king Kesar's wars against the Hor tribes, that is the Turkish tribes of Central Asia, the war against the country of Jang, and the Southern Himālayan valleys, as well as the descriptions of the battles and contests between famous warriors belong to an ancient nomad epos, and must have formed part of the primitive epic song about king Kesar. Gradually the original outline of the epic became enriched with a wealth of details borrowed from local folklore, and it has been pointed out that the epic of king Kesar contains many parallels to European folklore. The original story of the epic had been closely interwoven by fairy-tale motifs. The Tibetan versions consist of prose and extensive passages in verse. In the oral versions the passages in verse seem to predominate, and it seems more than probable that the original epic of Kesar consisted of passages in verse. It is also noteworthy that most of the archaisms found in the language of the epic are found precisely in the versified portions. Whereas all the known versions of the Tibetan Kesar Epic show considerable similarity in the main episodes of the epic, the local versions differ considerably in respect of details. Some of the versions had been doubtlessly 're-edited' in a Buddhist milieu, others, as for example the West Tibetan version recorded by the late Dr. A. H. Francke, show an unmistakable imprint of local West Tibetan folklore. A. H. Francke was of the opinion that the epic was closely related to the pre-Buddhist mythology of Tibet and even attempted to interpret it in terms of a nature mythology (spring and winter myths). G. N. Potanin on the other hand insisted on its epic character, and even expressed the opinion that the epic must have originated among Turkish tribes of Central Asia, and compared it to the Alexander-romance (G. N. Potanin, Etnogr. Obozrenie, XXI, 2, pp. 22-3). Undoubtedly in its original form the Kesar Epic must have possessed a pre-Buddhistic background, and even in the present text of the epic one finds frequent allusions to the ancient Bon-po faith of Tibet. Thus we find often invoked the founder of the Bon-po faith gŚan-rab mi-bo (lha-skyabs-su bsdod-do Bon-gyi lha-bon ston-pa gŚan-rab bka'-drin-che ལྷ་སྐྱབས་སུ་བསྡོད་དོ་བོན་གྱི་ལྷ་བོན་སྟོན་པ་གཤེན་རབ་བཀའ་དྲིན་ཆེ). The epic knows the three main divisions or spheres of the World: sTeṅ-lha or Heaven, ruled by དབང་པོ་བརྒྱ་བྱིན dBaṅ-po brGya-byin or Śatakratu-Indra, and his consort བཀུར་དམན་རྒྱལ་མོ bKur-dman rgyal-mo (or ཨ་ནེ་བཀུར་དམན་མོ། A-ne bKur-dman-mo, also called འབུམ་ཁྲི་རྒྱལ་མོ 'Bum-khri rgyal-mo); བར་བཙན bar-btsan or མི་ཡུལ mi-yul, the World of Men, and ཡོག་ཀླུ Yog-klu, the Underworld, or the World of the Nāgas. One often finds in the text of the epic such ancient shamanistic

concepts as the 'Lofty blue sky' (གོང་སྔོན་ནམ་མཁའ Goṅ-sṅon nam-mkha'). Gradually Buddhist elements penetrated the epic Indra or brGya-byin was replaced by Guru Padmasambhava, and Kesar himself became a protector of the Buddhist faith and builder of Buddhist monasteries. At the beginning of versified portions one now finds the usual Buddhist invocation to the Tri-ratna (སྐྱབས་དཀོན་མཆོག་གསུམ་ལ་གསོལ་བ་འདེབས sKyabs-dkon-mchog gsum-la gsol-ba-'debs).

Before giving a brief outline of the contents of the epic, a few words must be said about the rhapsodists in whose midst it is preserved, and who gradually have assumed the rôle of priests or exorcists of king Kesar. Among the rhapsodists of the Kesar Epic one finds both professional itinerant rhapsodists, distinguished by a special costume, and ordinary laymen, both men and women. The recital of the epic may take anything from three to ten days. The epic is sung or often read drawlingly. A professional rhapsodist may often improvise whole passages while reciting it. I still vividly remember my experience with a rhapsodist of the Kesar Epic whom I had invited to write it down. This rhapsodist continuously improvised passages and whenever I asked him to repeat the passage sung by him, he would always sing it in a slightly different version. Professional rhapsodists seldom use manuscripts of the epic during recitals. They know it by heart and often sing it in a sort of trance. Laymen on the contrary read it from a manuscript, and seldom know it by heart, except for a few passages. Itinerant rhapsodists are distinguished by a special costume. These rhapsodists (སྒྲུང་པ sgruṅ-pa, pronounced ḍʳuŋ-pa, or སྒྲུང་བཤད sgruṅ-bšad) wear on the head a special high hat, called the 'rhapsodist's hat' or སྒྲུང་ཞྭ sgruṅ-žwa. The hat is white and is adorned with the images of the Sun and Moon. It is a pointed hat with three triangular shaped sides, edged with red. On his body a rhapsodist wears a white Tibetan coat or chu-pa. It is noteworthy that the colour of the hat and coat is white, white being the colour of the ceremonial garments worn by Bon-po priests and exorcists. An itinerant rhapsodist of the Kesar Epic always carries with him a painted image or thaṅ-ka representing the life-story of king Kesar, and an arrow adorned with multi-coloured (blue, green, yellow and red) ceremonial scarfs or kha-btags. With the help of this arrow or dā-tar (མདའ་དར mda'-dar), the rhapsodist points out the various episodes of the Kesar Epic depicted on the painting. Some of the more famous rhapsodists are accompanied on their journeys by a troop of disciples who learn the art of singing and reciting the epic. In the Amdo Province of North-East Tibet the rhapsodists of the Kesar Epic often belong to the ancient Bon faith. Very often a rhapsodist of the Kesar Epic is also well known as an exorcist. Among the Goloks and the Hor-pas of North-East Tibet the epic is

recited during funeral ceremonies. Before such a recital a flat platform is prepared and the floor is strewn with *rtsam-pa* or barley-flour. The listeners sit around the platform and the rhapsodist sits facing the platform. The recital continues for several days. It is commonly said that frequently hoof-prints appear on the platform, and these are believed to represent the hoof-prints of the mighty steed of king Kesar, invoked by the rhapsodist. Some of the rhapsodists lead a sedentary life and marry. In such cases the sons often follow their fathers and become rhapsodists in their turn. In Western Tibet, in Ladak the Kesar Epic is sung by village musicians or bedas. One of the versions of the epic recorded by Dr. A. H. Francke (his 'first manuscript') was recited by a girl of about sixteen years of age (*Indian Antiquary*, vol. XXX, 1901, p. 330). In some districts of Tibet the Kesar Epic and its singers were persecuted by the Lamaist clergy and this somewhat reflected on the popularity of the epic (king Kesar is popularly believed to be the mortal enemy of the yi-dam lCam-sriṅ). Of late, the followers of the 'old-believers' sect (rñiṅ-ma-pa) and the dGe-lugs-pas have attempted to appropriate the popular epic. In Kham among the rñiṅ-ma-pas one finds a service or cho-ga, and a ceremony of offering a gtor-ma in honour of king Kesar who is worshipped as a protector or chos-skyoṅ. In Amdo among the followers of the dGe-lugs-pa sect one often hears the unexpected statement that Tsoṅ-kha-pa himself, the Tibetan Reformer, had been once the chaplain (ཨ་མཆོད a-mchod, pronounced *amc'ol'* in Amdo) of King Kesar of Ling!

The name of king Kesar is connected with the principality of Ling (གླིང་ gLiṅ) in North-Eastern Tibet, situated to the South-East of Jyekundo, between Jyekundo and Kantse. The place was visited by A. Tafel in 1905-6 and by Madame A. David-Neel. The present-day Chief of Ling considers himself to be a descendant of king Kesar's half-brother.

Now let us give **a brief outline of the famous epic, as sung in Greater Tibet.**

The first chapter or book of the Tibetan version of the Kesar Epic contains an ACCOUNT OF THE SENDING OF KESAR ON EARTH TO COMBAT EVIL. According to some of the versions (the West Tibetan version, the North-East Tibetan (Amdo) version, and the Mongol versions) Kesar was said to have been the youngest son of brGya-byin (Śatakratu-Indra) named དོན་གྲུབ Don-grub (in the Mongol version translated by Schmidt and retranslated by Kozin, Kesar Don-grub is said to have been the middle son of Indra—Üile bütügēči or Don-grub). In the Tibetan version of the epic rendered into French by Madame A. David-Neel and the Lama Yongden, king Kesar is said to have been an envoy of Padmasambhava. According to this version Guru Rin-po-che or Padmasambhava decides to send

an envoy to the country of Ling to combat evil misfortunes. His choice falls on ཐུབ་པ་དགའ་བ Thub-pa dGa'-ba, son of འཁོར་ལོ་བདེ་མཆོག 'Khor-lo bDe-mchog and of རྡོ་རྗེ་ཕག་མོ rDo-rje Phag-mo (Vajravārāhī). This version evidently originated among the rñiṅ-ma-pas or 'old-believers' of Eastern Tibet, where the sect is still strong and possesses numerous followers in the vicinities of Derge and rDzogs-chen dgon-pa. Before descending to Ling, the future king Kesar requests the gods that he might be given a steed that 'death could not overtake', a saddle studded with precious stones, a helmet, a sword, a coat of mail, a bow and arrows, and two warriors to accompany him and assist him in his mission. Padmasambhava then proceeds to the Realm of the Nāgas in search of a nāgī girl fit to become the mother of king Kesar. His choice fell on Dzē-den (མཛེས་ལྡན mDzes-ldan). Padmasambhava orders her to be sent to Ling. On her arrival in the land of Ling, Dzē-den enters the service of the wife of Senglön (སེང་བློན Seṅ-blon. Madame David-Neel writes the name Singlen), Chief of Ling. In her jealousy Senglön's wife banishes the nāgī girl to a mountain pass, said to be haunted by evil spirits. On the way to the pass, Dzē-den fell asleep and miraculously became pregnant. On her return to Senglön's camp a boy was born to her.

According to the Amdo version the gods ལྷ་བྱིན Lha-byin and A-ne Goŋ-ˣmen jya-mo (A-ne Goṅ-sman rgyal-mo ཨ་ནེ་གོང་སྨན་རྒྱལ་མོ) first sent their eldest son to see the land of Ling, but he returned without reaching Ling. Then the second son was sent, but he also returned without having been able to see the land of Ling. Then the youngest son asked permission to put on his father's helmet and coat of mail. Having put on the coat of mail, the boy jumped into the saddle and rode off to the land of Ling. On his return Dzamlang-sang (Kesar) made a request to A-ne Goŋ-ˣmen-jya-mo, that he would not go to the land of Ling unless he be given a handful of blood from the nose of an ant, and a handful of the veins of a louse. Dzamlang did not want to leave the Realm of Gods or Lha-hyul, and therefore made this request which was difficult to comply with. Having accepted the will of the gods, Dzamlang-sang, the future king Kesar, assumed the shape of a white bird (bya dkar-po) and descended to the land of Ling. The wife of C''o-t'oŋ, one of the elders of Ling, saw as it were a large shadow descending on the land of Ling. She told her husband that the shadow must be an evil omen, and that probably Kesar was being reincarnated in Ling. One morning a son was born to Gīg-zā lha-mo (འགག་བཟའ་ལྷ་མོ 'Gag-bza' lha-mo), who received the name of Cō-re (ཅོ་རེ Co-re, also written ཆོ་རིས Cho-ris). In those days the land of Ling paid tribute in men to the Demon-ogre king. When the

chief of the demons ʷdïl'-gen (བདུད་རྒན bdud-rgan) C''am-ba Laɣ-riŋ (ཁྲམ་པ་ལག་རིང་ Khram-pa Lag-riṅ) arrived in Ling in order to collect the tribute, the chief of Ling A-k'ï C''o-t'oŋ (ཨ་ཁུ་ཁྲོ་ཐུང་ A-khu Khro-thuṅ) decided to give him as tribute the newly-born son of Gïg-zā lha-mo. The mother wept bitterly, and the boy said to her: 'Do not lament for me! When the chief of the demons will come to-morrow, tell him to open wide his mouth, and place me inside his mouth'. When the chief of the demons arrived at the tent of Gïg-zā lha-mo she placed her son on a shovel and offered the boy to the demon chief, saying: 'Chief of demons, swallow my child without biting him!' When the demon chief had swallowed Cō-re, the latter rose inside the chief's throat and blocked the passage. Panting from pain, the chief murmured: 'O Cō-re descend quickly into my stomach!' But Cō-re continued to block the chief's throat, and the latter died suffering acute pains. Then follow a number of attempts of C''o-t'oŋ to destroy Kesar with the help of powerful demon magicians. From every trial Kesar comes out victorious.

The second part of the chapter on the birth of Kesar deals with the STORY OF KESAR'S MARRIAGE to Ḍʳïg-mo (འབྲུག་མོ 'Brug-mo), who is also coveted by the old C''o-t'oŋ. A contest is arranged, and Kesar wins the contest, and the hand of Ḍʳïg-mo. The gods remind Kesar, always called Dzamlang-sang in the Amdo version, of his duty to go and destroy the chief of the demon-ogres of the North. KESAR PROCEEDS TO THE NORTH TO FIGHT AND KILL THE DEMON KING, and leaves behind Ḍʳïg-mo. On his arrival at the camp of the Demon king he finds that the Demon king had gone out hunting. Kesar persuades the Demon king's wife Me-bza' 'bum-skyid to help him in destroying the Demon king. Me-bza' 'bum-skyid conceals Kesar in the castle of the Demon king and instructs Kesar how to kill the demon. The latter returns from hunting and through his magic powers feels the presence of danger. He asks his wife about it, and the latter reassures him and the demon falls asleep. Then Kesar comes out of his hiding place and destroys the Demon king. Me-bza' 'bum-skyid gives Kesar a magic drink and he forgets the Past and the land of Ling, and continues to live with Me-bza' 'bum-skyid in the palace of the Demon king. Meanwhile the king of the Hor Kïr-kar (གུར་དཀར Gur-dkar), being anxious to marry, sent out a crow in search of a queen for himself. The crow proceeds to Central Tibet (དབུས dbUs) to have a look at the Tibetan princess O-cog, then to Nepāl to the palace of the princess Khri-btsun, and to China to see the Chinese princess Koŋ-co (རྒྱ་བཟའ་ཀོང་ཇོ rGya-bza' Koṅ-co. Koṅ-co>Chinese kung-chu, Imperial princess), and then to the land of Ling to see the Lion-lady Ḍʳïg-ge (སེང་ལྕམ་འབྲུག་གེ Seṅ-clam 'Brug-ge). The crow returns to the camp of king Kïr-kar and informs the king

that most beautiful of them all is Ḍʳïg-ge of Ling—'when standing she is similar to a banner hoisted, when sitting she is similar to a multicoloured tent'.

Learning of the absence of Kesar from Ling, the Hor king decides to raid Ling and carry away Ḍʳïg-ge. The raid is successful, the troops of Ling suffer defeat, and even the brother of Kesar—Jya-ts'a-saŋ (རྒྱལ་ཚ་ཚང་ rGyal-tsha-tshaṅ) is killed, and Ḍʳïg-ge carried away to the land of Hor. Ḍʳïg-ge, a captive in the land of Hor, sends a crow with a message to Kesar in the land of the northern demons. The crow flew to the demon land and sat on the tent of Kesar, and uttered a caw. Kesar got angry, took his bow and arrow, and shot the crow, when the bird fell on the ground. Me-bza' 'Bum-skyid took the letter and gave it to Kesar. Kesar read the letter and learnt that the Hor-pas had plundered the land of Ling, that they had killed his brother Jya-ts'a-saŋ, and had carried away his wife Ḍʳïg-ge as captive. Greatly afflicted by the news, Kesar takes his magic arrow 'fulfilling wishes' and turning himself in the direction of the land of Hor sends the arrow. The arrow reaches the camp of the king of Hor during a big feast and drives into a big boulder. A hundred blacksmiths try to break it, but fail in their effort; a hundred carpenters try to saw it, but also fail in their effort. Then Ḍʳïg-mo wraps her hand with a white kerchief and pulls the arrow out. 'What sort of an arrow is this?'—the king of Hor asks her, and Dʳïg-mo answers: 'This is the arrow of Kesar'. But Me-bza' 'Bum-skyid gives Kesar again the magic drink and he again forgets the Past and the land of Ling. Then his steed, the wise rKyaṅ-rgod reminds Kesar of his duty to go back to Ling. Kesar proceeds to Ling, and assumes the shape of a trader, and camps on the meadow belonging to old C''o-t'oŋ, the chief of Ling. C''o-t'oŋ sends Kesar's father Rarkyē (སེང་བློན་ར་སྐྱེས Seṅ-blon Ra-skyes) to the trader's tent in order to collect the tax due for the grazing of caravan animals on the meadow. The trader invites Rarkyē to his tent, and offers him a cup of tea. Old Rarkyē recognizes in the cup, the cup of his son Kesar, and begins to weep. The trader inquires about the reason of his affliction, and Rarkyē tells him that he had a son named Dzamlang who had gone to the country of demons and had not returned. The trader (Kesar) then tells him that he had been to the land of demons, and that this cup had been given to him by the demons. On hearing this Rarkyē begins to weep again, but the trader suddenly transforms himself into Kesar. The old man in great haste runs to C''o-t'oŋ's tent, shouting loudly 'O C''o-t'oŋ! to-day my darling, and your adversary, has come back!' C''o-t'oŋ understood that king Kesar had come back, and proceeds with a ceremonial scarf to the tent of Kesar, but there he finds only a stranger. Full of rage he rushes back to his camp and begins to maltreat the old Rarkyē.

Meanwhile Kesar assuming his true shape mounts his steed and proceeds towards C'ʻo-t'oŋ's tent. C'ʻo-t'oŋ full of anguish shouts to his daughter: 'Quick, place me in the brown leather bag for meat!' The daughter having placed C'ʻo-t'oŋ inside the bag, then placed the latter on the table in front of Kesar. Kesar observed that something was trembling inside the bag, and said that this was an evil omen. He then takes an awl and pierces the bag. C'ʻo-t'oŋ begins to howl, and Kesar continues to prod the bag with his awl, and lets C'ʻo-t'oŋ out when the latter was half-dead. Kesar on his return to Ling begins preparations for his WAR AGAINST THE HOR. A large force of horsemen is mustered, and with Kesar at its head proceeds towards the frontiers of Hor. On the march, Kesar receives a message from his divine protector Goŋ-ˣmen lha-mo telling him to send his troops back, and to proceed against the Hor alone. King Kĭr-kar of Hor has a bad dream and he asks his minister Šemba (བཤན་པ bŠan-pa) to interpret it. Šemba explains that the dream was full of evil omens, and that it presaged the coming of Kesar. En route Kesar overcomes various difficulties, he crosses a virgin forest the trees of which drew together on his approach. He overcomes seven ogres which appear in the shape of beautiful maidens, two rocks that tried to crush him, etc. On approaching the castle of the king of Hor, Kesar assumed the form of a lama. The daughter of king Kĭr-nag sees him and invites the lama to her parents' tent. She goes to bring a horse for the lama, but on returning finds a boy on the road. Unable to find the lama, she asks the boy (Kesar) to become a shepherd in her home. The king Kĭr-nag takes the boy into his service, and Kesar spends his days guarding sheep. The boy (Kesar) wins a horse-race. One day king Kĭr-nag was invited by king Kĭr-kar to a feast. The shepherd boy begged the king to take him along. On arrival to Kĭr-kar's camp, Kesar destroys a mighty warrior famous throughout the country of Hor. With the help of an iron chain KESAR PENETRATES WITHIN THE CASTLE OF KĬR-KAR AND KILLS THE KING. King Kĭr-ser is also killed by Kesar, and the soul of Kĭr-nag is banished. KESAR TAKES Dʳĭg-MO AND THE WEALTH OF KĬR-KAR AND PROCEEDS TO THE LAND OF LING. On the way Kesar remembers that Dʳĭg-mo had a son born during her captivity. He then returns to Hor, seizes the boy, and kills him. On his return to Ling, he lives for many years happily and the country becomes prosperous.

Then again the GODS COMMAND KESAR TO PROCEED AGAINST THE COUNTRY OF JANG. The Ling troops are again mustered. The Hor horsemen under the command of Šemba Me-ru-tse (བཤན་པ་རྨེ་རུ་ཙེ bŠan-pa rMe-ru-tse) join forces, and the huge army invades Jang. The chapter gives a vivid description of battles, and we have no doubt that these descriptions belong to the ancient strata of the epic. Again Kesar's divine protectress

A-ne Goŋ-^{x}men jya-mo orders Kesar to proceed against king Sa-tham of Jang alone with the help of his magic powers. Meanwhile king Sa-tham, accompanied by his ministers and nobles, proceeds to the shores of a lake to perform a religious ceremony and ablution. The lake nymph (མཚོ་སྨན mtsho-sman) assuming the shape of a beautiful nāgī (ཀླུའི་བུ་མོ klu'i bu-mo) offers to the king a crystal vase filled with scented nectar (སྨན་སྤོས་ཀྱི་བདུད་རྩི sman-spos-kyi bdud-rtsi). Kesar arrives at the lake, then transforms himself into an iron fly (ལྕགས་ཀྱི་སྦྲང་བུ lcags-kyi sbraṅ-bu) and penetrates king Sa-tham's inside, causing the death of the king. The country of Jang becomes a vassal State of Kesar.

The Amdo version contains also the chapters on THE CONQUEST OF CHINA (རྒྱ་འདུལ RGYA-'DUL) BY KESAR, AND KESAR'S MARRIAGE TO PRINCESS KOŊ-CO, DAUGHTER OF THE CHINESE EMPEROR, and the chapter on THE CONQUEST OF THE COUNTRY OF MÖN (མོན་འདུལ Mon-'dul). The gods again remind Kesar of the necessity to conquer the southern regions or Mön. The troops of Ling are again mustered and joined by the forces of Hor and Jang. The war is victorious and the valleys of the South are incorporated in the kingdom of Kesar who returns to Ling.

The East Tibetan version translated into French by Madame A. David-Neel follows similar lines. After a boy had been born to the maiden Dzē-den, Ṭ^{r}ʻo-tʻuŋ, one of the elders of Ling, learns of the birth of the boy and recalls an ancient prophecy about the coming of the future king Kesar to Ling, when his own power will wane. He therefore decides to destroy the newly-born Kesar. But all his attempts to destroy the boy prove futile. Ṭ^{r}ʻo-tʻuŋ proceeds to a magician living in a cave in order to persuade him to destroy the newly-born boy who spells misfortunes to Ling. The magician advises Ṭ^{r}ʻo-tʻuŋ to send the boy to his cave, but Kesar, when sent to the magician's cave, manages to destroy the powerful magician. Thereupon Ṭ^{r}ʻo-tʻuŋ banishes Kesar and his mother the nāgī. During the exile, Guru Padmasambhava appears in a vision to Kesar, and exhorts him to strive to become king of Ling. Kesar should first obtain the eight treasures: a life-preserving knot (ཚོ་མདུད tsho-mdud), a helmet, a rdo-rje, a sword, a bow and arrows. Padmasambhava also tells Kesar to marry Ḍ^{r}ug-mo, daughter of bsTan-pa'i rgyal-mtshan of the country of Gā (རྒ rga). Transforming himself into a cow, Kesar proceeds to the tent of Ṭ^{r}ʻo-tʻuŋ and advises him in the name of Padmasambhava to obtain the eight treasures and to marry Ḍ^{r}ug-mo. In order to obtain the hand of the maiden, the crow advises Ṭ^{r}ʻo-tʻuŋ to arrange a horse-race, the winner of which should receive the hand of the maiden and become king of Ling. Ṭ^{r}ʻo-tʻuŋ, believing the crow to be a messenger of Padmasambhava, accepts the advice

as excellent, and orders a race to be held at Ling. C‘o-rī or Kesar also takes part in the race, mounted on his bay colt, born of the mare, which his mother, the nāgī, had brought with her to Ling. Kesar won the race and became king of Ling and married Ḍ^{r}ug-mo. The gods order Kesar to proceed to the North to destroy the Demon king (བདུད་རྒྱལ bdud-rgyal). Kesar is helped by the wife of the Demon king, who conceals Kesar in the demon's castle, and helps him to kill the Demon king on his return. Kesar falls in love with the demon's wife who gives him a magic drink which makes Kesar forget the Past, and the land of Ling. But sPyan-ras-gzigs (Avalokiteśvara) restores the memory of Kesar, and urges him to proceed to Ling. On the way to Ling, Kesar meets the spirit of his half-brother Jya-ts‘a, killed by the Hor-pas, who tells him of the misfortunes which befell Ling in Kesar's absence, the evil deeds of Ṭ^{r}‘o-t‘uŋ, who seized all power in Ling, and enslaved the parents of Kesar, and the capture of Ḍ^{r}ug-mo by the Hor king. Kesar returns to Ling and prepares to fight the Hor tribes. The Ling troops march against the Hor tribes. A giant wild yak ('broṅ), the incarnation of a powerful demon, bars the road of the advancing troops. Kesar destroys the yak. Then transforming himself into an elderly lama, and creating with the help of his magic powers a phantom caravan. Kesar continues his journey to the country of Hor. On reaching the bank of the frontier river, Kesar destroys twenty-eight ferrymen, incarnations of demons, who guard the route to Hor. Kesar then decides to proceed alone and sends his troops back to Ling. Kesar creates a rich caravan and camps outside the palace of king Kur-kar of Hor. The king sends his minister sDig-can bŠan-pa to inquire about the caravan and the traders. bŠan-pa rides out to the caravan's camp, and on the way to the camp meets one of the camp-followers. The man suddenly kicks bŠan-pa's horse and sends the minister to the ground. The minister returns to the palace and warns the king that Kesar must be hidden somewhere among the numerous camp-followers of the mysterious caravan. The king then sends Ḍ^{r}ug-mo to see the caravan for herself and inquire about the whereabouts of king Kesar. Ḍ^{r}ug-mo on reaching the caravan's camp is told that the caravan belongs to the lama 'Od-zer rgyal-mtshan, and satisfied returns to the palace with presents for king Kur-kar. But the minister recognizes in the presents evil omens. Then gradually one by one Kesar destroys all his enemies. Transforming himself into a boy, Kesar is adopted by a blacksmith, and becomes his apprentice. He kills a powerful and famous warrior of Hor, destroys a Hor general and a hundred Hor horsemen, the prime-minister of Hor, the Hor lama who had discovered his real identity, and then kills king Kur-kar, and returns to Ling. Kesar then destroys king Kur-ser of Hor. The third Hor king Kur-nag

flees to distant mÑa'-ris in Western Tibet, and Kesar resolves to pardon him. sDig-can bŠan-pa becomes ruler of Hor.

Then follows the war against king Sa-tham, king of Jang. King Sa-tham of Jang sees a dream which urges him to take possession of the land of Mar-kham, coveted by king Kesar of Ling. Kesar is ordered by his protecting deity to take up arms against Jang. The troops of Ling are mobilized, and the Hor troops under bŠan-pa are called out to assist in the campaign. Kesar transforms himself into a kyang and penetrates the precincts of the palace of the king of Jang. The king with his queen proceeds to the roof of the palace and watch the kyangs grazing, but a frightful wind carries away the queen from the roof who is killed. The king in despair invites fortune-tellers (mo-pas)—manifestations of Kesar, to explain the calamity, and the mo-pas advise the king to place the body of the dead queen on a bed and to spend his time in meditation in order to restore her back to life. Then Cu-la Pön-po, the envoy of king Sa-tham, arrives at the camp of king Kesar. Kesar, advised by his protecting deity, renders his camp invisible, and lets out his famous steed rKyaṅ-rgod to graze outside the camp. Cu-la Pön-po catches the steed and mounts it, but is carried away by the winged steed and is thrown into a lake. The troops of Ling continue their advance against Jang. The general of the Jang forces offers to Dema, one of the Ling warriors, a combat, and is killed in the fight. The troops of Jang flee, pursued by the troops of Ling. The gods advise Kesar to proceed alone against king Sa-tham. Transforming himself into an iron bee, Kesar proceeds against king Sa-tham, who was engaged in the invocation of a nāgī on the shore of a lake. The goddess appears before the king holding a vase filled with nectar. King Sa-tham hurries in front of the goddess in order to partake of the nectar, but Kesar in the shape of the bee penetrates the king's inside causing terrible pains, and kills Sa-tham. The minister Ber-thul of Jang resolves to destroy Kesar and orders the cremation of king Sa-tham's body with the iron bee inside it, but Kesar manages to escape through the head of the dead king. Kesar then wins a combat with Ber-thul, the bKa'-blon of Jang, and the troops of Ling enter the fortress (mkhar) of Jang. Prince Yu-la becomes king of Jang. On his return to Ling, Kesar practises meditation (mtshams) in order to save the souls of the numerous living beings killed by him.

After this comes the story of the war against the Mon, or the kingdom of the South. Kesar has a vision of his protecting deity, who asks the king whether he had forgotten that king Shing-ti of the South has to be conquered. The deity insists that Kesar should discontinue his meditation and proceed against the kingdom of the South. Kesar accepts the command of his divine protectress. The troops of Ling, Hor and Jang are

mustered, and advance against the fort of king Shing-ti who prepares for battle. The troops of Kesar succeed in crossing a river and pursue the enemy troops. The king of the South perishes in the fire of the castle. His daughter, the princess Me-tog Lha-mdzes, is saved by Kesar and married to the son of A-khu Ṭ^{r}ʻo-tʻuŋ. War against the Ta-zig kingdom (སྟག་གཟིག sTag-gzig represents a Tibetan transcription of the name Tājīk. Ta-zig in Tibetan literature means Irān, as well as the regions North of the Oxus):

The old Ṭ^{r}ʻo-tʻun wishes to marry a second wife. He finds a bride among the people of Ling and decides to send Dabla, adopted son of Kesar, as his representative to discuss the matter with the parents of the girl. In order to please Dabla, Ṭ^{r}ʻo-tʻuŋ decides to steal the famous horses belonging to the king of Ta-zig (horses from Ferghāna and Transoxiana were famous throughout Central Asia). Ṭ^{r}ʻo-tʻuŋ's men succeed in taking away several of the famous horses belonging to the Ta-zig king. The king sends out his men to find out the whereabouts of his horses. The men proceed to Ling and find out that the horses had been stolen by order of Ṭ^{r}ʻo-tʻuŋ. Thereupon the king despatches a detachment of his troops to Ling to recover the stolen horses. Ṭ^{r}ʻo-tʻuŋ is captured and punished for his misdeeds. He manages to return to Ling, and tells Kesar of the intention of the Ta-zig king to attack Ling. Kesar resolves to break his meditation and to proceed against the country of Ta-zig. During the campaign Ṭ^{r}ʻo-tʻuŋ is captured by demon-ogres, but Kesar liberates him.

This East Tibetan or Kham version as above, as rendered into French by Madame A. David-Neel and the Lama Yongden, ends with the scene of the dematerialization of king Kesar and his companions.

The West Tibetan version of the Kesar Epic recorded by the late A. H. Francke in Ladak originates from the village of She (Šel) near Leh, and Khalatse. This version contains a Prologue which tells of the creation of the World and the story of the eighteen warriors or dpa'-bo of Ling, which is not found in the East Tibetan versions of the epic. Otherwise the West Tibetan version runs along familiar lines: The birth-story of king Kesar, his marriage to 'Bru-gu-ma ('Brug-mo of the East Tibetan version is evidently a better reading), Kesar's fight with the giant of the North, 'Bru-gu-ma's capture by the king of Hor, Kesar's war against the Hor tribes and Kesar's journey to China.

The Prologue tells of the origin of Ling. In ancient times there lived an aged couple who owned a small plot of land. On this plot grew a single grass which gradually became as high as a tree and bore fruit. The fruit was collected in a barn where it assumed the shape of worms. The worms ate up each other, until only one worm remained. This last worm trans-

formed itself into a boy, who became a mighty hunter. He destroyed a demon with nine heads and out of the demon's body built the land of Ling. He then married eighteen girls who became the mothers of the eighteen heroes or dpa'-bo of Ling. These heroes were extraordinary beings. The eighteen heroes proceeded to the castle Pa-chi dPal-ldoṅ-mkhar to secure treasures and store them up at Ling. The hero dPal-le arrived first at the castle and recovered the treasures. Then one day dPal-le, while grazing his goats, saw a white bird fighting a black bird. dPal-le at once understood that the black bird was a demon and slung a stone with his sling and killed the bird. Thereupon the white bird transformed itself into Indra (brGya-byin) and allowed dPal-le to make a request which would be granted. dPal-le requested that one of the sons of Indra be sent as king to the land of Ling—'to give a child as chief to the chiefless land'. His request was granted and Indra decided to send his youngest son Don-grub. Don-grub thereupon died in heaven and was reborn on earth. One day mother Gog-bzaṅ lha-mo ('Gag-bza' lha-mo of the East Tibetan version is a better reading) sat in her house at work when a heavy hailstorm began and one hailstone fell into her cup. She ate the hailstone and felt pregnant. All the animals recovered by dPal-le from the castle Pa-chi dpal-ldoṅ also became pregnant during the hailstorm. Don-grub was born from the side of his mother. Although he was destined to become the famous king Kesar of Ling, he often exchanged his natural appearance and transformed himself into ugly creatures. To his mother he appeared as an ugly frog and the poor mother tried to hide the child. But the goddess of Heaven dKur-dman-mo took charge of the child. An old warrior predicts that the newly-born child will become king Kesar of Ling (this passage had evidently been influenced by the Buddha legend. The name of Indra's youngest son Don-grub corresponds to Sanskrit Siddhārtha. The boy is born from the mother's side. The old warrior, who predicts the future of king Kesar and bewails his old age which prevents him from serving under Kesar, reminds one of the seer Asita, and his visit to the newly-born Buddha in the Nālaka-sutta. See also the Asita episode in chapter VII of the Lalita-Vistara). Demons in the shape of lamas attempt to destroy the newly-born child but fail in their efforts.

Kesar competes for the hand of 'Bru-gu-ma whom Khra'i-thuṅ (the Khro-thuṅ of the East Tibetan version), one of the chiefs of Ling, wishes to marry. Among the many difficult deeds which the competitors had to perform were: to secure the wing of the Sun bird, to kill the wild yak Ri-ri and to stretch his hide over the land of Ling. Kesar succeeded in all this and became the husband of 'Bru-gu-ma.

Kesar's journey to China. A virulent epidemic attacks the people of China and the Emperor of China becomes ill. Kesar

alone is able to cure the Emperor, and is invited to China. Kesar conquers all obstacles on the way. On his arrival in China, the Emperor recovered. Kesar flees with the Emperor's daughter Koṅ-co and takes with him the treasures of China. He is captured and placed in a deep pit with dragons. He, however, escapes from the pit transforming himself into a fly. Finally Kesar with the Emperor's daughter and the treasures succeeds in reaching Ling. Meanwhile Khra'i-thuṅ had seized the castle of Ling and turned out 'Bru-gu-ma; on Kesar's return the traitor is punished.

The divine protector of Kesar reminds him of his duty to destroy the demon of the North. Kesar proceeds to the North. 'Bru-gu-ma, who wants to accompany him, is sent back to Ling. After many obstacles on the way, Kesar arrives at the castle of the demon, but finds the demon absent on a hunting expedition. The demon's wife Bam-za Bum-skyid ('Bum-bza' 'Bum-skyid) helps Kesar who destroys the giant's nine lives. Then Bam-za Bum-skyid offers Kesar the magic drink and Kesar forgets the Past, 'Bru-gu-ma, and the land of Ling. While Kesar was living with Bam-za Bum-skyid in the demon's castle, the king Halde of Hor, hearing of Kesar's absence from Ling, decides to attack Ling and carry away 'Bru-gu-ma. Ling is attacked and 'Bru-gu-ma tries to evade the king of Hor, and gives him various deeds to perform in order to gain time in the hope of Kesar's return. But finally she has to proceed to the land of Hor. Kesar's brother attempts to bring her back to Ling, but is killed by an arrow shot into the only vulnerable spot of his body disclosed to the Hor-pas by 'Bru-gu-ma. 'Bru-gu-ma becomes the wife of king Halde. The hero dPal-le of Ling sends out birds as messengers to king Kesar in the North. The birds tell Kesar about the fate of Ling and the capture of 'Bru-gu-ma by the king of Hor. Kesar remembers the Past and hurries to Ling. Kesar proceeds to Hor to recover 'Bru-gu-ma. He is ordered by the gods to proceed alone and sends back his horsemen to Ling. In the land of Hor he takes service as a smith's assistant. He fashions an iron chain and with the help of the chain climbs the roof of the Hor castle and overcomes the king of Hor. Kesar returns to Ling and 'Bru-gu-ma is punished for her misdeeds.

The Mongol version of the Kesar Epic exists in a printed form and in numerous manuscript versions. The printed version, printed in 1716 in Peking by order of the Emperor K'ang-hsi, contains only the first seven chapters or books. The manuscript version contains fifteen chapters most of which are preserved in the Library of the Oriental Institute of the Russian Academy of Sciences. The first chapter of the Mongol epic relates the birth of Dzürü-Geser. Cotoŋ (<Tibetan Khro-thuṅ. The Mongol Cotoŋ is clearly a transcription of the name as pronounced in North-East Tibet. Ex. C‘‘o-t‘oŋ of the Amdo version), one of the elders of Ling, banishes Dzürü into the desert. Dzürü-Geser

destroys the seven albin-demons and converts to Buddhism a band of brigands. Dzürü-Geser tells his brother Dzasa (<Tibetan rGyal-tsha) Shikir that he is Geser, king of Ling. Dzürü-Geser kills a powerful ogre and is banished a second time by Cotoŋ. Dzürü-Geser builds a temple in honour of the bodhisattva Avalokitešvara. Dzürü-Geser competes for the hand of the beautiful Roγ-mo-γoa (<Tibetan 'Brug-mo). Dzürü-Geser tells the secret of his life to his wife Roγ-mo.

2nd chapter: Geser destroys the Black Tiger of the North.

3rd chapter: Geser visits China and marries the daughter of the Chinese Emperor.

4th chapter: Cotoŋ banishes from the territory of Ling Geser's beloved Aralγo-γoa (Tümen J̌irγalaŋ). Aralγo-γoa becomes the wife of the twelve-headed ogre (Mongol: manγus). Geser proceeds to destroy the ogre. In the ogre's camp Geser meets his beloved Aralγo-γoa, and with her help destroys the ogre. Geser continues to live with Aralγo-γoa in the ogre's camp near the Golden Stūpa. Aralγo-γoa gives Geser a black coloured magic drink, and Geser forgets the Past, and the land of Ling.

5th chapter: A black crow informs the three Shiraigol khans (Shiraigol designates the Shara-yughur tribes of the Nanshan. Amdo Tibetans and Bānaks call them Hor) of the absence of Geser from Ling, and about beautiful Roγ-mo-γoa who is fit to become the wife of the Shiraigol prince. The Shiraigol khans invade the territory of Ling. Dzasa Shikir, half-brother of Geser, decides to fight the aggressors. The troops of Ling are concentrated near Geser's camp from where Dzasa Shikir advances against the Shiraigol troops. Cotoŋ brings in the false news that the troops of the Shiraigol khans had withdrawn and Dzasa Shikir orders his troops home. The Shiraigol khans again invade Ling and force a passage towards Geser's camp where lives Roγ-mo-γoa. The latter attempts to offer resistance but is overcome and captured. Roγ-mo-γoa sends out an arrow, which belonged to Dzasa Shikir, to Geser in the ogre's camp. Geser receives the missile and learns of the tragedy that befell Ling during his long absence. But his beloved Aralγo-γoa gives him again the magic drink and he again forgets Roγ-mo and the land of Ling. Finally his wise and faithful steed rebels against him and runs away into the steppe. Geser captures the horse and decides to proceed at once to Ling. On his arrival in Ling, Geser meets his father, the old Sanluŋ, who in his absence had been badly treated by Cotoŋ, who had assumed power in the land of Ling. Then in the disguise of a lama, Geser visits the camp of Cotoŋ, and punishes Cotoŋ for his evil deeds. After that Geser starts against the Shiraigol khans. He appears in the camp of the Shiraigol khans in the disguise of an old lama. Then assuming the shape of a boy, Geser enters the service of Šiman Birudza, one of the ministers of Hor, and assists the blacksmith Čoïruŋ darxan. Gradually he destroys the principal

warriors of the land, but is thrown into a deep pit filled with poisonous snakes, but with the help of his magic powers survives the ordeal. Geser then destroys the Shiraigol tribe and returns to his native Ling.

6th chapter: Geser and the xutuγtu-lama, the manifestation of a powerful demon. Geser visits the magician who transforms Geser into a donkey. Geser's warriors after discussing the calamity send word to Aǰu Mergen to ask this powerful sorceress to destroy the demon and liberate Geser. Aǰu Mergen proceeds to the demon's camp in the disguise of the latter's sister, and requests the demon to present the donkey to her. The demon agrees, and the sorceress returns home leading the donkey. She restores Geser to life, and Geser fights the demon, and after many adventures succeeds in setting on fire the lama's hut made of reeds and destroys the evil demon.

7th chapter: Geser liberates his mother from hell.

The manuscript version of the Mongol Epic is much more extensive and contains some fifteen chapters.

The 8th and 9th chapters relate the fight of king Geser with the twelve-headed demon-ogre (manγus), and Geser's fight with king Andalma.

10th chapter: Geser fights the Demon king.

12th chapter: The destruction of the king of demons Gümbü-xan.

13th chapter: The defeat of Način-xan of the North.

15th chapter: The destruction of the evil black leopard.

Chapters XI-th and XIV-th are missing in the collection of Geser manuscripts belonging to the Russian Academy of Sciences (N. Poppe: 'O nekotorïx novïx glavax Geser-xana', Vostochnïe Zapiski, I, Leningrad, 1927, pp. 190–200).

The text of the Mongol version bears clear traces of having been translated from a Tibetan original. The names of the principal heroes and of localities mentioned in the text are either Mongol transcriptions, or Mongol translations of Tibetan names.

Ex. Mongol: Gesĕr (modern Khalkha Mongol: Gessĕr) < Tibetan གེ་སར Ge-sar ~ ཀེ་སར Ke-sar.

Mongol: Gesĕr γarbo Donrub < Tibetan ཀེ་སར་དོན་གྲུབ་དཀར་པོ Ke-sar Don-grub dkar-po, n. of king Kesar (the name Don-grub is also found in the Mongol version in the Mongol translation —Üile bütügēgči. It is noteworthy that Donrub of the Mongol text represents a transcription of Tibetan words adopted in Southern Mongolia, according to which only the ra-btags or 'ra-subjoined' are pronounced. (The Lhasan pronunciation would be Tȫ̤-ṭ^{r}up).

Mongol: Gegše (-Amurčila), n. of Geser's mother < Tibetan འགག་བཟའ 'Gag-bza' (East Tibetan version), Gog-bzaṅ (-lha-mo) of the West Tibetan version. In the West Mongol (Oïrat) version Geser's mother is called Kakša (N. Poppe: 'Geserica', Asia Major, III, fasc. 1, p. 3).

Mongol: Sanluŋ, n. of Kesar's father < Tibetan སེང་བློན Seṅ-blon. (In the Amdo version: Seṅ-blon Ra-skyes. Seṅ-blon is a title, and Kesar's father's name was Rarkyē.)

Mongol: Dzasa, n. of Kesar's half-brother < Tibetan རྒྱལ་ཚ rGyal-tsha.

Mongol: Roγ-mo, n. of Kesar's wife < Tibetan འབྲུག་མོ 'Brug-mo (see note under Don-grub). Also called Roγ-mo naγ-bo < Tibetan འབྲུག་མོ་ནག་པོ 'Brug-mo nag-po.

Mongol: Cotoŋ, ruler of Ling < Tibetan (Amdo version) C''o-t'oŋ. Kham version: T^{r}'o-t'oŋ. Written Tibetan: ཁྲོ་ཐུང་ Khro-thuṅ. West Tibetan version: Khra'i-thuṅ.

Mongol: Dzürü, n. of Kesar in his boyhood < Tibetan ཚོ་རིས Cho-ris ~ ཅོ་རེ Co-re.

Mongol: Šiman Birudza, n. of the chief minister of Hor < Tibetan (Amdo version) བཤན་པ་རྨེ་རུ་ཙེ bŠan-pa rMe-ru-tse. The West Tibetan version has Šan-kra Mi-ru which is a corruption of the name given in the East Tibetan version.

Mongol: Xara gerteï xan—a translation of the Tibetan གུར་ནག་རྒྱལ་པོ Gur-nag rgyal-po, 'The Black Tent' king (of Hor).

Mongol: Šira gerteï xan—a translation of the Tibetan གུར་སེར་རྒྱལ་པོ Gur-ser rgyal-po, 'The Yellow Tent' king (of Hor).

Mongol: Caγān gerteï xan—a translation of the Tibetan གུར་དཀར་རྒྱལ་པོ Gur-dkar rgyal-po, 'The White Tent' king (of Hor).

The names of localities and rivers mentioned in the text of the epic are given in the Mongol text either as transcriptions or in Mongol translation.

Mongol: Mun~Mon, the southern alpine valleys of the Himālayas < Tibetan མོན Mon.

Mongol: Liŋ, n. of the kingdom of Kesar < Tibetan གླིང་ gLiṅ (pronounced Liŋ). The Lik of Schmidt's and Kozin's translations should

be corrected to Ling (Schmidt: Die Taten Bogda Gesser Chan's, Berlin, 1925, p. 8; S. Kozin: 'Geseriada', Moscow, 1935, p. 40).

Mongol: Dzaŋ-γool, the upper course of the Brahmaputra < Tibetan གཙང་པོ་ཆུ gTsaṅ-po chu.

Mongol: Arslan-γool, the Indus < Tibetan སེང་གེ་ཆུ Seṅ-ge chu.

The names of localities and rivers frequently mentioned in the text of the epic all point to the North-East of Tibet. For example, the text frequently mentions the river Xatun-γool, which is the Mongol name of the Huang-ho or the Yellow River (the upper course of the river in Amdo is called རྨ་ཆུ rMa-chu), and the lake Köke-naγūr, the Kuku-nor of the maps (མཚོ་སྔོན་པོ mTsho-sṅon-po in Tibetan).

In the Mongol text we also find the Tibetan name of the unicorn (rhinoceros)—serü < Tibetan བསེ་རུ bse-ru, as well as expressions which represent translations of common Tibetan expressions, as for example xara terigütü, lit. 'black-headed' used for 'man, a Tibetan', and which represents a translation of the Tibetan expression མགོ་ནག mgo-nag.

The Tibetan origin of the epic had been stressed by the late Professor B. Vladimirtsov, and by the late Dr. Berthold Laufer (WZKM, vol. XV (1901), pp. 77–107). Professor B. Vladimirtsov ('Mongolskiy sbornik rasskazov iz Pañcatantra', Leningrad, 1925, p. 449, note 1) pointed out that the Mongol version of the Kesar Epic, as represented by the Peking edition of 1716, was written in a peculiar style, which did not represent the classical form of the written Mongol language. Professor N. Poppe ('Geserica', Asia Major, III, 2 (1926), pp. 192ff.) has demonstrated that the language of the Mongol version contained elements of the Mongol classical language, and of the spoken dialects of South-Eastern Mongolia. According to Poppe (*ibid.*, p. 193) the Mongol version of the epic must have originated somewhere in the south of Mongolia, and must have been translated from a Tibetan original. Recently S. Kozin ('Geseriada', Moscow, 1935, p. 13) has pointed out that the language of the Mongol version of the epic shows close affinities to the South-Western Oirat dialects. This would support the theory placing the origin of the Mongol version of the Kesar Epic among the Oirat tribes of North-East Tibet, from where the epic penetrated into South-Eastern Mongolia. Among the manuscripts of the Kesar Epic preserved in the Library of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences there is one containing a Mongol version reproducing the Kham or East Tibetan version rendered into French by Madame A. David-Neel (N. Poppe: 'Problemï Buriat-Mongol'skogo Literaturovedeniya', Zapiski Instituta Vostokovedeniya, III (1935), p. 23).

The East Mongol or Khalkha version consists of some fifteen chapters or books. In 1914 the well-known Buriat scholar T. J̌amcarano discovered in Urga (Mongolia) a complete version of the Geser Epic in fifteen chapters (J̌amcarano: The Epics of the Ekhrit-Buriats, Kha-Oshir Khubun (in Russian), Petrograd, 1918, p. xxvii).

The West Mongol version of the epic follows closely the East Mongol version. The Library of the Oriental Institute of the Russian Academy of Sciences possesses at least two West Modgol versions of the Geser Epic (V_2 and V_3). The West Mongol version was first made known by B. Bergmann 'Nomadische Streifereien', Riga, 1804) where a translation is given of the VIII-th and IX-th chapters of the epic. Two chapters of the epic, very similar to the West Mongol version, communicated by B. Bergmann, had been given by Timkovsky in his 'Putešestvie v Kitai', vol. I (1824), pp. 280–297. (See also Pallas: Mongol. Nachr., ii, p. 103; A. M. Pozdneev: Skazka pro sraženie Geser-xana s Andalmoi (Kalmĭckie Skazki, VII), Zap. vol. IX (1896), pp. 41–58.)

Poppe ('Geserica', p. 23) points out that the VIII-th and IX-th chapters of the Kesar Epic seem to have been especially popular among the Buriat-Mongols and the Oīrat West Mongols. The X–XV-th chapters are very popular among the Khalkha Mongols. Among the Buriats only the first nine chapters of the epic are known to exist (Geseri jühen halā—'The nine branches of Geser'). There exists also a West Buriat version of the epic. This version is a typical Buriat epic or üliger, only remotely reminiscent of the written version of the epic (N. Poppe: Zap. Inst. Vost., III (1935), p. 19). At present we know at least four versions of the Buriat-Mongol Geser Epic, comprising something like 100,000 verses! The Russian Academy of Sciences in collaboration with Mongol scientific institutions is bringing out a critical edition of the Mongol text, an annotated translation, and a collection of articles on the problems of the Kesar Epic.

The Epic of Kesar-Geser exercised considerable influence on the Mongol tribal epics and songs, as for example on the great West Mongol epical poem J̌anγar (Vladimirtsov: Mongolo-oiratskiy geroičeskiy epos, Petersburg-Moscow, 1923, p. 21).

I may add that the epic is known among the Dēd-Mongols of the Tsaidam and Kuku-nor region in the North-East of Tibet, where it is frequently read in Tibetan. Among the Bānaks and the Dēd-Mongols, Kesar-Geser is known under the name of Kuan (for Kuan-ti), a fact showing the extent of the influence of the official recognition by the Manchus of Kesar as Kuan-ti.

Many a custom connected with king Kesar-Geser survive among the non-Tibetan tribes of North-Eastern Tibet and the Kansu borderland. Thus among the Shara-yughurs (also called

sarïq yuγur or 'yellow yughurs' (uïghur). Chinese: Huang hsi-fan) to the south of Kan-chow in Kansu Province, many tribal customs are directly connected with the Kesar Epic. Among these tribes one can still find such names of villages, as Gur-kar, Gur-ser and Gur-nag de-wa (Tibetan: sde-pa), which correspond to the names of the three kings of the Hor tribes: Gur-dkar rgyal-po, Gur-ser rgyal-po and Gur-nag rgyal-po. A white strap is sewn on the tents of the Shara-yughurs symbolizing the cut made by king Kesar's sword (ཧོར་སྦྲ་ཁྲ་རིལ Hor-sbra khra-ril). The deity གནམ་ཐེལ་དཀར་པོ gNam-thel dkar-po, mentioned in the epic as the protecting deity of the Hor tribes, is even nowadays worshipped by the Shara-yughurs. Should anyone approach a Shara-yughur tent riding on a light bay horse, the horse will be tied with its head facing the open country, and not the tent. This is done to avoid the danger of Kesar's steed, the wise rTa-rkyaṅ-rgod, suddenly appearing and trampling over the tent. A custom exists among the Shara-yughurs to take their food hurriedly, because, they say, they live in constant danger of an attack by king Kesar. It is said that there exists among the Shara-yughurs a version of the Kesar Epic, in which king Kesar is represented as a dangerous and cunning enemy. Thus the memories of the old tribal wars between the Tibetans and the Turkish tribes still survive, and are a source of constant tribal antagonism. (The Shara-yughurs live south of Kan-chou, also between Su-chou and Kan-chou, between Shuang-ching-tzŭ and Kao-t'ai oasis.)

In the extreme west of the Tibetan upland, in the Karakorum mountains a **version of the Kesar Epic in the Burushaski language** has been recently discovered and published by Lt.-Colonel D. L. R. Lorimer (Lt.-Col. D. L. R. Lorimer: The Burushaski Language, vol. II, Oslo, 1935, pp. 100–179; also Lorimer, 'Folk-Lore', vol. XLII (1931), No. 2). This Burushaski version is evidently a translation of an oral Tibetan version, possibly a Baltī version related to the West Tibetan version of the epic. The Burushaski rendering of Tibetan names and words reproduces a Baltī pronunciation (Ex. Brū-mo for 'Brug-mo, n. of the wife of Kesar, and Brūŋ for Tibetan 'broṅ, wild yak).

The Burushaski version contains the story of Kesar's (Kiser in Burushaski) birth, his marriage to Brūmo ('Brug-mo), the capture of Brūmo by the king of Hor, and Kesar's war against the king of Hor. Kiser successfully competes for the hand of Brūmo, and returns to his own country. After some time, Lingpikiser (< Tibetan: gLiṅ Ke-sar) tells his wife that he has to start for a journey to the country of Haihaiyūl. On his arrival there, Kiser deprives the local rulers of sovereignty and makes himself master of Haihaiyūl. In his absence the king of Horyūl (< Tibetan Hor-yul) invades Kiser's country and carries off

Brūmo. The warriors of Ling make an attempt to recapture Brūmo, and Būmlīftan, brother of Kiser, is shot by an arrow which drives into the only unprotected spot of his body, revealed to the Hor warriors by Brūmo. The Wazir of Hor Shamtu Mīru (< Tibetan bŠan-pa rMe-ru-tse) confronts the Ling warriors. Kiser comes back to Ling, and sets out for the country of Horyūl. On his way he overcomes various obstacles and finally arrives in the land of Hor, where he enters the service of a goldsmith and becomes the latter's son-in-law. The goldsmith is summoned by the king of Hor to his court where Kiser's bow is to be drawn. Kiser accompanies the goldsmith and succeeds in drawing the bow. Then he fashions an iron chain of 100 cubits in length and proceeds to the king's palace. There he threw the chain up to the beam of the palace roof and climbed up the chain, assuming the form of a cat. Brūmo warns the king that Kiser had come, but the king sees only a cat. Kiser then penetrates the king's room and begins wrestling with the king who is overcome. Kiser then takes Brūmo and the treasures of the Hor king and returns to his own country. The two sons of the king of Horyūl and Brūmo are killed by Kiser, and Brūmo is punished for her treason in helping to kill Būmlīftan, Kiser's brother.

The historical background of the Kesar Epic takes us far back into the past of the great nomad empires of Central Asia. According to a story current among the dGe-lugs-pa lamas, the Kesar Epic had nothing historical in itself. It was composed by a famous Tantric lama who was at the same time a great bard. The native place of this Tantric was North-Eastern Tibet, and the epic was composed by him there (see G. N. Roerich: Trails to Inmost Asia, Yale University Press, 1931, p. 359). The nomads of Kham and Hor understand the epic differently. According to them it is not a production of a single bard, but is a poetical record of ancient wars that were fought in the past. Tibetan tradition has preserved the memory of yet another Kesar, the leader of Central Asian tribes which were constantly menacing the borders of North-Eastern Tibet. In the པདྨ་བཀའི་ཐང་ཡིག Padma bKa'i thaṅ-yig or 'Commands of Padmasambhava', king Kesar is often mentioned as leader of Central Asian nomadic tribes, enemies of Tibet. In the second chapter of the Padma bKa'i thaṅ-yig (Kha, p. 22*a*), king Kesar's name is associated with that of the Dru-gu ∼ Gru-gu (both names reproduce the name, Türk. See P. Pelliot, *J. As.*, 1914, ii, p. 144; F. W. Thomas *JRAS*, 1931, p. 828) tribes. The Tibetans were victorious and some of the Dru-gu were settled in the Mön region (in Tibetan literature the country of Mön or Mon-yul designates the southern Himālayan valleys. The inhabitants of these valleys are called Mön-pas). In chapter V, p. 13*a* of the same book, it is said that king Kesar 'was like a mad steed for Tibet. With the help of

magic, Kesar was defeated. The Tibetan army in battle array defeated Kesar'. Here in this passage Kesar is definitely stated to have been the leader of the enemies of Tibet. On p. 6*b* of the same chapter, king Kesar is mentioned as one of the Four Great Kings of the World: 'To the East under the constellation of the Pleiads (sMin-drug)—the Emperor of China—the Lord of Wisdom; to the South under the constellation Gaṇḍūṣa—the King of India—the Lord of Religions; to the North under the constellation of the Great Bear (sMe-bdun)—Kesar, the king of armies; to the West under the Moon—the King of Irān (sTag-gzig)—the Lord of Riches' (In the rGyal-rabs, p. 21*a*: rGya-gar chos-kyi rgyal-po, sTag-gzig nor-gyi rgyal-po, Ge-sar dmag-gi rgyal-po, gzugs-mdzes Khrom-gyi rgyal-po). In this passage king Kesar takes the place of the Lord of Horses of the well-known theory of the Four Great Kings of the World (On the theory of the Four Great Kings of the World, see P. Pelliot: 'La Théorie des Quatre Fils du Ciel', T'oung Pao, vol. XXII, 2 (1923), pp. 97–125). In the མ་ཎི་བཀའ་འབུམ Maṇi bKa'-'bum (J. Bacot: 'Le mariage de Sroṅ-btsan sgan-po', p. 16) it is said that the Emperor of China had offered king Kesar to marry a Chinese Imperial Princess, and in the rGyal-rabs of Ladak king Kesar is referred to as one of the suitors of Koṅ-co, the Chinese Princess, who afterwards became the wife of king Sroṅ-btsaṅ sgam-po (Karl Marx: History of Ladakh, *JASB*, vol. LX, No. 3 (1891), p. 116). The country of king Kesar is mentioned among the countries of Ga-ža'i yul (probably a misprint for A-ža'i yul),[1] 'Bru-za'i yul (Hunza-Nagar), Bha-la'i yul (Bactra-Balkh), Žaṅ-žuṅ-gi yul (Guge in W. Tibet), sTag-gzig-yul (Irān and the countries of the Oxus), and Tho-gar-gyi yul (Tokharestān in North Afghanistān, or possibly the Tokharian kingdom in the region of Kucā-Turfān in Eastern Turkestān) (Padma bKa'i thaṅ-yig, p. 165*a*; rGyal-rabs Bon-gyi 'byuṅ-gnas, ed. S. C. Das, Calcutta, 1915, p. 15). In the La-dwags-kyi rGyal-rabs (A. H. Francke: 'Antiquities of Indian Tibet', vol. I, p. 20) the country Khrom Ge-sar 'Dan-ma is mentioned along with Kha-che (Kashmir), Bal-yul (Nepāl), Za-hor (Mandi), O-rgyan (Uḍḍiyāna, Swāt), sTag-gzig (Irān), rNa-nam (sNa-nam, Samarkand), Thon-mi Gru-gu (Türk, the region of Guchen-Turfān), and Rag-śi. The rGyal-rabs Bon-kyi 'byuṅ-gnas (ed. S. C. Das, p. 15) calls Kesar—king of the country of Phrom (sometimes written Khrom) of the North (བྱང་ཕྱོགས་གེ་སར་ཕྲོམ་གྱི་ཡུལ byaṅ-phyogs Ge-sar Phrom-gyi yul). Here the word Phrom ~ Khrom represents either a Tibetan transcription of a place-name, and if so, should be perhaps compared to the mysterious Par-Purum of the Xosho Tsaidam inscription in North Mongolia (V. V.

[1] Pelliot, *J. As.*, 1912, ii, pp. 520–3; T'oung Pao, 1920-1, pp. 323–5. A-ža'i yul = Tu-yü-hun.

Radlov: 'Die alttuerkischen Inschriften d. Mongolei', St. Petersburg, 1895, vol. III, p. 429; V. Radlov and P. Melioransky: 'Drevnie türkskie pamyatniki', St. Petersburg, 1897, p. 17. The country of Par-Purum is mentioned in the inscription together with Tibet (Tüpüt) and the Kirghiz (Qïrqïz)), or possibly means 'army', as in the expression khrom-gyi dpa'-bo 'warrior of the army' (Phrom or Khrom in Classical Tibetan means 'multitude, army', also 'market').[1] If so, the expression Ge-sar Phrom-gyi rgyal-po would mean 'Kesar, King of armies', as in the list of the Four Great Kings of the World given by the Padma bKa'i thaṅ-yig and the rGyal-rabs. We know that a Phrom Ge-sar is mentioned in the Khotan Annals, and a king of Khotan is said to have married a daughter of Phrom Ge-sar (A. Stein: Ancient Khotan, p. 580). (Pelliot, *J. As.*, 1914, i, pp. 498-9; 1923, i, pp. 83–88, suggested a connection between Phrom (Chinese: Fu-lin) and Rome (Rōm ~ Rūm). Also B. Laufer: 'Sino-Iranica', pp. 436-7. Chinese Fu-lin probably goes back to a Soghdian *Frīm (Latin Rōmā > Greek *'Ρωμη* Rhōmē>*Rhūmī>Syriac Frūmī>*Frūim, *Frūm, *Frīm>Old Chinese *Fūrim>Fu-lin. From Rhōmē>*Rūmī>*Rūim, Rūm, Rīm we have the Slav forms Rimŭ, Rzim, etc.).) In the rGyal-rabs Bon-gyi 'byuṅ-gnas, ed. Sarat Chandra Das, p. 30, it is said that Kesar, king of gLiṅ, paid tribute to the king of the Mi-ñag, a Tangut tribe of the North-East of Tibet, the founders of the Hsi-hsia kingdom of the X–XIII-th centuries. All the above quotations point to the existence of a persistent and ancient tradition associating the name of king Kesar with the people of Dru-gu ~ Gru-gu, or Central Asiatic Turks, and the country of Phrom ~ Khrom. The various Tibetan attempts to interpret the name Kesar show that the name must be a transcription of a foreign name or title. Albert Gruenwedel (Globus, LXXVIII, p. 98) had expressed the opinion that the name Kesar ~ Geser represented a Mongol-Tibetan rendering of the Roman title Caesar ~ *Καῖσαρ*. Professor F. W. Thomas, *JRAS*, 1931, p. 831, also suggests that the name Ge-sar or Ke-sar may be a dynastic title. The existence of the title Caesar as loan-word in Central Asian languages is attested by a colophon verse appended to an Oriental Iranian or Śaka manuscript of the Maitreya-samiti, translated by Ernst Leumann (Ernst Leumann: Maitreya-samiti, Strassburg, 1919, part II, pp. 152ff.), where we find the expression Kəysar-kulna or 'royal family' (see also E. Leumann: 'Das nordarische (sakische) Lehrgedicht', part 3, p. 410—Kəysar-kula). Professor Lueders (Epigraphische Beitraege, Sitz. d. Akademie, Berlin, 1912, pp. 824ff.; Sten Konow: Kharoshṭhī Inscriptions. Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, vol. II, part I, Calcutta, 1929, pp. 162–165) had discovered the title kaïsara in the Kharoshṭhī Ārā inscription (Kuṣāṇa period). It is also well

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[1] F. W. Thomas, *JRAS*, 1931, pp. 830ff.

known that a dynasty of Kesar descendants in Upper Ladak (La-dwags-stod) is mentioned in the La-dwags rgyal-rabs (A. H. Francke: 'Antiquities of Indian Tibet', vol. II, pp. 93ff.). In modern Tibet there exists a vague tradition that Kesar had been an historical personage (Sir Charles Bell: 'The Religion of Tibet', Oxford, 1931, p. 14). It is not clear whether this tradition originated in connection with the Manchu identification of king Kesar with Kuan-ti, or belongs to the pre-Manchu period.

It is as yet impossible to say when and where the hero of the Tibetan nomad epic Ke-sar rgyal-po became identified with Kuan-ti, the popular hero of the famous and most widely read Chinese novel 'The Tale of the Three Kingdoms' or San-kuo-chih. This Kuan-ti or Kuan-yü had been a general in the service of the founder of the Shu-Han dynasty in the epoch of the Three Kingdoms (III-d century A.D.). Deified by the Chinese, his worship became popular in the Ming period, and Emperor Shên-tsung of the Ming dynasty (1573–1619) raised Kuan-ti to the rank of 'Grand Emperor'. During the Manchu period the popularity of the god became still greater, and he was proclaimed the Military Protector of the Ch'ing dynasty. The Emperors Chia-ch'ing (1796–1820) and Tao-kuang (1821–1850) paid him special devotion. The first made him Wu-ti or 'Military Emperor', and Tao-kuang ordered that he should be considered equal to Confucius himself! Temples were erected to him in all towns, seats of administration. All throughout the empire special services were held in his honour on the 13th day of the 1st month, and on the 13th day of the 5th month. Military mandarins worshipped Kuan-ti on the 24th day of the 6th month. It seems probable that the identification of Kesar with Kuan-ti originated in the reign of the Emperor K'ang-hsi (1662–1722), and was part of the Imperial programme to strengthen the ties uniting the Ch'ing dynasty with the nomad tribes of the Mongol-Tibetan borderland. It was under K'ang-hsi in 1716 that the first Mongol printed version of the Kesar Epic appeared in Peking.

The Kesar Epic has left a strong imprint on the popular poetry of the Land of Snows. A number of songs related to the Kesar Epic are even nowadays sung throughout Tibet. During the spring a Kesar festival is held in all the villages of Ladak, and the male population exercises itself in archery. Special songs, called 'Ling songs' or gLiṅ-glu are sung during this festival. These songs usually mention episodes from the Epic of king Kesar (A. H. Francke: 'A Ladakhi Bonpa Hymnal, *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XXV, August, 1901, pp. 359ff.; A. H. Francke and Anna Paalzow: 'Tibetische Lieder', Mitt. d. Or. Seminars in Berlin, pp. 99-100. The gLiṅ-glu collected by A. H. Francke in Ladak in the villages of Phyaṅ and Kha-la-rtse, see Francke: 'Marriage Ritual in W. Tibet', *Indian Antiquary*, XXX, 1901, pp. 131ff.). Similar songs exist in Amdo in the North-East of

Tibet. They do not form part of the epic, but are inspired by famous episodes from the epic.

King Kesar in Tibetan Art. Pictorial representations of the Kesar Epic and of king Kesar are comparatively rare, and this fact can be probably explained by the attitude of the ruling dGe-lugs-pa sect in Tibet towards the epic, which considered Kesar to be a survival of a non-Buddhist past. Images of king Kesar, both pictorial and in bronze, found throughout Tibet and Mongolia, can be conveniently classed into two groups:—

(*a*) representations of king Kesar's miraculous life, closely following the extant written version of the epic;

(*b*) representations of king Kesar as Kuan-ti, the Manchu War God and protector of the Manchu dynasty.

The second group is by far the largest, and most of the images belonging to this group date back to the XVIII-th and XIX-th centuries.

To the first group belong the so-called Ke-sar thaṅ-ka or painted banners of king Kesar depicting the miraculous life of the king. Such thaṅ-kas are mostly found in the possession of itinerant rhapsodists of the epic, and are only rarely seen in the homes of Tibetan laymen. Some of these banners, representing king Kesar's life, belong to the rÑiṅ-ma-pas or 'Old-believers' sect of Tibetan Buddhism, who were the first to accept the epic and adapt it to their needs. In such cases on the top of the painting will be seen an image of ཀུན་ཏུ་བཟང་པོ Kun-tu bzaṅ-po or Samantabhadra, or the central figure will represent a Buddhist deity, for example the goddess མཐིང་གི་ཞལ་བཟང་མ mThiṅ-gi Žal-bzaṅ-ma, an attendant of the goddess Lha-mo, riding a mule and holding an arrow (mda') and a mirror (me-loṅ). (See the Ke-sar thaṅ-ka in the Tibetan collection of the Museé Guimet in Paris.) Some of the representations of the Kesar Epic belong to the Bon-po faith, and are distinguished by Bon-po symbology. Sometimes the central figure of a painted banner represents king Kesar himself depicted attired in a white garment with a tiara-like hat surmounted by feathers, a costume still worn by professional rhapsodists of the epic in North-Eastern Tibet. Usually round the central figure are grouped episodes of the miraculous life of king Kesar: his fights with demons and werewolves, which appear in the shape of a black yak, a black horse, and a black she-goat, the destruction of three ravens, birds of evil omen, Kesar's marriage to 'Brug-mo, his combat with the powerful Demon king of the North (rDud-rgyal), Kesar's war against the three kings of the Hor, etc. The composition of such banners reveals clear traces of Buddhist influence and is very similar in composition to the Buddhist thaṅ-kas depicting the lives of famous Buddhist teachers and sages. Such Ke-sar thaṅ-kas are hung during the recitals of the epic by itinerant rhapsodists,

and this again seems to be an adaptation of a well-known Buddhist custom of presenting edifying Buddhist dramas, as for example the story of prince Vessantara or the Dri-med Kun-ldan rnam-thar. Sometimes famous episodes of the Kesar Epic form the themes of wall-frescoes in private residences of wealthy Tibetans. The late A. H. Francke ('Antiquities of Indian Tibet', vol. I, pp. 79ff.) had seen one such fresco depicting the war against the country of Jang in a garden-house (rab-gsal) at Changs-pa, a village situated half a mile from Leh in Ladak. It must be added that such frescoes are only rarely met with.

Images belonging to the second group representing Kesar as Kuan-ti are quite numerous and mostly date from the XVIII-th and early XIX-th centuries when the Manchu dynasty did much to spread the cult of its protecting deity, conveniently likened to the nomad warrior-king Kesar. Numerous are the bronze images of king Kesar represented seated in western fashion on a throne—the work of Dolōn-nūr image-makers (XVIII-th century). Large clay and bronze images of Kesar-Kuan-ti are found in the numerous Ke-sar lha-khaṅ or Kesar temples in villages in Amdo in North-East Tibet (G. N. Potanin: 'Tangutsko-Tibetskaya Okraina Kitaya', vol. I, p. 397). Temples dedicated to Kesar-Kuan-ti also exist in Lhasa where they are called rGya-mi lha-khaṅ or 'Chinese Temples', and in Urga (now Ulān Bātor Xoto), capital of Northern Mongolia, and in many localities of Inner Mongolia, and the Sino-Mongolian borderland, where such temples are popularly called Kuan-ti miao or Gessĕr sümĕ. All of these temples belong to the Manchu period.

There exist also pictorial representations of Kesar-Kuan-ti on which king Kesar is represented by the side of his steed, wearing armour and holding a halberd, accompanied by his son Kuan-p'ing, holding a casket with king Kesar's seal, and his squire holding a halberd. Kesar's magic bow and arrows given to him by his divine protector are also represented in the lower corners of such paintings. On some of the paintings of Kesar-Kuan-ti one can see the image of the Great Tibetan Reformer Tsoṅ-kha-pa (1357–1419) and of his two chief disciples, mKhas-grub-rje and rJe-tshab-rje—a sign that the ruling dGe-lugs-pa sect attempted to incorporate Kesar-Kuan-ti in its pantheon during the Manchu period, no doubt with official approval.

In Mongolia some of the dGe-lugs-pa monasteries used to perform special Kesar 'mystery plays' or Gessĕrīn cam. Such 'mystery plays' were held in the sixth month of the year in the former Dalai Coŋxor Waŋ xošun, and in the monastery of Ilaγuγsan Gegēn in Western Mongolia. The lama-participants of these 'mystery plays' represented the 32 warrior-companions of king Kesar, all clad in armour (xujăγ). Theatrical representations of the exploits of king Kesar are known to exist among the Mongols-San-ch'uan in Kansu Province (see Potanin, *ibid.*, p. 378). In Tibet proper such 'mystery plays' based on

the Kesar Epic seem to be unknown. In the mounted races called rDzoṅ-rgyab žam-bes or 'Gallop behind the Fort', held in Lhasa behind the Potala Palace, the horsemen (rta-pa), clad in ancient Tibetan armour and armed with bow and arrows, are said to represent the warriors of king Kesar. In Western Tibet a festival is held in spring which is called 'Kesar Festival' in Upper Kunāwār. In Ladak it is called mDa'-phaṅ-ces or 'arrow shooting'. During the festival the gLiṅ-glu or 'Ling song' is sung, and the male population amuse themselves with arrow shooting. There are processions round the fields to bless them, the lha-tho or altars are decorated with fresh twigs and pencil-cedar is burnt (see A. H. Francke: gLiṅ-chos in Hasting's Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, vol. VIII, p. 78*a*).

Many vestiges of ancient monuments throughout Tibet, such as stone steps on the slope of mountain passes, ruined castles (mkhar), drawings on stones, and even rocks and stones of peculiar shape, etc. are popularly said to date back to the time of king Kesar (Nicholas Roerich: 'The Sword of Ghessar Khan', *Educational Review*, December, 1936; W. Rockhill: Journey through Mongolia and Tibet, p. 165).

In 1933 Professor M. Rostovtseff ('The Great Hero of Middle Asia and his exploits', Artibus Asiae, MCMXXX/XXXII, No. 2/3, pp. 99–117, with a note by G. Roerich) drew attention to a series of Siberian and Chinese plaques in the so-called 'animal' style, representing scenes of combat, hunting and wrestling. These plaques may well represent illustrations to an ancient nomad epos, of which the Kesar Epic is a typical representative.

To sum up the results of our survey of the Kesar problem, we must stress the following points, the working up of which may lead to the solution of the problem:—

(*a*) The Kesar Epic in its original form represented a typical heroic epic, a poetical record of ancient wars between Tibetan and Turkish tribes.

(*b*) Tibetan Ke-sar $\sim$ Ge-sar $<$ Caesar, the Roman title adopted by the Kuṣāṇa kings, and then assumed by the khans of Central Asiatic Turkish tribes, through Khotan, which formed part of the Kuṣāṇa Empire. From the Central Asiatic Turks the title Kesar was adopted by the Tibetan and Tangut tribes of the North-East.

(*c*) The manuscript versions of the Kesar Epic contain more archaisms and are nearer to the primitive form of the epic than the oral versions or the printed version. The manuscript versions show definite similarities to the North-East Tibetan versions of the epic.

(*d*) The language of the epic and names of localities mentioned in the text point towards the North-East of Tibet as the place of origin of the epic.

(*e*) The date of the epic cannot be established, but the numerous parallels with the story of king Sroṅ-btsan sgam-po (569–650 A.D.) indicate that the epic must have taken shape after the Imperial Period of Tibetan history. The kernel of the epic must be older.

(*f*) The Mongol version of the epic represents a translation from a Tibetan original. Mongol transcriptions of Tibetan proper names and names of localities show that this original must have been a North-East Tibetan version.

(*g*) The Burushaski version discovered by Lt.-Col. Lorimer represents a rendering of a Tibetan oral version, probably Baltī.

In conclusion it must be stressed that it is imperative to hasten the study of the Kesar Epic. The pressure of modern civilization causes the keepers of ancient traditions to retreat into the fastnesses of their mountains, and bards well-versed in the Kesar lore are only rarely met with.

Summary.

For more than a century the Kesar Epic, the heroic saga of Tibet and Mongolia, had been known to students of folklore, but up to now our knowledge of the various versions of this epic, its genesis, and its influence on the epos of Tibetan and Mongolian nomad tribes had not advanced very far. Due to the inaccessibility of the Tibetan uplands, it is as yet impossible to make a survey of all the existing versions of the Tibetan epic of king Kesar of Ling. The epic is known to exist among the various tribes of the nomad belt of the Tibetan upland, and is especially popular among the tribes of the North-East: among the Amdo-was, the Goloks, the Bānaks, and the Hor-pas. The eminent Russian explorer of Central Asia, G. N. Potanin, had given us fragments of an Amdo version of the epic, and the writer of the present note has recorded fragments of yet another version current in Amdo. The late Dr. A. H. Francke has published the local Ladakī versions of the epic. In 1931 the French explorer, Madame A. David-Neel, published a French rendering of a Kham version.

The language of the epic often influenced by the spoken dialects of Tibet does not permit any deductions as to the date of the epic and of its origin. In each district the epic is being told in the local dialect, but the subject of the epic, the main episodes of king Kesar's life remain the same. A considerable difference in details is noticeable which often had been introduced from local folklore and tribal epics. The epic exists in Tibet in manuscript, oral, and printed form. The scarcity of manuscript

versions resulted in a considerable variety of oral versions. The language of the oral versions is not the classical written Tibetan, it is a style closely approaching the every-day speech of the nomads with certain archaisms. These oral versions seem to be an outgrowth of manuscript versions. The latter exhibit definite similarities to the North-East Tibetan versions, and the language of the manuscript versions points towards the North-East of Tibet and Kham. The language of the printed versions stands nearer to the classical form of the Tibetan language. The similarity of the main episodes indicates the existence of a primitive Kesar Epic which must have originated among the Tangut and Tibetan tribes of the North-East. The following stages in the evolution of the epic seem probable:—

1. The Primitive Kesar Epic—an heroic epic which originated among the Tangut and Tibetan tribes of the North-East.
2. The manuscript versions of the epic (in some of the extant versions Buddhist elements predominate).
3. The printed abridged version of the epic, edited by rñiṅ-ma-pas in Kham (Derge-rDzogs-chen dgon-pa).
4. Oral versions of the epic strongly coloured by local folklore. The Kesar Epic in its original form represented a typical heroic epic, a poetical record of ancient wars between Tibetan and Turkish tribes. In its original form the Kesar Epic must have possessed a pre-Buddhistic background, and even in the present text of the epic one finds frequent allusions to the ancient Bon faith of Tibet.

The language of the epic and names of localities mentioned in the epic all point towards the North-East of Tibet as the place of origin of the epic.

The date of the epic cannot be established, but the numerous parallels with the story of king Sroṅ-btsan sgam-po (569–650) indicate that the epic must have taken shape after the Imperial period of Tibetan history, though the kernel of the epic must be older.

The Mongol version of the epic represents a translation from a Tibetan original. Mongol transcriptions of Tibetan proper names and names of localities show that the original must have been a North-East Tibetan version.

The word Kesar ~ Gesar represents probably a transcription of the Roman title *Caesar* adopted by the Tibetan and Tangut tribes of the North-East from Khotan.

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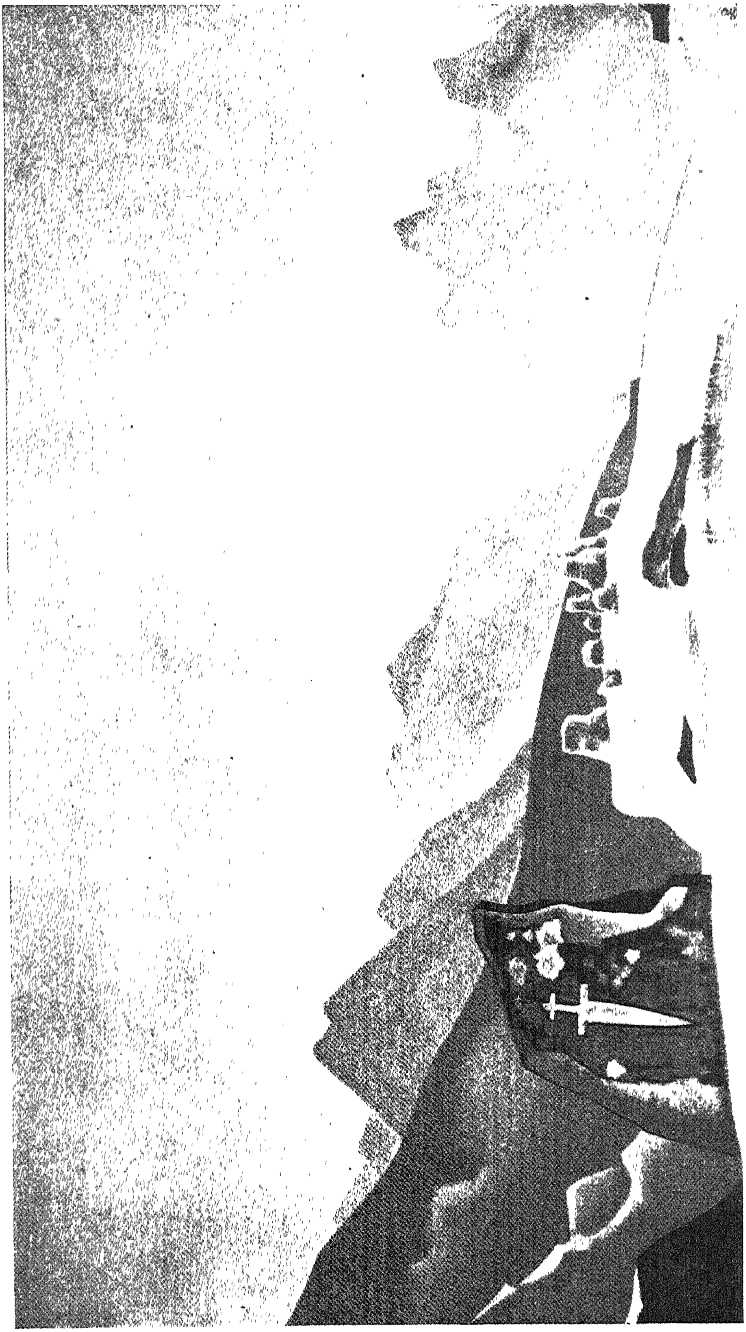

"The Sword of Gesar"

Nicholas Roerich

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ARTICLE No. 8.

Two Clay Figures of Kesar (Gesar) and Ḥbrug-mo by a Tibetan Artist.

By SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI.

The importance of the Saga of King Kesar (Gesar) of gLing in the life and literature of Tibet and Mongolia is sufficiently well known, and the paper on the Saga or Epic in its various forms and in its origins by Dr. George N. Roerich which is printed in the current issue of the JRASB., following the Society's recent publication of Francke's West Tibetan versions (1941), forms a valuable and an opportune contribution which has a great scientific value and is at the same time a very good introduction to the subject of the Kesar Saga for the general reader. The paucity of plastic representation of the characters of the Saga (barring the case of the few *thaṅkas* of Buddhistic inspiration and bronze statuettes of Kesar-Kuanti of Chinese origin which have been noted by Dr. Roerich and myself) contrasts strangely with the very great popularity which the story enjoys in both Tibet and Mongolia. The Kesar story exerted such a fascination on myself[1] when seeing the Francke papers through the press that I felt very anxious to obtain, if possible, pictures or statuettes relating to it, but at Calcutta among Tibetan art dealers and at Darjeeling my efforts proved unsuccessful—Kesar (Gesar) and Ḥbrug-mo (Ḍugmo) and other characters were all well known, but no one knew of pictures or statuettes. During October of last year (1941) while at Darjeeling I came upon a painter and clay-modeller from Tibet who, I was told, was commissioned to paint some of the paintings at Ghoom monastery. He told me he was from Central Tibet, from Lhasa, and that he was to come down to Calcutta to decorate with paintings a Tibetan Buddhist temple which it was proposed to build at Bhavanipur in Calcutta. I spoke to him about the Kesar (Gesar) story, and he knew it well enough; and as he said that images and pictures were not generally known in Tibet, although if any patron wished they could be ordered from the modellers and painters in Lhasa and elsewhere in Tibet, I suggested that he should execute five images in clay for me—those of Gesar, of Ḥbrug-mo, of the Giant of the North, of the latter's wife the Dzemo who bewitched Gesar, and of the King of Hor. He readily agreed to do these for me, and after a preliminary discussion, in the course of which he drew sketches for my approval, I left him to his own

[1] I refer to my *Introduction* to Dr. A. H. Francke's 'Lower Ladakhi Version of the Kesar Saga', Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, 1905–1941.

devices. So far he has supplied me with two figures only—the other three are not yet done, and it is very difficult to make the artist in Darjeeling fulfill his part of the contract from Calcutta. Without waiting for the other three, for one does not know when they will be ready, or whether they will ever be done at all, I am publishing pictures of the two I have so far received—those of Kesar (Gesar) and of Ḥbrug-mo (Ḍug-mo), as a pendant to Dr. Roerich's article.

The artist has not been able to make a satisfactory business of it—he is more at home in Buddhistic (Lamaistic) figures, some of his Ḍol-mas (Tārās) and Chen-re-sis (Avalōkitēśvaras) being admirable. The figure of Kesar is disproportionate. It has been my experience that artists or art-workers in the line of a tradition when commissioned to do something new or out of the way generally fail, unless they are real artists and of outstanding merit. But their work, if they are not interfered with, will give an unsophisticated if crude expression of the traditional atmosphere in which they live: and that itself has its value. The present artist (or artisan) has proved himself to be no exception to this. Although not very artistic, even if they have a certain crude vigour, and comparing unfavourably with the usual run of Lamaistic images which they even now make in Tibet, these two figures will serve to give one some idea of a present-day Tibetan artist's conception of what the National Hero and Heroine of his people should look like. He has followed his own ideas in the matter of dress and accoutrements of the two figures. Kesar is dressed like a Tibetan nobleman, in a cuirass, and he carries a bow and arrow, with a ring-guard on his right thumb, and Ḥbrug-mo is a Tibetan queen or lady of rank in her costume, with a copper vessel of holy water with flowers at the top, like a good Buddhist lady. The figures are presented for the appreciation of all who feel attracted to this great story of romance and adventure,—certainly one of the great epic and romantic tales in world-literature.

The name of the artist is Padma Dbaṅ Phyug (Pe-ma Wang-Chhuk), and he has signed the two figures as *Dbaṅ-Phyug-nas* (= *Wang Chhuk nä*) 'by Wang Chhuk'. The inscription at the foot of the image of Kesar is *Gliṅ-Ge-sar-Rgyal-po* ('Gesar King of gLing') and that on the image of Ḥbrug-mo runs as *Śeṅs-caṅ Ḥbrug-mo* (Sheng-chang Ḍug-mo), with the artist's signature below.

The figures were exhibited, and the above note was read, before the Monthly General Meeting of the Society held on 3rd August, 1942.

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Kesar (Gesar) and Ḥbrug-mo

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ARTICLE No. 9.

The Kashfu-l-Maḥjūb of Abū-l-Ḥasan 'Alī al-Jullābī.

By L. S. DUGIN.

During the last thirty years or so a certain amount of literature has arisen in connexion with that earliest manual of Ṣūfiism written in Persian known as the *Kashfu-l-Maḥjūb*, and an increased activity has been manifested in the East as well in re-editing that important work.

'It will therefore not come amiss before directing our attention to the language, style and contents of the *Kashfu-l-Maḥjūb*, and the time of its composition, those being the main objects of the present article, to take stock of its various editions and translations, and of its existing manuscripts.

The earliest edition of the *Kashfu-l-Maḥjūb* seems to be the one mentioned by Arberry in his Catalogue of the printed books in the India Office Library,[1] as: "*Kashf al-maḥjūb*, by Hujwīrī. [A Ṣūfī manual], pp. 4,267, *lith.*, 25 cm., Panjābī, *Lahore* [1874]." I am unable to add anything to this summary description, as all my efforts to secure a copy of that edition proved in vain, and no copy of it is available in the libraries accessible to me. But, even the British Museum does not seem to possess any copy of it, at least Edwards[2] does not speak of any such copy, and mentions [3] only the so-called 1903 edition of the *Kashfu-l-Maḥjūb*. I say 'so-called', because in the book itself we find nowhere any indication as to the date of its publication. Why Edwards attributes to it the above-mentioned date remains obsure: it is possible that the book in question reached the British Museum in that year as a new publication, just out. Nicholson, however, whose translation[4] is based on that edition, refers to it [5] as 'the Lahore edition' without giving any date, which he would certainly have done, were the edition dated. Zhukovsky calls it 'the undated (and pretty bad) Lahore edition'[6]. Denison Ross[7] and Arberry[8] follow in the footsteps of Edwards in attributing to it a date, which probably belongs to it, but which it does not bear.

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[1] Catalogue of the Library of the India Office, Vol. II, Part VI. Persian Books by A. J. Arberry, Litt.D., Assistant Librarian, London, 1937, p. 242.

[2] Catalogue of the Persian Printed Books in the British Museum by Edwards, M.A., London, 1922.

[3] *ibid.*, p. 113.

[4] see below, footnote 1 to p. 321.

[5] on the title-page and on pp. xxiii and xxiv of his Preface.

[6] p. 56 of the Russian Introduction to his critical edition.

[7] see below, footnote 1 on p. 323.

[8] *vide* note 1 above.

Arberry describes it as: '[Another edition], pp. 328, *lith.*, 25 cm., Bhāwal Press, *Lahore* [1903].' It is difficult to say whether it is a mere reproduction (or reprint) of the earlier 1874 edition, or whether it is based on an independent manuscript. One feels inclined to think the latter supposition to be the more probable, as the natural tendency of the copyist would have been to reproduce page for page of his original, thus bringing forth a copy of approximately the same number of pages. Here, however, we find a difference of about 50 pages, the size of the page being in both cases the same.

Zhukovsky, when referring to this edition as 'a pretty bad one' is somewhat too exacting in his judgment. **Nicholson**, who took it as the base of his translation, speaks more leniently of it, when devoting to it a few words in his Preface.[1] The fact is that the book is written in an indifferent, though fairly legible *nasta'līq*-hand, and is full of clerical errors, which, however, as correctly pointed out by **Nicholson**,[2] 'are easy to amend'.

The next to appear was another Eastern edition, which was published in 1914 (= 1330 A.H.) in Samarqand.[3] Copies of it being at present far more rare than the very manuscripts of the *Kashfu-l-Maḥjūb*, in fact, as the matter stands, practically unobtainable, and the very existence of the edition being virtually unknown,[4] the book deserves a more detailed description.

The size of it is, roughly speaking, 7 by 11½ in., a size never met with in European publications, but not so very uncommon in Eastern editions and, especially, Eastern manuscripts.[5] It is an extraordinarily fine specimen of lithography, which, by its clearness, and the neatness of the characters can be only compared (barring, of course, the insurmountable difference in kind and style of the handwriting) with the best lithographs of the times of **Nāṣiru-d-Dīn Shāh** of Persia, best of all represented by the beautiful editions of the diaries of his journeys to Khurasān[6] and Māzandarān.[7]

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[1] *vide supra*, note 4 on preceding page. [2] In his Preface, p. xxiv.

[3] By Mullā Sayyid 'Abdu-l-Majid Muftī b. Mullā Sayyid 'Abdullāh al-Mudarris al-Ḥanafī.

[4] **Zhukovsky** does not mention it either in his **Addenda**, nor in his **Corrigenda**, which were drawn up after 1914, nor does **Nicholson** refer to it in his Preface to the New Edition of his translation or in the list of Corrections appended to it. No mention of it is made either by **Edwards** or **Arberry**, so that we may take it for granted that there are no copies of it even in the British Museum or in the India Office Library. One copy of that Samarqand edition, however, is available in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, brought, several years ago, by the present writer from Afghanistan.

[5] It is quite possible that the dimensions of the page were adopted to tally exactly with the original Ms. from which the transcript for the press was made.

[6] سفرنامهٔ مبارکهٔ خراسان. [7] سفرنامهٔ مبارکهٔ مازندران.

The writing is a bold Central Asian *nasta'līq*. A detailed table of contents, on four separately numbered pages, precedes the text. Three abstracts regarding the author and his work are given after the text: one from the *Safīnatu-l-Awliya* of Dārā Shukūh; the second from Haji Halfa's *Kashfu-z-Ẓunūn*,[1] and the third from Vol. II of Sh. Samy-Bey's *Qāmūsu-l-A'lām*.[2]

The date of the publication (or rather of the completion of its printing) of the edition is given by two local poets in the shape of the usual chronograms.

Further follows a curious colophon by the editor, who explains that the work had cost him much trouble and had involved considerable expense. He, therefore, requests all future competitors to abstain from publishing any other edition of the *Kashfu-l-Maḥjūb* for a period of two years without first obtaining his special permission to do so, failing which, he threatens them with judicial prosecution.

The book ends with the statement of the name of the scribe who had copied it out for the press[3] and the date of the completion of the work of copying.

Two other Eastern editions have appeared more recently. The first of these two lithographs bears on its title-leaf the date 1923 and the corresponding Muhammadan date 1342 A.H. and is published by the same well-known firm of booksellers, Ilāhī-Bakhsh Muhammad Jalālud-Din of Lahore, who are responsible for the publication of the '1903' edition. The size of the page is more or less the same as of the two earlier Lahore editions. The number of pages is 328+1. On the outside cover the name of the press is given as 'Gulzār-i Hind Steam Press, Lahore', but on the title-page as 'Maṭba'-i Islāmiyya Steam Press, Lahore'. A brief biography of the author is added at the end of the book —a feature absent in the other two Lahore editions—wound up by two circular designs, of which one gives the mystical filiation of the author (entitled شجرهٔ طریقت داتا صاحب),[4] up to the

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[1] Haji Halfa's notice is very short and runs as follows: كشف المحجوب لارباب القلوب فى التصوّف للشيخ ابى الحسن على بن عثمان الغزنوى المتوفى سنة ٤٥٦

[2] The notice in the Turkish 'Dictionary of Names' by Sāmī Bey is also brief: پیر على هجويرى غزنه جوارنه واقع (هجوير) قريه سندن اولوپ كشف المحجوب عنوانیله بر كتاب يازمش ٤٥٦ تاريخنده لاهورده وفات ايتمشدور, i.e., 'the *pīr* 'Alī Hujvīrī was from the village Hujvīr in the neighbourhood of Ghazna. He wrote a book bearing the title *Kashfu-l-Maḥjūb*. He died at Lahore in 456'.

[3] Mīrzā Sayyid 'Abdussalām.

[4] A footnote on p. 269 of that edition contains the same filiation under the heading شجره طيبه مصنف اين كتاب مستطاب رح given in verse as follows:

Commander of the Faithful ʿAlī, and the other, with the heading شجرۂ نسب داتا صاحب, is a genealogical tree showing his descent, again from ʿAlī. This explains why Jullābī is called both on the cover and on the title-page '*Sayyid* (*sic!*) *Shaykh Makhdūm ʿAlī Hujvīrī maʿrūf ba-Dātā Ganj-Bakhsh ṣumma-l-Lāhūrī*'. The number of pages is the same as in the Bhāwal Press edition, but the pages themselves do not coincide in the two editions. There is little doubt, however, that the edition under discussion is a reproduction of the older edition issued by the same publishers. It is, if anything, slightly inferior

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علی هجویری آن پیر ولایت   ز دست شیخ ابوالفضل هدایت
ابوالفضل از علی حصری گرفته   بدست خدمت اسـرار نهفته
علی حصری بوی اسرار کلّی   رسید از دست ابوبکر شبلی
بشبلی از جنیـد آمد عطـائی   که در عالم شده او راهنمائی
جنید از سرّی سقطی بپوشید   لباس پارسائی را چه خوش دید
سری سقطی از معروف خرقه   به بر پوشید و شد والی فرقه
شـده معروف از داؤد طائی   چـراغ خانقــاه و پارسائی
بداؤد از حبیب آن فتح است   . . . .
حسن بصری مرید مرتضی بود   علی را پیر کامل مصطفی بود

The above merely reproduces a marginal note found on p. 267 of the so-called '1903' Bhowal Press edition (*v.s.*), in both cases referring to a mention of the name of the author in the text, where he is called جلالی (*sic*) in both the editions. In the earlier edition the last but one line has بداؤد از حبیب آن فتح کامیاب است and a blank is left in place of the second hemistich, like in the edition under discussion. The lameness (راهنمائی in l. 4) of the verses and the illiteracy of their author (سرّی instead of سری in l. 5 and سَقَطِی in ll. 5 and 6) show them to be a recent concoction, probably contemporary with the appearance of the first lithographed Indian edition of the *Kashfu-l-Maḥjūb*. By شیخ ابوالفضل is, of course, meant *Jullābī*'s spiritual guide *Abū-l-Faẓl Md. b. al-Ḥasan al-Khuttalī*, who was himself a disciple of *Abū-l-Ḥasan ʿAlī al-Ḥuṣrī*; see for that Nicholson's Preface, p. xvii. This mystic filiation may be considered, up to a certain point, judging by the references in the *Kashfu-l-Maḥjūb* itself, as accurate. It concords, in fact, with the text of the *Kashfu-l-Maḥjūb* as far as *Ḥabīb-i Rāʿī* (for whom see Lahore ed., p. 71 = Nicholson's translation, p. 90), but no justification is found in the text for directly connecting the latter with *Ḥasan-i Baṣrī* (for whom see Lahore ed., pp. 68-69 = Nicholson, pp. 86-87).

as handwriting goes, and the undotted final *nūns*, inadmissible in a Persian book, hurt the eye.

The latest Eastern edition of the *Kashfu-l-Maḥjūb* appeared, as can be seen from the date on its cover (which replaces also the absent title-page), in September, 1931.[1] The size is approximately the same as that of the earlier Lahore editions. The number of pages is again 328, and again the pages do not coincide with the '1903' edition. The name of the publisher is given as: شیخ جان محمد اله بخش. گناقی. The printers are: '*Rifāh-i 'Āmm* Steam Press, Lahore'.—Here again the title of 'Sayyid' is attributed to our author. The outward appearance of the edition is very much the same as of the already discussed previous editions.

The critical edition of the *Kashfu-l-Maḥjūb* by the late[2] Prof. V. Zhukovsky is a post-mortem edition, having appeared only in 1926. The work was begun by the great savant as far back as 1900, and in 1901 the present writer (at that time one of Prof. Zhukovsky's students) was asked by Prof. Zhukovsky to assist him with the collation of the sheets ready for print with the various Mss. used by him for the edition. That humble collaboration, however, did not materialize owing to the technical difficulties of that plan, and the work was completed by Prof. Zhukovsky single-handed a couple of years later, and printed off, together with seven of its eight Indices, as early as 1905. The exhaustive[3] scholarly Introduction (in Russian) to the edition was, however, completed and printed, as also the remaining eighth Index, only in 1914. Owing to the then prevailing circumstances, the folded, but unsewn, copies of the book remained stacked up on the premises of the Press, where it was printed, without seeing the light of publication. It was only in 1926, several years after Prof. Zhukovsky's death, that the book, to which a Russian and a Persian title-page, and two pages of a Preface were added, was finally issued.

The book has, to my knowledge, never been reviewed in India. It is equally unobtainable in this country as the above-mentioned Samarqand edition. And, being the critical edition of the work that interests us, it deserves a more detailed description.

Zhukovsky's Edition is a huge Imperial 8vo volume of 606 pages (text and Indices), plus an Introduction of 57 pages, and 7 pages Addenda and Corrigenda, i.e. 670 pages in all.

A. The text of the book is an Edition of the oldest existing Ms.[4] of the *Kashfu-l-Maḥjūb* in the Vienna

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[1] The Muhammadan date is not given.

[2] He died of heart-failure on the 17th January, 1918.

[3] It comprises 57 pages, see below.

[4] The Ms. is undated, but seems to belong to the IX c. A.H., as supposed by G. Flügel, *vide infra*.

Imperial & Royal Court Library (at present, the National Library of Vienna) which is described by G. Flügel in Vol. III, 440, of his Catalogue.[1] Four other Mss. were used by Zhukovsky to check the readings of the Vienna Ms., and variants from them are given all through the book in special footnotes. These four Mss. were:

B. A Ms. of the XIth century A.H. in the Public Library of Tashkent, described by E. Th. Kahl in his Catalogue[2] on p. 40;

C. A Ms. in private possession secured from Samarqand, undated;

D. A Ms. of the St. Petersburg University Library, early XIth century A.H.; and

E. A Ms. of the School of Oriental Languages of St. Petersburg, described by Baron V. R. Rosen in his Catalogue,[3] p. 291 of the IIIrd part concerned with the Persian manuscripts.

The Lahore edition, which was received by the editor too late for including variants from it in the above-mentioned footnotes, was used by him only in his Addenda.

Nicholson's translation, although it reached Zhukovsky some time before his Introduction was completed, was not used by him 'even for the last pages of the Introduction'[4]: his text having been printed off long before the news of a translation being prepared by Prof. Nicholson had reached him, he, in his own words, 'preferred to remain right to the end with his own mistakes and fallacies, but outside the sphere of any extraneous influences'.[5]

Nor was the Samarqand edition, with which he became acquainted only a short time before his death, used by him in any way for his Edition.

The Indices occupy 42 pages, and are eight in number. They are as follows:

1. **Names of persons, families and tribes,** (فهرست نامهای اشخاص و انساب و قبایل). A particular feature of this most valuable Index (pp. 547–564) is that it not only contains references to the

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[1] 'Die arabischen, persischen und türkischen Handschriften der Kaiserlich-Königlichen Hofbibliothek zu Wien', Vols. I–III, Wien 1865–1867.

[2] The Persian, Arabic and Turkish manuscripts in the Turkestan Public Library (in Russian).

[3] Baron V. Rosen. Collections Scientifiques de l'Institut des Langues Orientales, III. Les Manuscripts Persans. St. Pétersbourg, 1886.

[4] Introduction (in original), p. 56.

[5] *ibid.*

pages of the *Kashfu-l-Maḥjūb* itself, but gives (in square brackets, with distinguishing letters) the pages on which these names occur in: (A) *Taẕkiratu-l-Awliyā* of 'Aṭṭār, Lahore[1] ed., 1306 A.H.; (B) *Nafaḥātu-l-Uns* of Jāmī, Nassau-Lees ed. of 1859; and (C) *Nāma-i Dānishvarān*, Tehran ed., of which, at the time of the compilation of the Index, only three volumes[2] had appeared.

2. **Names of places** (فهرست نامهای جاها).

3. **Index of religions and sects** (فهرست نحل و ملل).

4. **Index of books quoted** (فهرست كتب). Two figures accompany each name of a book, showing the page and line cited.

5. **Index of verses in Arabic** (فهرست شعرهای عربی).

6. **Index of quotations from the Qur'ān** (فهرست سور و آيات قرآنی), giving chapter and verse.

7. **Index of traditions quoted** (فهرست احاديث).

8. **Index of sayings of the Elders** (فهرست اقوال مشايخ). In brackets are given the names of the persons to whom each particular saying is attributed by Jullābī. An asterisk indicates that no name accompanies the saying in the text.[3]

An abridged English translation of Zhukovsky's Introduction, by Sidney Jerrold,[4] appeared in 1929 in the 'Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, London Institution',[5] in which all the technical parts were omitted, 'as being of no interest to those who have not the text before them',[6] 'leaving only the literary portions of the Russian original',[7] i.e. those concerned with the person of the author and passages of interest culled from his work. These passages were, most judiciously wherever possible, not re-translated from the Russian rendering, but taken bodily from Nicholson's English version.[7] The translator has taken care to show where parts of Zhukovsky's Russian text were omitted in his translation, either indicating in brief what the omitted portion contained, or showing it by marks

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[1] Nicholson's edition in the 'Persian Historical Texts' series was issued in 1905 (First Part, Vol. III of the Series) and 1907 (Second Part, Vol. V of the Series), and reached Zhukovsky when the Indices to the *Kashfu-l-Maḥjūb* had already been printed off, *v.s.* p. 320.

[2] As stated by Zhukovsky in his note to the Index.

[3] These details are given here in the hope to facilitate the use of Zhukovsky's Indices to such readers, as might come across his edition and, being unacquainted with the Russian language, would find some difficulty in using them.

[4] Persian Ṣūfism. Being a Translation of Professor Zhukovsky's Introduction to his Edition of the *Kashf-Al-Maḥjūb*.

[5] pp. 475–488.

[6] Note by E.D.R. (Sir E. Denison Ross) prefixed to the translation, p. 475, ll. 18-19.

[7] *ibid.*, l. 16.

of omission. The translation is very carefully done, and the condensation effected with great discernment, so as not to make one feel the lacunae.

The splendid English abridged translation by R. A. Nicholson is too well known, both in its original edition,[1] and in its recent reprint,[2] to need any detailed description. Special attention may, however, be drawn to its brief Preface containing valuable information regarding the author and his work, and its Indices, more especially the one [3] giving the technical expressions used in Ṣūfī terminology,[4] which occur in the work under discussion.

An Urdū translation, under the title ظهير المطلوب ترجمه اردو كشف المحجوب, by one *Shāh Ẓahīr Aḥmad Ẓahīrī*, appeared in 1343 A.H. (=1925 A.D.).[5] The name of the publishers is given as *Chirāghu-d-Dīn Sirāju-d-Dīn* of Kashmīrī Bāzār, Lahore.

The book consists of 544 lithographed pages of a very clear bold Indian *ta'līq*. The size of the page is somewhat larger than that of the above-described Indian editions of the Persian original. The first 22 pages contain an Urdū introduction by the translator dealing with Ṣūfīism.[6] The introduction is subdivided into several chapters, of which the first does not bear any separate heading beyond the already mentioned [7] general title. The second chapter is on 'The first man who was called a Ṣūfī'.[8] The third—on 'What is Ṣūfīism and who may be called a Ṣūfī'.[9] The fifth—on 'On the Unity of Existence'.[10] The

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[1] The *Kashf-Al-Mahjúb*, the oldest Persian treatise on Ṣūfiism by 'Alí b. 'Uthmán al-Jullábí al-Hujwírí, translated from the text of the Lahore edition, compared with Mss. in the India Office and British Museum, by Reynold A. Nicholson, Litt.D., Lecturer in Persian in the University of Cambridge, formerly Fellow of Trinity College, and printed for the Trustees of the 'E. G. W. Gibb Memorial', Volume XVII, Leyden & London, 1911.

[2] The *Kashf al-Mahjúb*, etc., New Edition. By Reynold A. Nicholson, etc., London, Luzac & Co., 1936.

[3] Index II, Subjects, Oriental Words and Technical Terms.

[4] The English equivalents of which are given in the text of the translation and could in future serve as a starting point for fixing in English the true meanings of Ṣūfī terms.

[5] There must have existed an earlier translation of which the one under discussion seems to be entirely independent, cf. for that also note 4 on next page.

[6] مقدمه تاريخ تصوف معه حالات پير على مخدوم هجويرى مصنف كتاب كشف المحجوب.

[7] *vide* preceding note.

[8] سب سے پہلے کون شخص صوفی کہلایا.

[9] علم تصوف کیا ہے اور صوفی کسکو کہتے مین.

[10] مسئله وحدة الوجود.

sixth and the last contains a biography of the author of the *Kashfu-l-Maḥjūb*.[1]

In one passage[2] in the general part of the introduction *Jāmī's Nafaḥātu-l-Uns* is referred to, but otherwise no sources are mentioned, beyond 'some historians',[3] according to whom *Jullābī* is supposed to have been born on the 10th of *Rabīʿu-l-Awwal* of the year 400 A.H. He is also alleged to be both a *Ḥasanī* and *Ḥusaynī sayyid*.

Another Urdū translation by Mawlānā Shamsu-l-Hind Īzadī, who styles himself '*Ṣūfī-yi maʿnavī*', was published in 1346 A.H (=1927 A.D.)[4] at Lahore.[5] This translation seems to be, as one might expect, independent of the just mentioned rendering by Moulvi Ẓahīr. The full title (on the cover) of this publication runs: كشف المحجوب اردو معه فقير نامه مشهور به كشف الاسرار تصنيف لطيف حضرت اقدس برگزيدهٔ زمان قطب دوران جناب فيضمآب شيخ مخدوم على هجويرى معروف به داتا گنج .بخش ثم لاهورى. On the inside title-page is added the information: مع مختصر سوانحعمرى (sic.) حضرت داتا گنج بخش رحمة آلله عليه.. The book contains, in fact, not only an Urdu translation of the *Kashfu-l-Maḥjūb*, but also a translation of the small pamphlet known as *Kashfu-l-Asrār* alias *Faqīr-nāma*, attributed (wrongly, in my opinion) to the pen of Jullābī.[6]

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1 شمّه مختصر حالات حضرت سيّد على هجويرى.

2 p. 4, l. 19.

3 بعض مورخين p. 20, l. 14.

4 Unless, of course, which is more than probable, it should prove to be a mere reprint of some earlier publication: the learned compiler of the 'Catalogue of the Persian Mss. in the collection of the Asiatic Society of Bengal', which appeared in 1924, mentions, in fact (p. 552, under No. 1149), 'also a Hindustani translation', without, however, any indication as to the date or place of its publication. So far, I have been unable to trace that seemingly earlier translation of the *Kashfu-l-Maḥjūb*: the translation of *Ẓahīrī* just described cannot be meant, as it appeared a year after the publication of the 'Catalogue'.

5 By the same publishers as the 'Bhawal Press' edition (of '1903') and the later 1923 edition of the Persian original, *v.s.* pp. 317-318.

6 The little tract has a pagination of its own (pp. 1–16) and is preceded by a brief foreword (ديباچه) in Urdu, and, without any apparent reason or connexion by an Arabic *qaṣīda* said to be by the Fourth Imām *Zaynu-l-ʿAbidīn*. The Urdu *Kashfu-l-Asrār* seems to have been at first printed separately (copies of it can be obtained) and later included under the same cover with the translation of the *Kashfu-l-Maḥjūb*. The original tract in Persian seems to have been published three times at least, as may be seen from Arberry's (*v.s.* p. 315) mention of it. Edwards (*v.s.* p. 315) mentions only the earliest of the three editions and commits the mistake of labelling it 'stories and sayings of Ṣūfī saints, from the Kashf ul-Mahjūb'. Following in his steps, Arberry calls it 'selected passages from the preceding (i.e. from the *Kashfu-l-Maḥjūb*)'. A cursory perusal

There is no scarcity of manuscripts of the *Kashfu-l-Maḥjūb*, although Zhukovsky is, on the whole, right when saying[1] that 'generally speaking, they are not very common'. Since then,[2] however, a few more manuscripts of the work have come to light.[3] More to the point, even now, is his remark [4] that 'the existing manuscripts are mostly not very old'.

Taken in the chronological order they are as follows:—

1. The Vienna [5] Ms., supposed to belong to the IX c. A.H. = XV c. A.D.
2. The Paris [6] Ms., supposed to belong to the IX c. A.H. = XV c. A.D.
3. The Bodleian [7] Ms., dated 905 A.H. = 1500 A.D.
4. The St Petersburg University [8] Ms., dated 1011 A.H. = 1602 A.D.
5. The British Museum [9] Ms., dated 1019 A.H. = 1610 A.D.
6. The India Office Ms. No. 1773,[10] dated 1019 A.H. = 1611 A.D.
7. The Tashkent [11] Ms., dated 1046 A.H. = 1646 A.D.
8. The RASB.[12] Ms., dated 1092 A.H. = 1681 A.D.
9. The India Office Ms. No. 1774,[13] dated 1095 A.H. = 1684 A.D.
10. The Berlin [14] Ms., supposed to belong to the XVII c. A.D.

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of its first pages shows, however, that it is nothing of the kind. It is an entirely independent *risāla* attributed in its first lines to the author of the *Kashfu-l-Maḥjūb*, and mentioning the latter work as completed some short time before. Yet, neither the contents, nor the style and language do in any way justify that pretension. I am inclined to consider it as a very recent forgery, probably contemporaneous with the earliest Indian edition of the *Kashfu-l-Maḥjūb*. Needless to say that no mention of such a work under the name of our author is made by *Haji Halfa*.

[1] p. 53 of his (Russian) Introduction.

[2] 1905, when he was completing the above Introduction, as stated by himself therein on p. 56.

[3] As, for instance, those in the collections of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, see below.

[4] *ibid*.

[5] Flügel's Catalogue, No. 334. This is the Ms. edited by Zhukovsky, *v.s.* p. 319.

[6] In the Bibliothèque Nationale, described by Blochet (Vol. I, p. 261) under No. 401.

[7] Described by Ethé under No. 1245.

[8] Used by Zhukovsky for his edition, *v.s.* pp. 319-320.

[9] No. Or. 219, described by Rieu on p. 343 of his Catalogue. Used by R. A. Nicholson for his translation.

[10] In Ethé's Catalogue, used by R. A. Nicholson for his translation.

[11] Described in Kahl's Catalogue, *v.s.* p. 320 and footnote.

[12] No. 1149 in the Society's Collection.

[13] Of Ethé's Catalogue, used by R. A. Nicholson for his translation..

[14] Described by Pertsch under No. 247.

11. The Paris [1] Ms., supposed to belong to the XVII c. A.D.
12. The RASB.[2] Ms., supposed to belong to the XVIII c. A.D.
13. The RASB.[3] Ms., supposed to belong to the XVIII c. A.D.
14. The RASB.[4] Ms., supposed to belong to the end of the XVIII c. A.D.
15. The RASB.[5] Ms., dated 1245 A.H. = 1829 A.D
16. The St. Petersburg [6] Ms., undated.
17. The Samarqand [7] Ms., undated.
18. The India Office Ms. No. 1776,[8] undated.
19. The India Office Ms. No. 1777,[9] undated.
20. The India Office Ms. No. 1778,[10] undated.

To the above may be added a Ms. dated 1288 A.H. = 1871 A.D., said to have been copied from a somewhat older Ms., bearing the date 1222 A.H. = 1807 A.D., in the valuable Habibganj Library.[11] There may be quite a few more Mss. scattered in other private libraries in India, Persia and Afghanistan.

It will be seen from this list that out of the total number of the existing manuscripts only three can boast of any antiquity, viz. the Vienna, the Paris and the Bodleian Mss. That antiquity is again only comparative, the earliest of these manuscripts having been written some four centuries after the author's death.

After these somewhat lengthy, but necessary, explanations, in which we have tried to summarize what is known about the *Kashfu-l-Maḥjūb*, we must turn our attention to the untranslated[12] part of Zhukovsky's Introduction to his edition.

Being chiefly concerned with Jullābī's[13] language and style, we may leave aside the enumeration of his (unfortunately lost) other works, the long list of Jullābī's sources and

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[1] In the Bibliothèque Nationale, described in Blochet's Catalogue (Vol. I, p. 261) under No. 402.
[2] No. 1150 in the Society's Collection.
[3] No. 1151 in the Society's Collection.
[4] No. 403 in the Curzon Collection.
[5] No. 1152 in the Society's Collection.
[6] In the Library of the School of Oriental Languages, described by Rosen in Vol. III, p. 291, of his Catalogue, *v.s.* p. 320.
[7] *v.s.* p. 320.
[8] Of Ethé's Catalogue.
[9] *ibid.*
[10] *ibid.*
[11] The valuable private library of the Hon'ble Nawwab Sadr Yar Jang Mawlana Habibur-Rahman Shirwani of Habibganj, which I had already the occasion to mention elsewhere, see for that JASB., Vol. I, 1935, p. 74.
[12] see note on p. 475, ll. 20–22 of S. Jerrold's translation.
[13] In the present sketch I have adopted the *nisba* Jullābī not because Zhukovsky had done so, but because both 'Attār in his

their exhaustive discussion by Zhukovsky, as well as the comparative list of passages in the *Kashfu-l-Maḥjūb* and in ʻAṭṭār's *Tazkiratu-l-Awliyā*, showing ʻAṭṭār's borrowings from Jullābī, as given by Zhukovsky in the untranslated [1] part of his Introduction.

Having, however, (to quote once more the note prefixed to Sidney Jerrold's translation by E.D.R.[2]) 'the text before us', the present writer made up his mind to translate literally all what Zhukovsky has to say on the language of the *Kashfu-l-Maḥjūb*, marking in footnotes the individual cases, where he found it impossible to share the view of the great savant. Zhukovsky, however, quotes the expressions and words discussed from his own Edition. As these quotations would be of very little value to the reader, I decided to give, along with Zhukovsky's page and line, the page and

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Tazkiratu-l-Awliyā and Jāmī in the *Nafaḥātu-l-Uns* do not give him the *nisba Hujvīrī*, which Nicholson uses all through in his translation of the *Kashfu-l-Maḥjūb*, but not in his remark regarding ʻAttār's mention of him (*Tazkiratu-l-Awliyā*, Nicholson's edition, Second Part, p. 27).—It is true that Dārāshukūh calls him, in his notice, حضرت پیر علی هجویری, but says further, however: و جلّاب و هجویر دو محلّه است از محلّات شهر غزنین که انتقال کرده‌اند از یکی بدیگری. Now, یکی is certainly *Jullāb*, and دیگری *Hujvīr*. He is called on the title-page of the Samarqand edition الجلابی الغزنوی. But the most convincing proof it would seem to me, is the way in which he refers to himself at the very beginning of his book, on p. 2, l. 6: قال علی بن عثمان بن علی الجلّابی الغزنوی ثم الهجویری. This statement seems to me to incorporate four distinct features: (1) that he was born and lived for some time in *Jullāb* which was a quarter of Ghazna or a suburb of Ghazna; (2) that he later (ثمّ) transferred his residence to *Hujvīr*, which did **not** constitute a part of Ghazna in any way (otherwise, he would have placed the words ثمّ الهجویری before, not after, the *nisba* الغزنوی; (3) that Dārāshukūh is wrong in saying (*v.s.*) that *Jullāb* and *Hujvīr* were both quarters of *Ghaznīn*; and (4) that Samy-Bey (*v.s.* note 2 on p. 317) is right in his statement (whatever his source might have been) that '*Hujvīr* is a village in the neighbourhood of Ghazna'.—A *nisba* is generally given to a man from his birthplace, not from places where he might have later resided, however, long. Therefore, the author of the *Kashfu-l-Maḥjūb* is to be called always Jullābī, not Hujvīrī, nor Lahūrī (although he died and was buried at Lahore, and probably wrote a great part of his book in that place). Besides all that, he severally refers to himself throughout the book as من که علی بن عثمان الجلّابی ام.

[1] *v. s.* note 12 on preceding page.

[2] *v.s.* note 1 on this page.

line[1] of the Lahore edition of 1923 (= 1342 A.H.), as the most accessible, which involved collating first page by page the critical Edition with my copy of the said Lahore edition and marking in it the beginning of every page in Zhukovsky's text.

Before proceeding with the enumeration of the peculiarities of Jullābī's style and language, Zhukovsky stresses the point[2] that the Ms. used by him for his Edition is the oldest known,[3] and which had, quite obviously, been copied from, and collated with, another Ms. still much older, and that it, therefore, 'contains examples of rare Persian words and expressions, as well as etymological and syntactical peculiarities'; that 'in more modern manuscripts, as time goes on, these rare words and peculiarities little by little disappear and are replaced by the successive copyists with more and more modern expressions'.[4] His conclusion is that the original text might have contained, in the same way, even a greater number of archaic expressions than the old Vienna manuscript of the IX c. A.H. used by him for his Edition.[5] After dealing with the peculiarities in question, we shall see whether we can unreservedly subscribe to the views of the great savant in that respect.

Examples of the peculiarities noticed by Zhukovsky in the text of the Vienna Ms. of the *Kashfu-l-Maḥjūb* are recorded by him as follows:[6]

1. **Peculiarities in spelling and alternations of sounds :**

(Which can only occur in the oldest Codices). كه and چه in composition with other words often lose the final *hā-i havvaz*. Thus: آنچ ، آنک ، بدانچ ، چنانک ، ازانک.

كه, in whatever meaning, is often written کی.

هیچیز is used along with هیچ چیز.

نی " " " " نه.

همی " " " " می.

Instead of the spelling تلخ, one encounters the spelling طلخ [56, 15], but (L 37, 3) has, as one might have expected, the normal spelling تلخ.

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[1] I enclose in what follows the page and line of the critical Edition in square brackets [ ], and the page and line, preceded by the letter L, of the Lahore edition in round brackets ( ).

[2] Introduction, p. 40.

[3] The Vienna Ms., *v.s.* p. 320 and note on the same page.

[4] *v.s.* note 2.

[5] *ibid.*

[6] Page and line being given according to his Edition of that manuscript.

Instead of طرقیدن - ترکیدن [121, 10], but (L 78, 14) has ترقیدن, which is a variant given by Zh. from his Ms. D [1].

Instead of از آنجا and اندر آنجا the Vienna Ms. has everywhere the spellings ازنجا and اندرنجا.[2]

ذ [3] after short vowels is not always used.[4]

The substitution of ب for و, and, conversely, of ف for ب, occurs in the following passages [5]:

نبشتن [458, 2], but [L 276, 6] has the usual نوشتن.

نبشت [233, 10], [267, 9] = (L 146, 17] and (L 166, 19), as usual نوشت.

برزیدن [51, 19; 441, 6, 9] = (L 39, 4; 266, 14, 16], where we find the usual spelling ورزیدن.

نابرزیدن [71, 9] = (L 46, 9), where we find ناورزیدن.[6]

برزش [14, 16; 19, 1) [7] = (L 10, 10; 12, 17).[8]

برزگر [14, 1] = (L 9, 23).[9]

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[1] *v.s.* p. 320.

[2] Which has not been preserved in the Edition. To me it would seem rather more probable, that such a misspelling stands instead of ازینجا and اندرینجا, the contraction of the sound ī being fairly common in general, whilst the omission of a long *alif* would be rather surprising. No passages being indicated by Zh. in this instance, it is difficult to say definitely, which of the two surmises would prove to be the correct one.

[3] *i.e.* instead of the ordinary د (*dāl-i muhmala*).

[4] In Zh. Edition it has therefore not been preserved.

[5] The list does not seem to be meant as exhaustive: I take it as merely a few more salient examples of such substitutions of sounds (*v.s.* preceding page and note 2 on this page).

[6] I have intentionally avoided calling it '*usual*': the negative particle نا is normally used only in compound words, *i.e.* in combination with nouns and adjectives, *e.g.* ناگاه ,ناکام ,نامرد ,نابکار ,ناکس ,ناگزیر etc., but it is only *admissible* to use it with the Infinitive and the Participles of verbs. In Standard Persian these latter combinations would be viewed with disfavour, but are very common in Tājīkī (v. my 'Stray Notes on Kābuli Persian', pp. 39-40).

[7] Zh. omits to record the case (58, 18) = (L 34, 3), where he also has برزش, but L ورزش.

[8] In the first case L has the usual ورزش, but replaces it, in the second case, by بذریش, which might be a lapse of the copyist.

[9] Misled by the analogy, Zh. seems to have made here a mistake: the word is always spelt and pronounced برزگر, it is in that form that it also is found in L, and I have never heard, or seen in modern print (except in dictionaries), the form ورزگر.

سکوانی [262, 2] = (L 163, 19).[1] But دربان [272, 4] = (L 169, 15) and ستوربان [272, 5].[2]

زفانها [148, 12] = (L 95, 12), where we find the usual زبانها.

زفانی [214, 19] = (L 135, 4) " " " " " زبانی.

2. **Peculiar grammatical forms and constructions: (a) of nouns:**

The use of the Plural termination ان for inanimate objects:

خران [150, 14] = (L 96, 20).[3]

اندوهان [220, 16, 17] = (L 138, 17, 18).[4]

درختان [287, 16] = (L 177, 18).

گناهان [380, 16][5] = (L 229, 17, 18).[6]

A Double Plural form:

لذاتها [398, 8] = (L 240, 11).[7]

An unusual Plural form in گان : گبرکان [360, 7] = (L 218, 2)[8] (cf. E. Browne, 'Description of an old Persian commentary on the Kur'án', JRAS., 1894, July, p. 433, and تاریخ بیهق, Tehran edition of 1307 A.H., p. 388).[9]

A so far unknown form of Plural همگان from همگی :[10]

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[1] L has, instead, an illiterate spelling سك بانی, obviously meant for سگبانی.

[2] L (169, 15) replaces the word ستوربان by امیر.

[3] Which is usual even in modern written language as well, although not in ordinary speech.

[4] Here L has in both cases اندوها.

[5] Z h. omits mentioning here that the same form occurs again in the next line of his numeration.

[6] L has in the first instance گناهها, and in the second, same as Z h., گناهان.

[7] L has the Arabic plural form لذات.

[8] Where L has an even more unusual گبربان (in modern speech, and even print, we would normally expect گبرها). I, personally, am not at all sure that the form in the V. Ms. should not be read گبرکان (Plural form گبرک or گبره, which both could be considered as pejorative forms of گبر).

[9] Even these two supporting quotations fail to make me change my opinion.

[10] Here I beg again to differ: the Plural of همگی may be همگنان, but همگان is certainly an unnecessary Plural formation from the simple همه, which is in itself a kind of plurale tantum.

[308, 1] = (L 188, 9)[1]; [476, 17) = (L 287, 11)[2]; along with همگنان [17, 17]. Cf. Browne *ibid.*, 493 = (L 12, 2).[3]

The oblique case particle را used with the nominative case:

...نصاری را و رهبانانرا اندر شدّت اجتهادشان اندر مشاهده اندی [135, 2] = (L 87, 3).[4]

...ویرا اندر مجاهدت شانی عظیم داشت [199, 5] (cf. our[5] edition of the *Asrāru-t-tawḥīd*, Preface, p. 7, and Nicholson's edition of the *Tazkiratu-l-Awliyā*, II, p. 9)[6] = (L 125, 15).

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[1] L has instead, as would be expected, the usual همه.

[2] L replaces it by ایشان, which is one of the variants given by Zh. in a footnote of the corresponding page.

[3] L has, however, here as well, the more usual همه.

[4] L drops in both cases the را, and replaces the final unusual اندی by بودندی.

[5] Zhukovsky's.—I feel myself compelled to disagree with the late Editor: the particle را cannot be used to denote a Nominative case. What actually happens is that the author begins the sentence in one construction and changes midway into another construction: the sentence beginning نصاری را should end not as اندر مشاهده اندی but as مشاهده بودی or some such like expression. The beginning of the sentence is constructed with a Dative case. That the mistake is not that of a copyist (as supposed by Nicholson (v. note 6 on this page), who says that he 'formerly regarded them as errors of the copyist', but the author's, becomes clear from the way in which later copyists tried to straighten the sentence out by omitting the را.—The reference to the *Asrāru-t-tawḥīd* (which is slightly better as to its style than the *Kashfu-l-Mahjūb*) fails to convince me. As regards the *Tazkiratu-l-Awliyā*, we shall return elsewhere to the question of its style and reasons for which, it would seem, it was adopted.

[6] In a footnote on the same page, Zh. points out, quite correctly, that the first of the examples (نقلست که مدتی احمد را آرزوی عبد الله مبارک می کرد) chosen by Nicholson (*l.c.*) is not quite to the point, احمد را being a *Dative* case used in conjunction with آرزو کردن, an impersonal expression, meaning 'to have a longing'.—To make it clear, we may point out that آرزو کردن is all through the book used by Jullābī in the same sense as, say, درد کردن is used in ordinary colloquial: احمد را پایش درد میکرد 'to A. his foot gave pain'. The above cited sentence from the *Tazkiratu-l-Awliyā* could, in consequence, be roughly translated as: 'In Aḥmad there was a longing, etc.'

The same particle را occurs in combinations already preceded by a preposition in the following instances:

از برای ویرا [31, 15] = (L 21, 1).[1]

از برای خدایرا [92, 15] = (L, 67, 7)[2]; [452, 8] = (L 272, 22).[3]

بهر چرا [390, 16] = (L 235, 21).[4]

از برای باطلی را [392, 11] = (L 236, 19).[5]

از برای چرا [441, 7] = (L 248, 9-10).[6]

از برای خداوند را [436, 19] = (L 293, 19).[7]

از برای هوای نفس را [437, 1] = (L 293, 19).[8]

از کاهلی و مدد جهل را [148, 15]. Cf. Browne, *o.c.* 434, our[9] editions of the *Asrāru-t-tawḥīd*, p. 91 (ز چرا), *Ḥālāt-u-Sukhanān*, Preface, p. 5; Nicholson, *l.c.*; the British Museum Ms. Or. 249,[10] where on fol. 6 there occurs the expression از ترس خداوند را, and in Firdawsī's *Yūsif--u-Zalīkhā* (ed. by Ethé, Oxford, 1908), for instance, verse 965: از بهر یعقوب را. The same phenomenon occurs in the Iranian dialect of *Sada* (see my [9] 'Materials for the Study of Persian Dialects',[11] II. 15, 19 and 21, 37) = (L 95, 14).[12]

Whenever a word having a *ya-i vaḥdat* appended to it is syntactically connected with the following word (*not an adjective*),[13] the *iẓafa* is dropped.[14]

. . . .

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[1] L has naturally از برای وی.

[2] L has not از برای الخ, but simply برای خدا.

[3] In L: از برای خدای.   [4] In L بهر is dropped.

[5] L drops the را.   [6] v. preceding note.   [7] v. note 5.

[8] v. note 5.   [9] Zhukovsky's.

[10] The Ms. bears no title and the name of the author is not mentioned. It contains the biographies of *Abū-Sa'īd b. Abī-l-Khayr* and of *Abū-l-Ḥasan Kharaqānī*.

[11] In Russian, and, so far, not yet translated.

[12] L has this passage in the following form: گروهی از مترسمان مرکاهلی دهد و جهل را بدان احرار الخ.

[13] The italics are Zhukovsky's not mine.

[14] That peculiarity does not belong to the *Kashfu-l-Maḥjūb* or its Vienna Ms., but is a peculiarity of the Persian language at large: how an unaccentuated *yā* could be followed in Persian by *an iẓafa*, I cannot imagine. I, therefore, omit the several lines of examples cited by Zhukovsky in this place and proceed with the next paragraph of his Introduction.

The very frequent use of the Dative case in را, mostly indicating an aim, where in more modern language preference is given to the prepositions: برای, به, در etc.:

این جمله آنرا گفتم تا [36, 4] 'all that I said in order to ...' = (L 22, 12-13) [1];

این کتاب مر آنرا ساختم که [5, 20] 'this book I compiled so that ...' = (L 5, 3).[2]

امید آنرا تا [53, 13] 'in the hope that ...' = (L 35, 7).[3]

مر آن معنی را که [66, 16] 'in that sense that ...' = (L 43, 8).[4]

ازین ده امام معروف مر تصوّف را یکی وی بوده ست [132, 14] 'of these ten imams known in the *taṣavvuf*, one was he ...' = (L 85, 8-9).[5]

مر عزّ اسلام و نجات تنها و رضاء خداوند تعالی را [157, 9] 'for the honour of Islam, and the saving of bodies and the satisfaction of God, exalted be He ...' = (L 100, 19-20).[6]

Arabic *maṣdars* and participles, whether used singly or in combination with Persian auxiliary verbs, demand an oblique case:

نسبت و اضافت همه خلق مر هر چیز را بخود. [42, 3] = (L 27, 16-17).[7]

رد و هجر مشایخ ویرا [190, 10] = (L 120, 8).[8]

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1 L has این جمله برای آن گفتم تا.

2 L drops مر and replaces تا by که, thus: من این کتاب آنرا ساختم که.

3 L adds a که before تا, thus: امید آنرا که تا.

4 Here L fully coincides with the Edition.

5 The same in L with the exception of the verb at the end, which is here, instead of وی بوده ست, — ویست.

6 L replaces مر by از برای, but has preserved the را, thus: از برای عز اسلام و نجات تنها و رضای خداوند را.

7 The را which is essential in the example is preserved in L, but the sentence appears here in a slightly modified form: و نسبت اضافت خلق مر همه چیز را بخود.

8 L has اورا instead of ویرا, but otherwise coincides with Zh.'s quotation, but his own text has بیضاورد (with vocalization as indicated) which would seem to point not to the well-known city of *Bayẓā*, but to some other locality of the name of *Bayẓāvard*. Zh., however, corrects it later in his list of misprints into بیضاورد.

آن یکی حفظ بنده مر احکام ظاهر را بر خود و دیگر حفظ حق مر احوال باطن را بر بنده [499, 17] = (L 300, 16-17).[1]

لباس جامع مر کلّ مقامات طریقت و فقر و صفوت را [63, 16] = (L 41, 9).[2]

مر حقّ را منکر شد (33, 5] = (L 21, 20).

جمله منکرانند مر عزیزان حضرت حقّ جلّ جلاله را [104, 14] = (L 68, 18).[3]

[190, 4] منکر نیند مر کمال فضل و صفاء حال و کثرت اجتهاد و ریاضت ویرا = (L 120, 4-5).[4]

مر جهل خود را معتقد بود [186, 15] = (L 118, 3-4).[5]

مر نفی تخصیص انبیا را اعتقاد کند [304, 5] = (L 186, 9-10).

Along with it and even in connection with the same words, we meet with prepositional constructions, for instance, منکر with بر and به:

[105, 9] = (L 69, 7),[6]
[125, 2] = (L 80, 17),
[190, 7] = (L 120, 6),
[542, 20] = (L 326, 6), etc.

A similar construction, where the oblique case is governed by a Persian word having the meaning of an Arabic participle is also met with:—

مر حجاب آنرا . . . . خریدار گشته [7, 17] = (L 6, 6).

مر حجاب خود را . . . . خریدار آمده [10, 3] = (L 7, 18).[7]

An extremely curious use of the combination ازان with a view to avoid repeating the same word:

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1 L inserts باشد between بنده and مر, آن before دیگر, but otherwise coincides in wording with the text of the Edition.

2 L only differs by adding است to جامع : جامعست.

3 L omits جلّ جلاله.

4 L has منکروی نیند, but has اورا instead of ویرا.

5 L has the more modern باشد, instead of بود.

6 The Edition has بر ایشان, but L has بد ایشان.

7 L coincides with the Edition, except that it has آمد و instead of the final آمده.

فرق میان انک .... و ازان آنک [487, 14] = (L 293, 11).[1]
فرق باشد میان بندهٔ .... و ازان بندهٔ .. [491, 8] = (L 295, 14-15).[2]

Comparative and superlative degrees formed from nouns:

هرکه نیکو خوتر وی صوفی‌تر [44, 6] = (L 29, 3-4).[3]
دوستر دوستان [59, 2] = (L 38, 15).[4]
زاهدتر از تو هرگز ندیدم [104, 8] = (L 68, 11).
دوسترین زنان [318, 15] = (L 194, 19).
دشمنترین دشمنان [260, 15] = (L 162, 15).[5]

In the compound verb دوست داشتن 'to love, to like, to be fond of' دوست very often stands in the comparative degree:

[466, 7] = (L 281, 8).
[515, 8] = (L 310, 15).
[546, 1] = (L 328, 5).

Degrees of comparison in nouns have been observed by us[6] in ordinary modern speech as well, *e.g.* این ازان خرتر است. Cf. Browne *o.c.*, 434, Nicholson *o.c.*, II. 9, and in the *Asrāru-t-tawḥīd*, 468, 10: هزاربار مریدتر.

[1] L has, naturally, in both cases, آنکه, and replaces از آن by the more intelligible میان.

[2] Here the expression ازان has been preserved even in L.

[3] L has only, instead of نیک‌خوتر - نیک‌خوی تر, which offers a second example of the comparative degree formed from noun نیک‌خوی being a noun derived from the adjective نیک‌خو. Here I may add that in Persian there does not exist such a strict distinction between nouns and adjectives, as we are used to see in Latin and Greek and in the Roman and some Germanic languages.

[4] The Edition has و اندرین معنی دوستر دوستان ابوحامد مروزی بود ست (with a variant given in the footnotes درستر), but L has: و اندرین معنی درست‌تر ابوحامد دوستانی مروزی بوده است, which gives more sense and is more in accordance with the general theme of the chapter.

[5] دشمنترین دشمنان is, in my opinion, good Persian, the more so as it is here a mere translation of the well-known Arabic saying ascribed to the Prophet أَعْدَى عَدُوِّكَ نَفْسُكَ الَّتِي بَيْنَ جَنْبَيْكَ

[6] They are very common, both in modern speech and print. cf. also note 3 on this page.

The comparative degree (even in its Arabic form) is constructed, as is generally usual, with از ، کی, for instance:

[21, 5] = (L 14, 5).[1]
[24, 9] = (L 16, 6).[2]
[453, 18] = (L 273, 19).[3]

But there are cases where it occurs also with a simple *iẓāfa*:

مجهولتر همه قوم [109, 8] = (L 71, 7).[4]

این اعزّ آن [320, 10] = (L 195, 19).[5]

The final ت and د in words taking the comparative degree are dropped before the comparative degree termination:

سختر [21, 8; 243, 14; 521, 9] = (L 14, 2; 152, 15; 314, 21).[6]
بلنتر [77, 15] = (L 50, 9).[7]
بتر [288, 8] = (L 177, 22).[8]
دوسترین [397, 17] = (L 240, 8).
دوستر passim, although the full form is used as well:
دوستتر [453, 18] = (L 273, 19).
سستتر [468, 18] = (L 282, 19).

One cannot pass under silence the incomprehensible addition of the preposition به to adjectives used as adverbs:

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[1] The Edition has: و اندر دوزخ خیمه زدن نزدیک فاسق دوستر کی یک مسئله اخ, whilst in L the passage runs: و اندر دوزخ خیمه زدن دوستتر ازان بود بر فاسق که یک مسئله از علم بکار بستن.

[2] Edition: فاضلتر کی فقر, L: فاضلتر است از فقر.

[3] The passage runs: و سهل بن عبد الله‌رض کفت شکم پر از حر دوستتر دارم که پر از طعام حلال; in L the pious formula is omitted and کوید substituted for کفت.

[4] L, however, has مجهول از همه.

[5] L has, however, این اعزّ ازان بود.

[6] In all these cases L has سختتر.

[7] The Edition has: و خود بر بامی بلنتر رفتند, whilst the wording in L is: و خود بر بام بلندتر از من بر شدند.

[8] L has, of course, بدتر.

غنا مرحق را نامیست بسزا .... و فقر مر خلق نامیست بسزا [241, 15][1] = (L 16, 11).[2]

و بدرست ولی اند [303, 16] = (L 186, 5).[3]

وصال بآشکارا کرد [418, 13] = (L 252, 17).[4]

بناحوب [452, 11] = (L 273, 5).[5]

The Adverb in a sentence is often placed anywhere:

عظیم کاری شگرفست [252, 6] = (L—).[6]

The frequent use of verbal nouns (= the Infinitivus apocopatus)[7] and abstract nouns derived from the Past Participle[8]:

شناخت آب [12, 5] = (L, 9, 1).[9]

پذیرفت شریعت [18, 18] = (L 12, 16).

گزارد امر [29, 5] = (L 19, 9-10).[10]

یافتش را هرگز نایافت نباشد [46, 3] = (L 30, 6-7).

از گفت بی‌گفت شدم [356, 4] = (L 215, 21-22).

گفت بی دید [466, 7] = (L 281, 3).[11]

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[1] An obvious misprint: the sentence occurs [24, 14-15]. It runs there as follows: 14 غنا مر 15 حق را نامیست بسزا .... و فقر مر خلق را نامیست بسزا.

[2] L has the same except that in both cases there stands نامی بسزاست. I must add here that, although بسزا is an adjective, سزا itself is a noun, and becomes an adjective only by the addition of the preposition به (or a prefix, as it may be). This example, therefore, does not answer the purpose.

[3] L has also بدرست, which is strange, but must be attributed to the Persian illiteracy of the author (of which we shall speak later) and to the mechanical copying of the text by the successive scribes, whose Persian, probably, was of the same kind as that of the author's.

[4] L has آشکارا.

[5] See note 2 on this page.

[6] L has not got a part of the sentence, the copyist having jumped over a phrase beginning پس آنچه to another beginning پس آن.

[7] Which is in reality the stem of the Past Tense.

[8] By means of a *yā-yi maṣdar*.

[9] L has, however, شناختن.

[10] L has از گذاردن امر او.

[11] L has دیدار instead of دید.

فراکفتی آید [466, 11] = (L 281, 6).[1]
داشت وی [477, 8] = (L 287, 17).[2]
کسستکی [147, 13] = (L 95, 2).
رسیدکی [147, 17; 390, 18] = (L 94, 4; 235, 25).[3]
کذاشتکی [254, 1] = (L 258, 20).
سیر خوردکی [419, 18; 420, 1, 2] = (L 253, 10-11; 253, 11, 12).

Pronominal suffixes are added to nouns ending in a long vowel directly, without the usual connecting *yā*:
دستهاش [145, 16] = (L 93, 15).[4]
انتهاش [209, 16] = (L 132, 4).[5]

They occur in a similar combination with the conjunction تا:
تاش برکزیدند [466, 13][6] = (L—).[7]

In two of the Mss. used for the Edition there occurs an example of the particle را admitted after a pronominal suffix:
ورا باشد که بدوستی مخصوص کرداندشان را [266, 18][8] = (L 166, 12).[9]

Examples of a pleonastic use of pronominal suffixes occur in the following phrases: آنرا کی نامش از حق فقیرست اکرچه امیرست فقیر است [27, 15] = (L 18, 9-10).
کار مریدانی باشد کی ویرا از مکابرهٔ شهوت و موانست هوا باز ستاندش [102, 16] = (L 67, 15-16).[10]

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1 L has بگفتار آید.

2 L has داشت حق, as also given in Edition as a variant occurring in another of the Mss. used by **Zh.** instead of داشت وی.

3 L has in the first instance رسیدن (which is also given as a variant in the Edition); but in the second instance رسیدکی.

4 L has دستهایش. I may add that دستهاش would be good colloquial Persian in modern speech.

5 L has انتهایش. *v.*, for the rest, the preceding note.

6 The numeration in **Zh.** Introduction is not correct: the words occur in (466, 3-4).

7 In L the words کفت تاش برکزیدند are altogether omitted.

8 Thus in the footnote, as variant, the text of the Edition has, however, no *rā* after کرد اندشان.

9 L most unexpectedly has کرداندشان را.

10 L has مریدان, and بود instead of باشد.

Here we must not omit mentioning the use of دیگر یک instead of the simple دیگر:

و نهایت یکی بدایت دیگر یک باشد [234, 8] = (L 147, 17).[1]
یکی مقیمان و دیگر یک مسافران [443, 2] = (L 263, 13).[2]

It is very characteristical that the subject, when in Plural, and the predicate, whenever the latter consists of a noun with a verbum substantivum, are made to agree:

علماء غافل آنان باشند که [19, 19] = (L 13, 8).
فقراء مداهنین آنان باشند کی [20, 7] = (L 13, 14).[3]
صوفیان آنانند که [42, 12] = (L 28, 2).
ما متحنانیم [92, 12] = (L 61, 5).[4]
دوازده گروهند و ازان دو مردودند [164, 8] = (L 104, 22).
آنانکی کافرانند [256, 16] = (L 160, 15).[5]
پس اولیا گواهانند [279, 19] = (L 173, 19).[6]
ایشان رسیدگانند [288, 10] = (L 178, 4).[7]
آنانکی محفوظانند [307, 6] = (L 187, 23).[8]
دوسترین کسان .... مستهلکانند و مقهوران [397, 17-18] = (L 240, 3-4).
پنج حواسّ سپاه سالاران علم و عقلند [415, 4] = (L 250, 17).[9]
این قوم کیانند [536, 18] = (L 322, 21).[10]

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[1] L has دیگری, which in my opinion (the final *yā* being a *yā-yi vaḥdat*) is equivalent to دیگر یک.

[2] In L the یک is simply omitted.

[3] L has, on the contrary: امّا قراء مداهن آن باشد.

[4] L has محتاجانیم, which changes the sense, but does not change the construction.

[5] L same, but the spelling is آنانکی کافرانند.

[6] L same, but the spelling is گواهان اند.

[7] L has another wording, which, however, does not affect either sense or construction: ایشان رسیدگان باشند.

[8] Here, however, L has the more usual آنانکی محفوظ اند.

[9] L same, but the auxiliary verb is written separately: عقل اند.

[10] L has گروه instead of قوم.

(*b*) In verbs:

The particle of continuity می is often placed in the sentence anywhere, sometimes very far from the verbal form to which it belongs:

می نفی وجود نمود [33, 15] = (L 22, 5).[1]
می طریق معاملت کنی [73, 13] = (L 47, 15).[2]
می بهتر از وی طلب کردم [193, 18] = (L 122, 8).[3]
ورا می انسان خوانند [248, 5] = (L 155, 11).[4]
عجمی را می بریاضت عربی زبان کنند [253, 17] = (L 158, 18).[5]
می بمجاهدت بدان محلّ رسانند [254, 1] = (L 158, 20).[6]
می بچندین آفت مبتلا دارد [264, 5] = (L 164, 22).[7]

The particle می is equally used with the Imperative, the Future, the Perfect Tense and the Pluperfect:

می مبین [76, 5] = (L 49, 10).[8]
برین قیاس میکن [283, 5] = (L 175, 10).[9]
می خواهند بود [268, 13] = (L 147, 17).[10]
میخواهمت دید [301, 10] = (L 185, 5).[11]
می بسته اند [408, 6] = (L 246, 15).[12]
می زده بودند [536, 12] = (L 322, 17).[13]

With the Pluperfect even the *yā-yi ḥikāyat* is used:

جرمی کرده شده بودی [57, 3] = (L—).[14]
پیش نهاده بودی [460, 13] = (L 277, 18).[15]

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1 L has نفی وجود می نمود.

2 L, however, has instead: اگر دعوی ملامت میکنی.

3 L has بهتر از وی طلب میکردم.

4 L has ویرا انسان میخوانند.

5 L has the particle prefixed to the verbal form: میکنند.

6 In L the text is slightly corrupt: مجاهده بدان محل رسانند.

7 L omits the می.

8 L omits the می.

9 see the preceding footnote.

10 see the preceding footnotes.

11 L has exactly the same wording, and I cannot see how it could have been expressed otherwise.

12 L has می.

13 L omits the می.

14 L omits the whole sentence here quoted.

15 L has اندر پیش نهادی.

The presence of the particle ى or همى does not exclude the possibility of using at the same time the *yā-yi ḥikāyat* :

ى يافتمى [76, 16] = (L 49, 17).[1]
همى بودمى [76, 17] = (L 49, 17).
ى بودى [150, 5] = (L 96, 14).[2]
ى خواندى [447, 3] = (L 269, 19).
ميكردى [447, 4] = (L 269, 19).[3]
ى غودندى [511, 2] = (L 308, 1).

In verbal forms the particle ى may stand before the negative particle, and, in verbs compounded with prepositions, before the preposition:

ى نيارى [12, 17] = (L 9, 9).[4]
ى ندهيد [31, 19] = (L 21, 8).
ى نه بيند [43, 13] = (L 28, 17).
ى نگريست [403, 17] = (L 244, 1).[5]
ى بركشى [59, 5] = (L 38, 17).[6]
ى برخيزد [248, 6] = (L 155, 11).[7]

The particles ى and همى can stand along with the particle به :[8]

همى بشناسيم [7, 20] = (L 6, 8).
ى ببايد [193, 12] = (L 122, 4).[9]
ى بستانند[10] [408, 4] = (L 246, 15).[11]
ى بداريد [475, 10] = (L 286, 14).[12]
ى ببساوم [519, 10] = (L 313, 16).[13]

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[1] L omits the ى. [2] See the preceding note. [3] See note 1.

[4] L omits the ى, and changes the verb عمل نكنى, like in one of the variants cited in the Edition.

[5] In L the *negative* particle is omitted.

[6] L omits the ى and uses the Past Tense چرا بر كشيدى.

[7] L drops the ى.

[8] The sense of it being just the opposite of the particle ى (or همى): continuity versus finiteness.

[9] L omits the particle به: ميبايد.

[10] This is an obvious misprint: the text of the Edition has ى بستانند.

[11] L has ى بستدند.

[12] L drops the particle به and changes to the 3rd person: ميدارند.

[13] L drops both the particle ى and the particle به: بساوم.

The particle بِ, which sometimes is pronounced بُ (بُبايد [144, 14] = (L 74, 16)[1], can be tacked on before a negative particle of a verbal form:

بنتوانی [222, 11] = (L 139, 19).[2]

بنگردد [333, 4] = (L 202, 21).[3]

بنیفتد [407, 8] = (L 246, 4).[4]

بنخورد و بنه خفت [417, 15] = (L 252, 6).[5]

بنگشت [487, 2] = (L 293, 2).[6]

بنشود [545, 1] = (L 327, 14).[7]

The particle بُ occurs before the Infinitive and the Past Participle of verbs as well:

دست بداشتن [71, 9; 243, 15] = (L 46, 9; 152, 15).

بدانستن [34, 8] = (L 22, 10].[8]

بفروخته [172, 14] = (L 109, 14).[9]

بشولیده [546, 2] = (L 328, 6].

بشده [494, 2] = (L 297, 6].

ببوده [401, 8] = (L 302, 1) (cf. Firdawsī, *Y.* & *Z.*, 886 and *Asrāru-t-tawḥīd*, p. 8, Intr.) also in forms containing the *yā-yi ḥikāyat*:

بایستادی [282, 17] = (L 175, 7).

برفتی [282, 17] = (L 175, 7).

بستدی [417, 14] = (L 252, 5).

بیامدندی [511, 1] = (L 307, 17).

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1 L has simply باید.

2 L omits the particle and has simply نتوانی.

3 L has another verb altogether, without نه: بیندازد.

4 L has simply نیفتد.

5 L has only the negative particle.

6 L reverses the order of the two particles, which is equally un-Persian: نه بگشت.

7 L has only the negative particle.

8 L omits the particle: دانستن.

9 L omits the particle: فروخته.

The negative particle نه (with the Infinitive also نا):

(نا طلبیدن [47, 20] = (L 31, 9).
نا کردن [48, 1] = (L 31, 9).
نا خفتن [459, 5] = (L 276, 22).
نا گفتن [466, 7] = (L 281, 3)).

stands sometimes quite far from the verbal form to which it belongs:

هیچ چیزی ندیدم که نه حق را اندران بدیدم [112, 1] = (L 73, 1).[1]
اگر نه رعونت طبع و ضلالت عقل بر شما مسلّطستی [115, 11] = (L 75, 7).[2]
کی وی نه بخداوند تعالی جاهل بود [176, 17] = (L 111, 19).[3]
هیچ کس نیست کی نه شیطان ویرا غلبه کرد ست [262, 16] = (L 164, 5).[4]

(Cf. in the *Ta'rīkh-i-Guzīda*, Gibb Memorial Series XIV, 1, p. 769: اگر نه شهوت بودی غفلت بر خلق ظفر نیافتی).

The omission of the personal termination in all, except one, verbs of the same form, standing next to, or near by, each other in a sentence (*v.* Short grammar of Modern Persian by Salemann & Zhukovsky, p. 44,[5] and cf. Nicholson, *o.c.*, II, 10).

The examples of such omission are ever so many:

طبع را از ادراک معانی بپرداختند و حدیث حق بینداخت [65, 15] = (L 42, 13-14).
می‌خوردند و پوست بر سر من می‌انداخت [77, 18] = (L 50, 10-11).[6]
رمیدند و بایستهای خود نهفت و . . . . بستدند و پاسبان بر گماشت [93, 19] = (L 62, 2).[7]

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[1] L has . . . . که حق را اندران ندیدم

[2] L has مسلط بودی instead of مسلّطستی, but otherwise its wording fully coincides with that of the Edition.

[3] L fully coincides with the Edition, except the spelling of the initial که, which is spelt in the usual manner.

[4] L fully coincides with the Edition, except that هیچکس is written in one word, and کرده است in two.

[5] Quoted from the Russian edition of 1890, which is a translation by the joint authors themselves of 'Persische Grammatik mit Litteratur, Chrestomathie und Glossar', von Carl Salemann und Valentin Shukovski, Porta linguarum orientalium, Berlin, 1889, 8° min. Unfortunately, I have not got to hand that little book to give the parallel quotation from the original.

[6] L has می‌انداختند.

[7] L has all in ordinary Plural: نهفتند ، بستدند ، بر گماشتند.

اندران شهر راه یافته اند و صورت این طریق را قبیح گردانیده [218, 4] = (L 137, 5-6).[1]

توبه کردم و باز کشت [227, 13] = (L 143, 10).[2]

نامت از دیوان سعدا پاک کردیم و در دیوان اشقیا ثبت کرد [240, 10][3] = (L 151, 13-14).[4]

و جملهٔ محقّقان مجاهدت اثبات کرده‌اند و آنرا اسباب مشاهدت کفته [252, 13] = (L 158, 3-4).[5]

من تهمت از راه توکّل برداشته‌ام و آن را از وحشت حرص نکاه داشته [300, 15] = (L 184, 18).

نقّالان خود کتب ساخته‌اند و بسیاری جمع کرده [303, 5] = (L 185, 20-21).

آن کروه رسیده اند و یافته و بفرمان دعوت باز آمده [304, 10] = (L 186, 12).[6]

آنانکه از رنج مجاهدت رسته باشند و . . . . جسته و . . . . برسیده و . . . . بدیده و . . . . بشنیده الخ [312, 13] = (L 191, 6-7).

کتابی ساخته‌ام و . . . . نام نهاده [333, 9] = (L 203, 1-2).[7]

آلت اظهار الحاد خود ساخته اند و . . . . نهان کرده [333, 14] = (L 203 4-5).[8]

عاجز شدیم و از همه باز ماند [354, 16] = (L 215, 5-6).[9]

چون طعام پیش آوردندی. بخوردی [413, 11] = (L 249, 18).[10]

طرفی از مقامات بیان کرده‌ام و میان حال و مقام فرقی کرده [484, 17] = (L 291, 21).[11]

کفته اند و شنیده [517, 14] = (L 312, 14).[12]

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1 L has اند after گردانیده.

2 L has باز کشتم.

3 An obvious misprint: the sentence occurs [241, 10-11].

4 L has in Singular پاک کردم and نبشتم (instead of ثبت کرد).

5 L has the last verb in the usual form کفته اند.

6 L has at the beginning ایشان instead of آن کروه.

7 L has نام کرده شد instead of نام نهاده.

8 L omits even the اند after ساخته.

9 L has باز ماندیم.

10 L has نخوردندی..

11 L has نهاده‌ام instead of the final کرده.

12 L has شنیده اند.

اگر مزامیر دیو شنیدندی .... دیدی [525, 14] = (L 317, 18).[1]

کراهیّت داشته اند و .... پرهیز کرده و .... غلو نموده [535, 13] = (L 322, 8).[2]

An unusual way of expressing the Subjunctive Mood by forms of the Past Tense with a final *yā* tacked on[3] (cf. our[4] edition of the *Asrāru-t-tawḥīd*, Introduction, p. 7)[5] (there also occurs in a passage, if it is not a mere error made by the copyist of the V. Ms., that, instead of the Subjunctive Mood, as would be expected, simple Future Tense is used):

چون .... خواهد کی .... خواهد نهاد [208, 17] = (L 131, 14).[6]

چیزی معلوم نداشتیم که بتو فرستادیمی [92, 12-13] = (L 61, 5).[7]

نیامده اند کی .... نگریستندی و .... بخریدندی و .... بگزیدندی و .... برسیدندی و .... ببریدندی [105, 10–13] = (L 69, 8–10).[8]

اهل نیافت تا نشر کردی [149, 5] = (L 96, 1).

پیوسته من دوست داشتمی که گرسنه بودمی و نصیب خود بدیگر دادمی [242, 1] = (L 151, 21).

بایستی تا همه مؤمنانرا کرامت بودی [271, 4] = (L 169, 3).

بایستی تا پیغامبر را بودی [271, 9] = (L 169, 6).

پیش ازانک بزمین آمدی [310, 1] = (L 189, 16).[9]

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1 L has مزمار instead of مزامیر, and دیدندی instead of دیدی.

2 L has instead of it: کراهیت داشته‌اند و مریدانرا حذر فرموده‌اند و خود پرهیز کرده اندران غلو نموده‌اند.

3 Which seems to be, as far as I can see, a *yā-yi (sharṭ-u-) jazā*, with the *yā-yi sharṭ* omitted in the protasis, and the *yā-yi jazā* preserved in the apodosis.

4 Zhukovsky's.

5 My own copy of the *Asrāru-t-tawḥīd* being irretrievably lost, and copies of it being unavailable in the Calcutta libraries, I am unable to say to what this quotation refers. It may be added, by the way, that a reprint of Zhukovsky's Edition has been published recently in Tehran, but I have not seen it.

6 The sentence in the Edition runs: چون حق تعالی خواهد کی عوان بچهٔ را تاج کرامت بر سر خواهد نهاد. In L, however, the wording is as follows: چون حق تعالی خواهد تا عوان بچهٔ را تاج و مملکت دهد, which seems to be less corrupt than the passage in the Edition.

7 L has چیزی معلوم نداشتم که بتو فرستادم.

8 L omits نیامده اند and has all the other verbs of the sentence in Participle form: نگریسته، خریده، برگزیده، رسیده، بریده.

9 L has آنکه and می آمدند.

محتاج نبود تا بوده کشتی [360, 19] = (L 218, 10).[1]
خوردندی تا بزیستندی [420, 6] = (L 253, 16).[2]
نزدیک بود که دین برمن تباه شدی [476, 6] = (L 287, 4).[3]

The *yā* of '*condition and consequence*' (*yā-yi sharṭ-u-jazā*) used in connection with forms of the Aorist and of the verbum substantivum, and with the 2nd Person of the Past Tense (cf. *Asrāru-t-tawḥīd*, p. 7 of the Introduction[4]; Browne, *o.c.*, p. 435, and Nicholson, *o.c.*, pp. 7-8):

اگر دین گریبان گیر ایشان گرددی تصوّف بهتر ازین کنندی و . . . . بندارندی
و . . . . ننگرندی و . . . . کنندی [17, 12–15) = (L 11, 22-12, 1).[5]
اگر نه آنستی . . . . ازیشان این نکشمی [78, 2-3] = (L 50, 11-12).[6]
اگر نه رعونت طبع و ضلالت عقل برشما مسلّطستی سخن ازین سنجیده تر گوییدی [115, 11] = (L 75, 7).[7]
اگر بقاضی الحاجات عالمستی از جون خویشتنی حاجت نخواهدی [131, 17] = (L 84, 18).[8]
اگر بعمل بی علم بدو راه باشدی نصاری را . . . اندر مشاهده اندی [135, 1] = (L 87, 3).[9]
اگر اندر دوزخ . . . مکاشفندی . . . یاد نیایدی [138, 1] = (L 89, 2-3).[10]
اگر بحقیقت بشناسدی ازین سرای فانی بگسلدی [189, 3] = (L 119, 13).[11]

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1 L omits the words تابوده کشتی.

2 L has خوردند تا بزیستندی.

3 L has: شود instead of شدی.

4 See footnote 5, p. 344.

5 The text in L seems to have been somewhat corrupted by the copyist in his effort to straighten out some of the forms unfamiliar to him. It has anyhow, at the beginning: اگر دین گریبان ایشان گیرندی تصرّف بهتر ازین کنندی, and further: نداندندی ، ننگرندی ، کنندی.

6 L has نکشیدمی.

7 L has (as already pointed out in footnote 2, p. 342. مسلط بودی instead of مسلّطستی; پخته تر instead of سنجیده تر, and گویندی instead of گوییدی.

8 L has وابستی instead of عالمستی, and نخواستی instead of نخواهدی.

9 L has عمل instead of بعمل, یافتی instead of باشدی, نصاری instead of نصاری را, and بودندی instead of اندی.

10 L has مکاشف بودندی and یاد نیامدی.

11 L has بشناختی, omits فانی and has بگسلیدی.

اگر دوام آن روا نباشدی نه محبّ محبّ باشدی...... [225, 17] = (L 142, 5).[1]
اگر بینندی برهندی [231, 10] = (L 145, 14).[2]
اگر من با ایشان نباشمی ... مغرور شوندی [259, 19] = (L 162, 10-11).
اگر عجب صورت کیردی آنجا بایدی کی [352, 10] = (L 213, 22).[3]
اگر کافران بدانندی ... نجات یابندی [375, 13-14] = (L 226, 17-18).
اگر عاصیان بدانندی نجات یابندی و ... طاهر شوندی [375, 14] = (L 226, 18-19).[4]
و اگر نیستی ایشان نکنندی [520, 1] = (L 314, 3).[5]
و از روی جواز جایز باشدی که این هر یک اندر همه اعضا شایع باشدی [509, 2] = (L 306, 11).[6]
اگر ... سماع کنندی از همه آفات آن برهندی [526, 10] = (L 317, 17).
اگر خود را ندیدی و همه عالم را بدیدی [134, 7] = (L 86, 12).[7]

With the forms of the Aorist there also occurs the *yā of desire* (or 'optative' *yā*—یای تمنّا) (after کاشکی):
کاشکی ما ازین سماع سربسر برهیمی [528, 10] = (L 318, 17).[8]
کاشکی برهدی [528, 12] = (L 318, 19)[9] (cf. examples from the *Tazkiratu-l-Awliyā*, Nicholson, *o.c.*, 10).

Here we may add an example of a similar combination, which is, however, hard to explain:
من بخواب دیدم که قیامتستی و جملهٔ خلق اندر حسابگاهندی [115, 15] = (L 75, 9-10).[10]

---

1 L drops in both cases the final *yā*, and has نباشد and باشد.

2 L drops the اگر, and has simply می بینندی برهندی.

3 The text in L coincides in everything with the Edition (except the spelling گ instead of ک), but the د (*dāl*) in گیردی looks suspiciously like a و (*vāw*), which might be explained by the copyist failing to understand what he was writing.

4 L has شدندی instead of شوندی.

5 L has another wording: اگر حلال نبودی ایشان نکردندی.

6 L has in both cases simply باشد.

7 L drops the superfluous *yā* in both cases.

8 L has برستی.

9 L has کاشکی برابر برهیدی.

10 L drops the initial من; has قیامت است and اندر حسابگاه قایم اند.

A form of the Imperative, made more emphatic by means of adding an *alif* at the end:

مه ایستیدا (corresponding to the Arabic فلايقفنّ) [227, 17] = (L 143, 12).[1]

The formation of the simple Future by means of the ordinary Infinitive, instead of the infinitivus apocopatus:

ورا بخواهم کشتن [411, 5] = (L 248, 8).[2]

Forms of the Past Tense, wherein the verbum substantivum stands before the Participle, and the negative is attached to the former (cf. A short Grammar of Modern Persian by Salemann and Zhukovsky, p. 54).[3]

پس کرفتاریست فتاده همیشکی [30, 4] = (L 20, 1-2).[4]

ویرا اندر غیب کاری افتاده نیست [399, 11][5] = (L 241, 7).[6]

The use of apocopated Past Participles:

کرد از ناکرد اولیتر داند [330, 3] = (L 201, 10).[7]

ناکرد از کرد اولیتر داند [330, 4] = (L 201, 10).[8]

همیشه بود [501, 9] = (L 302, 1).

The use of rare forms—3rd pers. Plur. of the Aorist and the Pluperfect from the verb بودن and imparting to it the meaning of 'to become', by prefixing to it the particle ب:

بوند [27, 17; 76, 4; 261, 11; 369, 17; 386, 2; 452, 18] = (L 18, 11[9]; 49, 9[9]; 163, 11[9]; 223, 15[9]; 233, 3[9]; 273 6[10]).

بوده بود [132, 13; 194, 7; 318, 9; 417, 18] = (L 85, 7[11]; 122, 13[11]; 194, 15[12]; 252, 8[12]).

بوده بودند [318, 11] = (L 194, 16).[13]

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[1] L has نه ایستد.   [2] L has این را instead of ورا, and کشت.

[3] v.s. footnote 5, p. 342.

[4] L has: پس کاری فتاده همیشکی.

[5] The original has [499, 11], an obvious misprint.

[6] L has نه افتاد است, which is also quite un-Persian.

[7] L has in both cases the full Infinitive form.

[8] v. preceding note. Here the final داند is omitted.

[9] L has باشند.   [10] L has بود.   [11] L has بوده.

[12] L has بود.   [13] L has simply بودند.

سدیگر خاطر ببود [502, 10] = (L 302, 16).[1]
نبوده و پس ببوده [501, 8] = (L 302, 1).

The formation of the Passive by means of the verb آمدن:
داشته آید [89, 11] = (L 58, 10).
گفته آمده است [174, 5][2] = (L 110, 9).

In the case of a verb compounded with an Arabic *masdar* it is admissible to complement the latter by a whole sentence:
طلب قوتی که ازان چاره نیست میکنم [286, 15-16] = (L 177, 7).[3]

Finally, we may mention an incomprehensible form گفتا which has been preserved by us[4] in the text:
دو پیر بودند یکی مسعود نام و یکی شیخ ابوعلی سیاه گفتا [418, 3] = (L 252, 10).[5]

(*c*) **In Prepositions and Adverbs.**

Prepositions can be omitted, the examples of such omission, are, however, few:
جائی[6] خفته باشد [297, 9] = (L 182, 18).

The Preposition بی is very often accompanied by the complementary Preposition از (cf. Browne, *o.c.*, 439):
بی از آنکه [4, 7, 8-9; 126. 15; 168,[7] 2; 225, 3; 365, 9, 15; 418, 9] = (L 4, 5, 6[8]; 81, 18; 106, 22[9]; 141, 12; 221, 3, 7; 252, 14).

---

[1] L omits ببود.

[2] The original has [184, 5], which is an obvious misprint.

[3] In L the wording is: طلب قوتی میکنم که ازان چاره نیست.

[4] Zhukovsky.

[5] L has گفتندی, which does not make the matter clearer. That latter form is also recorded by Zh. as a variant in a footnote on the respective page. Out of curiosity, I looked up the passage in the Samarqand edition (p. 391, 8-9), where, however, no form of the verb گفتن is found, and where the text runs: در مرو دو پیر بود یکی مسعود نام و یکی شیخ ابوعلی سیاه رحمة الله علیهما مسعود بدو کس فرستاد که الخ.

[6] I find it good Persian and, I think, the addition of any preposition where *place*, not *direction* is meant, would have made it unidiomatic.

[7] The original has [165, 2], an obvious misprint.

[8] In L 4, 6 the copyist has jumped over a whole line and added it afterwards in the margin. That marginal addition has, however, بی آنکه.

[9] L has بی آنکه.

But also:

بی آنکه [225, 8; 327, 5] = (L 141, 16; 199, 18).

With the Arabic بعد *after*, the Preposition از is, on the contrary, placed before and an *iẓāfa* is used to connect that combination with what follows (by analogy with the Persian از پس):

از بعد آن [144, 9; 212, 12; 418, 19; 494, 4] = (L 92, 19; 133, 16;[1] 252, 20; 297, 7[2]).

از بعد آنک (آنکه) [81, 10; 82, 19; 99, 11; 175, 1; 339, 13; 383, 18; 546, 5] = (L 52, 19[3]; 54, 1[3]; 65, 12; 110, 19; 206, 15;[4] 231, 14; 328, 9).

از بعد این [325, 1] = (L 198, 13).

The Adverb باز *again* used as a Preposition (cf. Nicholson, *o.c*, 13):

باز جای خود آمد [207, 1] = (L 130, 8).[5]

باز دنیا آیند [344, 9] = (L 209, 7).[6]

رجوع شان باز آن مقام اصلی خود بود [484, 16] = (L 291, 20).[7]

The Preposition با *with*, used in the meaning of به *to, in*:

با تون کر ما به اندر آمدم [77, 2] = (L 49, 20).[8]

آمدم با سر مقصود [251, 15-16] = (L 157, 13).[9]

با سر معاملات رویم [374, 3] = (L 225, 22).[10]

باز گردی با دنیا [389, 13] = (L 235, 7).[11]

با سر معاصی نشود [461, 16] = (L 278, 10).[12]

---

1 L has بعد ازان.

2 L has از پس آن.

3 L omits بعد.

4 L has از بهر آنکه.

5 L has here (I should say, correctly, from the point of view of Standard Persian) باز بجای خویش آمد: in this case the verb denotes action, and direction is implied by it, whilst in the case discussed above (p. 348, footnote 6), the verb denotes state, and place is meant.

6 L has باز آیند بدنیا, cf. preceding note.

7 L has بدان instead of باز آن.

8 L has بتون.

9 L has بر سر.

10 L has بر اسرار معاملات آیم.

11 L has, of course, به دنیا.

12 L has بر سر معاصی نروم.

A *yā* of indefiniteness (*yā-yi vaḥdat*) is admissible in connection with an Adjective used adverbially:

بر روی آب خوشی برفت [109, 5-6] = (L 71, 9).[1]

* * * *

Here we may record some archaic or rare words and combinations, which may be useful from the point of view of Persian lexicography. They are as follows:

آرزو خواستن *to express a wish, to wish*:

وقتی آرزو خواستم [163, 2] = (L 104, 4).[2]

آرزو کردن *to excite somebody's desire, something* (Nomin. case) *to be wished by somebody* (Dat. case):

ابن عمر را ماهی آرزو کرد [238, 14] = (L 149, 23).

آنگک آرزو کند ویرا [239, 5] = (L 150, 6).[3]

For further examples of such a construction, see *Asrāru-t-tawḥid* 89, 9, 14; *Tazkiratu-l-Awliyā*, Nicholson's edition, I, 109, 17; II, 11 (*v.s.* p. 330, footnote 6), and also the old British Museum Ms. Or. 249, dated 698 A.H., ff. 7r, 10; 8v, 5, 6.

آسان یاب, *easily obtainable, easily found* [399, 4] = (L 241, 2).

آگاهانیدن, *to inform, to let know* [224, 7] = (L 141, 2).

آماسیدن, *to burst* [121, 10; 403, 13] = (L 78, 13; 243, 21).

اسلام پذیر *receptive to Islam* [506, 14] = (L 305, 4).

امیدوار in the meaning of *a promising person, on whom one can rely*:

مر پدر را خلق نیکو و امیدوار ست [215, 7] = (L 135, 8-9).

اندوهگن *sad, sorrowful* [59, 11; 139, 4] = (L 38, 21[4]; 89, 16[5]).

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[1] L has an entirely different wording: و بر روی آب دریا بگذشت.

[2] L has بآرزو.

[3] L coincides with the Edition, except the spelling of آنگ.

[4] L has اندوه گنان.

[5] L has اندوهگین.

باور داشت *faith, confidence* [143, 2; 374, 1] = (L 92, 3; 225, 20 [1]).

باور و استوار داشت *faith and affirmation* [146, 8] = (L 94, 4).[2]

برگ *possibility, power* [202, 9] = (L 127, 12).[3]

برینش (from بریدن) *cutting, cutting off* [261, 15] = (L 163, 14).[4] The root برین has been preserved up to our days in Iranian dialects, see my [5] 'Materials for the Study of Persian Dialects', I and II s.v. بریدن.

بزه‌کار *sinful* (in combination with the verbs کردن، شدن and گشتن): [74, 18; 75, 1; 537, 15; 538, 4] = (L 48, 11, 13; 323, 7, 12).

بساوش *rubbing, touching*: [509, 2] = (L 306, 10).[6]

بسودن (Imper. بساو) *to rub, to touch*: [263, 15; 415, 4; 509, 9, 10; 519, 5, 10, 13; 530, 3] = (L 164, 17; 250, 17; 306, 15, 16; 313, 14,[7] 16; 314, 1; 319, 13).

بشولانیدن *to disturb, to trouble*: [373, 7] = (L 225, 15).[8]

بوده گشتن *to become, to come into existence*: [311, 16; 360, 19] = (L 190, 17; 218, 10).[9]

بیوس *expectation*: [127, 12; 273, 8] = (L 82, 6;[10] 170, 6[10]).

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[1] L has باور دارد. It seems to me as if **Zh.** had misunderstood the construction: we have to do here not with compound noun باور داشت, like in the preceding case, but with the verb باور داشتن in the 3rd Person Sing. It is immaterial, whether in the Present (as L) or in the Past (as Edition) Tense.

[2] L has only باور داشت, omitting the استوار.

[3] L has an entirely different wording (the copyist having probably misunderstood the sentence) and has ترگ instead of برگ.

[4] L has تربیتش. [5] Zhukovsky's.

[6] L has here, somewhat indistinctly, an Arabic equivalent لمس, and it is obvious that the scribe wrote at first some other, and longer, word, then licked it off whilst it was still wet (which accounts for the above-mentioned indistinctness or smudge) and wrote on that place the word لمس, the *sīn* of which he made as long as permissible, still leaving a little blank space after the preceding word.

[7] L has شنیدن instead of بسودن.

[8] L has توکّل من تباه شود instead of توکّل مرا بیشولانند.

[9] L omits here the sentence تا بوده گشتی, which occurs in the Edition.

[10] L has هوس.

پای داشت *firmness, steadfastness*: [187, 15] = (L 118, 17).

پسنده‌کار and پسندکار *contented, satisfied*: [10, 2; 48, 18; 54, 16; 63, 13; 188, 1; 503, 7) = (L 7, 18; 32, 1; 35, 22; 41, 7; 118, 20; 303, 4).

پسنده‌کاری *content, satisfaction*: [220, 19] = (L 138, 20).

پسنده *sufficient*: [315, 1; 374, 3; 402, 9; 423, 15; 449, 14] = (L 192, 14; 225, 21; 243, 3; 255, 18; 271, 11).

پیوندانیدن *to attach, to join*:

عنایت ازلی را بدو پیوندانَد [396, 18] = (L 239, 14).

چخیدن[1] *to commit oneself, to have to do with somebody, to be connected with somebody*: [300, 10] = (L 184, 15).

چون خود *like oneself*[2]: [346, 2; 358, 4] = (L 210, 7; 216, 22).

چون خویشتن[2] *like oneself*: [131, 18; 467, 9] = (L 84, 18; 281, 20).

حاصل آمدن *to follow, to result*: [264, 2; 379, 14; 498, 8-9] = (L 164, 21:[3] 229, 2;[4] 299, 4[5]).

حاصل شدن (same meaning): [267, 17] = (L 167, 5).[6]

حضرت *the capital (city)*: [110, 14] = (L 72, 7).

خنده ستانی *mockery, jeering*: [76, 11] = (L 49, 15).[7]

خوار داشت *contempt, disdain*: [310, 16] = (L 190, 5).

خواستن *to wish, to desire*, is constructed with the apoco-

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[1] Zhukovsky adds here 'and جخیدن', which is, of course, an impossible form, as the *hā-yi huṭṭī* can only occur in Arabic words. Thinking it to be a misprint in Zh.'s Introduction, I, at first, corrected it into جخیدن, which could be a variant (or an early Ms. spelling) of the above چخیدن, and is also found in dictionaries. Yet, the text of the Edition (p. 348, 14), as also L (p. 211, 19) have جحد, the whole sentence being: و چون می بینم که گروهی از عاقلان بدو جحد و انکار کنند '*when I see that a group of wise men deny and reject it*'. I, therefore, omit the second quotation under this heading.

[2] I must confess that I am at a loss to find anything archaic or peculiar about that expression.

[3] L has حاصل گردد.

[4] L has حاصل شود.

[5] L has حاصل آمد.

[6] see note 4.

[7] L has simply خنده, omitting ستانی.

pated Infinitive:

بروں خواست شد [199, 1] = (L 125, 12).[1]

درست نخواستی کرد [203, 12] = (L 128, 7).[2]

در خواب خواستی شد [460, 13] = (L 277, 18).[3]

باز خواستم گشت [472, 18] = (L 285, 4) cf. Firdawsī, *Yūsif u Zalīkhā*, v. 866, 1671, and *Asrāru-t-tawḥīd*, 285, 10.

دانستن in the sense of *to be able, to understand:*

پرداند دوخت [55, 12] = (L 36, 10).[4]

سخنان طریقت بدانیم شنید [55, 17] = (L 36, 18-19).

فرق دانی کرد [545, 6] = (L 327, 18).[5]

درگاه گرفتن *to devote oneself entirely:* [212, 10] = (L 133. 15-16).

دست (باز) داشتن *to take off one's hands, to abstain from something, to refuse*, is constructed either, in the usual way, with the Preposition از, e.g.:

[80, 3] = (L 51, 20).
[97, 5] = (L 64, 1).
[156, 1] = (L 100, 1-2).
[293, 16] = (L 180, 19);

Or with an oblique case, with را or without; or with an *izāfa:*

ناکردنی را دست بداشتم [14, 11] = (L 10, 6).[6]

حکم رعایت را دست [7] بندارندی [17, 13-14] = (L 11, 22-23).[8]

---

[1] L has, instead of it: میرفت.

[2] L has نخواهی, which considerably changes the meaning, نخواهی کرد being a more Future.

[3] L has: و چون بخواب اندر خواستی شد.

[4] L has: برداند دوخت, which seems to be a better reading: in the Edition anyhow پر is marked with an asterisk.

[5] L has: فرق توانی کرد.

[6] L has: و از ناکردنی دست باز داشتم.

[7] In **Zh.'s** Introduction: بنداری, but in the text of the Edition بندارندی.

[8] L has a slightly different wording: و حکم رعایت را از دست نداندی, giving the sentence just the opposite meaning.

بعضی از فرایض بکند و بعضی دست باز دارد [381, 5] = (L 229, 22—230, 1).[1]
بعضی از نوافل دست بدار [391, 2] = (L 236, 2-3).
فریضه دست بدارد [416, 6] = (L 251, 8).[2]
دست بداشتن جملهٔ حظوظ نفسانی [42, 5] = (L 27, 18).[3]
دست بداشتن ریا [71, 9] = (L 46, 9).[4]
دست بداشتن مشغولی خلق [72, 5] = (L 46, 18-19).[5]
دست بداشتن محبوب خود [243, 15] = (L 152, 15).[6]

That construction with an *iẓāfa* has been noticed in the *Taẕkiratu-l-Awliyā* by Nicholson, *o.c.* 18, but he does not mention the construction with the oblique case in را, although examples of it occur there: II, 325, 5.

دشواریاب *hard to find, rare*: [166, 9] = (L 106, 2).[7]
دنک *small coin*: [287, 14] = (L 177, 17).[8]
راندن بر *to ascribe, to attribute to something*: [325 2, 3, 7, 17] = (L 198, 13,[9]–16, 199, 2 [10]).
راندن بر (or به) معنی *to understand* (or *interpret*) in the sense of:
اگر بران معنی رانی که [169, 4] = (L 107, 13).[11]
چون بمعنی دیگر رانی [41, 15] = (L 27, 11-12).

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1 L puts از before بعضی in the second instance.

2 L has و از فریضه.

3 L has باز داشتن, but does not otherwise differ from the Edition.

4 L has از ریا.

5 The wording in L is different: ترک جاه و دست بداشتن از ریاست, instead of ترک جاه و ریاست و دست بداشتن الخ, as in the text of the Edition.

6 L has از محبوب.

7 L has: دشوار یافته شود.

8 L has دانگی, which is also one of the variants given in a footnote in the Edition.

9 Omitted in L.

10 L has: گروهی برآنند, which is probably a slip of the pen, since the copyist has faithfully reproduced the preceding instances occurring in the Edition.

11 L has an unintelligible: و اگر بران بدانی که.

راه خوردن in the meaning of راه زدن *to attack, to cut the way:*
بروی راه خوردند [154, 3] = (L 99, 1)[1].

رعایت کردن بر *to respect, to maintain, to preserve:*
بر اقامت مذهب وی رعایت میکرده است [323, 12] = (L 197, 18-19)
(such a construction must have originated under the influence of Arabic, where the Proposition على or ل would have been used).

روزگار مرد *a man of (his) time, a man of prominence:* [306, 4] = (L 187, 9).[2]

زکوة گزارد *the fulfilment of the zakāt:* [405, 8] = (L 245, 1).[3]

سبک داشت *disrespect, disdain, inattention:* [144, 18] = (L 93, 5).

سران *head-side, top-side* (opp. پایان):
یکی بر سران وی و یکی بر پایان وی نشست [240, 11] = (L 151, 1-2).[4]

سلام کری *greeting, salutation:* [466, 14] = (L 269, 14-15).[5]

سوار بودن *to be prominent, to excel in something:*
اندر علوم ظاهر و باطن سوار بود [185, 8] = (L 117, 4).[6]

شکسته *a small part; something; a trifle:* [137, 12] = (L 88, 18).[7]

شنوانیدن *to make hear; to inform:* [27, 4 ; 279, 9 ; 400, 3] = [L 18, 1; 173, 12; 241, 15).

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1 L has زدند.

2 L has حجت روزگار بوده است, instead of عجب روزکار مردی بوده است of the Edition, where, in a footnote حجت is also given as a variant for عجب.

3 L has the Infinitive in its full form: گزاردن.

4 L has: یکی بر سر گاه وی نشست و یکی بر پایگاه وی.

5 L has سلام گوئی, which the Edition also gives as a variant from two different Mss.

6 L has سواره.

7 The original has [132, 12], which must be a misprint, as the word is found not on p. 132 of the Edition, but on p. 137. L has here: نان شکسته 'a broken loaf'.

صوفی گری *being a Sūfī; professing Sūfīsm:*

دعوی . . . . صوفی گری کردن [172, 12] = (L 109, 13).[1]

عزیز روزگاو *a man of good life:* [299, 12; 318, 3] = (L 184, 5; 194, 11).

عزیز نفس *a good-natured man:* [318, 3] = (L 194, 11).

فتادن *to fall.*

تا کسی درینجا نفتد [184, 8] = (L 116, 11).[2]

گرفتاریست فتاده [30, 4] = (L 20, 1).[3]

فتنه *captivated, charmed, in love:* [170, 14] = (L 108, 12). cf. Nicholson, *o.c.*, II, Pref. 22.

فرا *to; in:* [123, 7; 126, 12; 137, 12; 151, 6; 179, 6] = (L 79, 18; 81, 16; 88, 18;[4] 97, 5; 113, 11[5]).

فرا گفت آمدن *to start talking:* [466, 11] = (L 281, 6).[6]

قضا کرده *fated, predestined:* [490, 10] = (L 295, 2).

کامل حال *perfect as to state, or life* [515, 3] = (L 310, 15).

کدواده is generally given in dictionaries '*the building of a wall, or of a house.*'[7] *Jullābī* (in the Vienna Ms) uses it twice:

کدوادهٔ بلا [59, 12] = (L 38, 22).[8]

کدوادهٔ اصفیا [504, 2] = (L 303, 13).[8]

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[1] L has تصوّف instead of صوفی گری, which would have been more to the point in the context.

[2] L has: تا کسی اندرین نیفتد.

[3] L has: پس کاری فتاده.

[4] L has here: بوی دادم instead of فرا وی دادم, as in the Edition.

[5] L has بمن داد instead of the فرا من داد of the Edition.

[6] L has بگفتار آید.

[7] I find in Steingass '*foundation of a house*'; Anandraj gives the meaning: بنای خانه و عمارت and mentions the existence of another form of the same word کولاده, of which he says: نیز بمعنی بنیان خانه است, which fully coincides with Steingass' explanation: Zh. must have been misled by the somewhat vague meaning of بنا, if by 'dictionaries' he means some Persian '*Farhang*'.

[8] L has گهواره.

But in both cases all the other Mss. have instead of it کهواره 'cradle'. There arises the question whether the former word was not used by *Jullābī* in the meaning of the latter, which possibility is fully justified by the context.[1]

که used in the sense of بلکه: [176, 9;[2] 461, 2] = (L 111, 13:[3] 277, 23 [3]).

کانه *small: trifling; one only:*

درم کانه [80, 12] = (L 52, 6).[4]

دینار کانه [127, 4] = (L 82, 1).

گرای کردن[5] used impersonally in the sense '*to be worth while*':

گرای گفتار او نکند [2, 7] = (L 2, 17).[6]

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[1] The question may be left open.

[2] In the original p. 176, l. 8

[3] L has بلکه.

[4] L omits کانه.

[5] In the original گرا کردن stands after کاهل حال (not after کرد واده, as one would have expected, the order followed in Zh.'s list being alphabetical), the confusion having seemingly arisen through the absence of the second *sarkash* (never used in older Mss. and not used even in our days in Persia, except in dictionaries). The word گرای (with a *yā*) was mistaken for گرا (with an *iẓāfa*), in the sense of '*hire*'. The word is, of course, as I would say, un-Persian (see for that my 'Stray Notes on Kābulī Persian', pp. 83–86 s.v. *karā*, *karāh* and *karāhī*. گرای کردن is also un-Persian even in two ways: in the first instance it is a case of verb splitting' (as described by me, *ibid.*, p. 28), it being used instead of the verb گرایدن or گرایستن, which verb, with a somewhat uncertain meaning, does not seem to have even been current in Persia proper. We find it in dictionaries, and P. Horn records it in his 'Neupersische Schriftsprache' (in the 'Grundriss d. iranischen Philologie, Vol. I, Part 2, p. 742, l. 25) with the meaning '*neigen zu*, etc.', i.e. '*to incline, to be inclined*'.

[6] In L the sentence is hopelessly muddled: که گرای گفتار نام او نکند, i.e. '*whose name a decent person will not mention*'. The sentence, however, could be translated, in my opinion: 'whose name I am not inclined to disclose' (for such impersonal turns of sentence v.s. what Zhukovsky himself has to say s.v. آرزو کردن.

For the same expression used in a personal form, v. *Asrāru-t-tawḥīd* 287, 3 and *Nafaḥātu-l-Uns* 319, 6 [1] (= *Kashfu-l-Maḥjūb*, 301, footnote 36).[2] Cf. also *Kashfu-l-Maḥjūb*:

ترا گرا نکند که .... دهی [409, 10-11] = (L 247, 12) [3].

گرد پای (*sitting on the floor*) *cross-legged*: [433, 19] = (L 261, 21) [4]; cf. *Asrāru-t-tawḥīd* 270, 15.

گسلانیدن *to tear off, to break off*: [396, 18] = (L 239, 15).

گفتن بچیزی *to declare, to decide upon something, to take a stand on something*:

بترک معاضه بگفته [22, 8] = (L 15, 1).[5]

بترک اسباب ظاهری و باطنی گفته اند [22, 15] = (L 15, 6).

چون طالب بترک ملکیّت بگفت [28, 10] = (L 18, 19-20).[6]

بترک آن بگوید [30, 18] = (L 20, 12).[7]

بفنای کلی گویند [43, 1] = (L 28, 8).[8]

بترک جان عزیز خود بگفت [45, 7] = (L 29, 18-19).[9]

بقبول طریقت بگوئی [52, 18] = (L 34, 18).[10]

بترک شریعت و متابعت آن بگوید [71, 7] = (L 46, 7-8).[11]

بترک سلامت خود بگوید [74, 3] = (L 48, 1).[12]

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1 The original has p. 319, l. 5 (i.e. of the Nassau Lees' edition), which is a misprint.

2 The footnote in question gives a sentence added in one of the secondary Mss. used by Zh., which runs as follows: که شخصی گرای آن نکند آنرا زیارت نکند (var. کنند).

3 L has گرائی.

4 L has پای دراز کرده نشسته بود, as against گرد پای نشسته بود of the Edition.

5 L drops the Preposition.

6 L has ملک, insteadof ملکیّت, which is also one of the variants given in the Edition.

7 L has: ترک آن گیرد.

8 L has: که فنا کل گویند.

9 L drops the Preposition.

10 L has گوشی, instead of گوئی, which changes entirely both the construction and the meaning of the sentence.

11 The wording in L is different: تا بری از شریعت نماند و ترک متابعت آن پیش گیرد.

12 *v.s.* note 5.

بترک مشغولی دنیا بگفت [149, 17] = (L 96, 10).[1]
بفرمان خدای بگوید [278, 14] = (L 173, 4).[2]
بترک کلوخ گفتن راست نیاید [289, 6] = (L 178, 12).
بجواز تجربت بر ذات باری تعالی بگویند. [304, 2] = (L 186, 7).[3]
بقدم ارواح بگویند [361, 1] = (L 218, 11).
بترک علم بنت لبون هم نشاید گفت [407, 1] = (L 246, 3).[4]
باستغراق علم گفتن [497, 14] = (L 299, 8).

Such a construction is also encountered in the old Persian commentary on the Qur'ān, described by Browne, *o.c.* (بتقلید گوید 507), although the author of the article does not mention it in his description. Numerous examples can be found in the *Asrāru-t-Tawḥīd*, *e.g.* 268, 3, 16; 283, 5.

گویانیدن *to make tell*: [466, 1, 3] = (L 280, 20;[5] 281, 1).

ماناکه *probably*: [148, 16] = (L 95, 14).

ماندن *to leave*:

با هر کسی بمقدار سرمایهٔ وی چیزی بماندی [120, 8] = (L 77, 20).[6]
بمان [121, 12] = (L 78, 15).[7]
عیال را چه ماندی [289, 9] = (L 178, 15).[8]

محاویدن *to destroy, to throw away*:

طلب صفاء باطن را از دل بمحاویده [35, 13][9] = (L 23, 13-14).[10]
یاد آن از دل خلق بزدای و بمحاو ای فراموش گردان [429, 12] = (L 259, 6).[11]

In the latter example the words ای فراموش گردان one would be inclined to consider as an explanatory sentence added by one of the copyists. Yet the text of the other Mss., where the

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1 In L the wording is slightly different: ترک شغل و مشغلهٔ دنیا بگرفت.

2 In L the verb is omitted.

3 L coincides with the Edition barring slight differences in the sequence of the words.

4 L has گرفت instead of گفت.

5 L has here (in the first case only): بگفتار آرند.

6 L only omits وی.

7 L has بگذار, instead of بمان.

8 L has باز گذاشتی, instead of ماندی.

9 The other Mss. used for the Edition have محوکرده.

10 L has also محوکرده.

11 L omits the words: بزدای و بمحاو ای.

words بزدای و بمحاو ای are omitted and the words فراموش کردان retained, do not allow of such an interpretation.[1] Unfortunately, in the abstracts by Muḥammad Pārsā,[2] the passage in question does not occur. Anyhow, the verb is formed from the Arabic محو.

مشغول دل *one whose mind is occupied:*

برقت کلام خود مشغول دل شده [20, 3] = (L 13, 11).[3]

نابیوس *unexpected, unusual:*

جایکاهی نابیوس [292, 14] = (L 180, 7).[4]

نکاهداشت *preservation, guarding:* [444, 20] = (L 268, 15).[5]

نهاد و برداشت *'putting down and picking up':* [454, 4] = (L 274, 4).

نیکو خواست *benevolence:* [148, 5] = (L 95, 7).

واخریدن *to deliver:* [265, 13] = (L 165, 18).

همیشکی *permanent:* [30, 4] = (L 20, 2).

یاد کرد *remembering, mentioning:* [106, 20, 21; 195, 4] = (L 70, 1 bis; 122, 23).[6]

یوسیدن *to seek, to solicit:*

جاه بیوسند ... [20, 10] = (L 13, 16).[7] Cf. in Persian dialects: my[8] 'Materials', I, II, *s.v.* جُستن.

Zhukovsky further mentions that 'Jullābī's style is not free from Arabic expressions'; that he uses 'Arabic

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[1] All the four other Mss. used by Zhukovsky being far younger than the Vienna Ms., I do not see any reason, why the interpretation proposed by him should be rejected. It only proves that the later copyists found in the original (or originals) from which they were copying the same unintelligible (or unusual) words together with a good explanation thereof, so they retained the latter and dropped the former. As Zh. does not give any filiation of the Mss. used by him, one cannot be sure that they are not copied, all or some of them, from the Vienna Ms., or its prototype, or some intermediate Ms.

[2] The author of *Faṣlu-l-Khiṭāb* (described in Rieu's Catalogue, 863), which consists of such abstracts from Jullābī's work.

[3] L omits دل.

[4] L has نامعهود.

[5] Written in one word in L, with the *iẓāfa* after it marked.

[6] L has in all the three cases یادکردن.

[7] L has جاه طمع دارد.

[8] Zhukovsky's.

expressions and words attributing to them meanings not current in Persian'; that 'through translating literally from Arabic, he introduces expressions foreign to the spirit of the Persian language.

Some instances of Arabic expressions, not generally used in Persian, are then noted by Zhukovsky, as occurring in the *Kashfu-l-Maḥjūb* such as:

باسرها *wholly, entirely*: [7, 15; 221, 12] = (L 6, 4; 139, 5).

لعمری *by my life! in truth*: [309, 6; 351, 2] = (L 189, 6; 213, 4).

مع هذا[1] *withal; notwithstanding:* [110, 8] = (L 72, 3).[2]

ای, less often یعنی (which is followed by an explanation in Arabic of some Arabic expression).[3]

اوراق *leaves* (*of a tree*) : [287, 15] = (L 177, 18).

و شتّان مابین *and there is a great difference between*: [158, 18; 230, 13; 484, 5] = (L 101, 16; 145, 4; 291, 12).

و مثلهم / و امثالهم } *and the like.*[4]

Zhukovsky finally points out that *Jullābī* often concludes his Persian arguments by a whole sentence in Arabic, which generally begins with لأنّ or فَ. In most cases it is impossible to say, whether these '*because*' and '*then*' belong to the author or have been bodily taken with the sentence quoted by him from the Arabic source he used for his work. More than a

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[1] The expression is, however, quite current in Persian.

[2] Omitted in L.

[3] The passages enumerated by Zh. in that connection are so numerous, that I abstain from reproducing them, the more so as یعنی is quite good Persian, and ای is not seldom used in Persian (mostly in combination with other Arabic expressions, such as أَىْ بِعِبَارَةٍ أُخْرَى '*or, in other words*', etc.), even in speech.

[4] I omit here the tedious enumeration of passages where these expressions are found, as well as that of the passages, where their Iranian equivalents و آنچه بدین ماند، ماند آن، ماند این are used by the author of the *Kashfu-l-Maḥjūb*. I also omit the enumeration of whole Arabic expressions and their Persian parallels, as noted by Zh., and of such Persian expressions as seemed to him to belong to the same category with regard to the construction.

score of such instances are enumerated. One case, where لکن has been replaced by its Persian equivalent ارانچ is quoted: [325, 9] = (L 198, 11).[1]

* * *

As already said[2] the examples of the peculiarities of Jullābī's language, quoted in the preceding pages, have been bodily taken (barring such emendations, as imposed themselves, and omission of a few passages that seemed to have no direct bearing on the subject) from the part of Zhukovsky's Introduction left untranslated by Sidney Jerrold.[3] My purpose in doing so was twofold: in the first instance to make these interesting materials accessible to students of the *Kashfu-l-Mahjūb* by supplementing Zhukovsky's quotations with exact references to page and line of a current Indian edition of the work[4]; in the second instance, to have at my disposal a sufficient number of examples, showing the peculiarities of the language used by the author of the *Kashfu-l-Mahjūb*, more especially such as would point to the local speech of his birthplace. In that respect, however, the results proved to be somewhat meagre, but not altogether disappointing. In the footnotes accompanying my translation of Zhukovsky's list a few of the more blatant peculiarities attributable to the influence of the local speech have been pointedly noted. They are, as said, very few, and the gravamen of the case does not so much lie with such isolated examples as with the general trend of the text characterized by minor details, such as the improper[5] use (and position) of particles and prepositions, which is analogous with that prevalent in *Tājīkī* (or *Kābulī*) Persian. To this we have to add the immoderate use of causative verbs inexistent in Standard Persian, the use of the verb آمدن as an auxiliary verb,[6] the occasional splitting of verbs.[7] All such deviations are recorded by Zhukovsky in his Introduction under the term 'peculiarities', and we have no means to ascertain whether he considered them as archaic, but such was probably the case.[8] From the moment, however, that I undertook my

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1 L has پس.

2 *v.s.* pp. 326-327.

3 *v.s.* p. 326 and footnotes to the same page.

4 *v.s.* note 1 on p. 327.

5 From the point of view of Standard Persian.

6 *v.s.* p. 348.

7 See for that my 'Stray Notes on Kābulī Persian', pp. 28-29.

8 Although his prolonged studies of Iranian dialects and particularly, his prolonged stay in Turkestan, when collecting materials for his monumental work on 'The Ruins of Old Merv', may have influenced him, which could account for the great circumspection shown by him in defining the forms discussed by him as 'peculiarities'.

study of the kind of Persian used at present in Afghanistan,[1] I came to the firm conclusion that many of these peculiarities, usually considered as archaic, are nothing of the sort, and are not governed in any way by the factor of time, but belong to a certain locality, namely to the large strip of land extending from Bukhara and Samarqand to the confines of India, and comprising the present day Khorasan[2] and Afghanistan. Or, in other words, these 'peculiarities' are geographical, not historical. I think to have definitely proved elsewhere[3] 'the identity of the Tājikī language of Bukhara not only with the colloquial language of present day Afghanistan, but also with the 'old language of Herat',[4] as represented by the peculiarities of the *Tabaqātu-ṣ-ṣūfiyya* of Anṣārī. Unfortunately, Khurasan in the wider sense of the term[5] was always, and quite correctly so, considered to be 'the cradle of Persian literature', so that whatever peculiarities were found in the earlier works of Persian writers hailing from Khorasan, they were considered as natural idioms of Persian of a certain period, whilst, in reality, they were merely part and parcel of the local vernacular of all periods. In poetry such peculiarities[6] became less apparent owing to a certain rigidity in the versified sentence. They were also liable to be considered as instances of poetic licence, and as such to be discounted.

In the earlier periods (to which belong the *Kashfu-l-Maḥjūb* and its author) the intercourse between the parts of Iran comprised in the limits of present day Afghanistan and Persia proper was less hampered than it became since the influx of the Central Asian Turcs who, conquered India and the adjoining parts of Iran in the XVI c. A.D. and founded their independent empire, which became known as the Empire of the Great Moghuls. The influence of Central Asia with regard to language became paramount in the countries under their sway, and the Persian of Persia proper ceased to a great extent to exert the amount of influence it used to wield over the language of those countries.[7]

That state of things explains why the language of the *Kashfu-l-Maḥjūb* does not display even a greater number of peculiarities

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[1] The results of which are expounded in my 'Stray Notes on Kābulī Persian'.

[2] Previous to the establishment of the independent Durrānī dynasty (1747 A.D.) in Afghanistan, the western portion of that country belonged to Persia and was considered to be a part of Khorasan.

[3] In my 'Stray Notes on Kābulī Persian'.

[4] W. Ivanow. Tabaqat of Ansari in the Old Language of Herat, JRAS, 1923.

[5] *v.s.* note 2.

[6] Except, of course, what regards particles and prepositions, as well as isolated words, unusual as far as Standard Persian is concerned.

[7] The language of Afghanistan does not seem however to have become entirely crystallized in its present form before the accession to power of the Barakzāi dynasty in the XIX c. A.D. and the foundation of the present day independent Afghan kingdom.

akin to the present day language of the mother-country of its author.

Other factors, however, such as *Jullābī's* extensive travels which also comprised Persia proper,[1] where he had occasion to hear Standard Persian spoken on every side[2] must have influenced his style. On the other hand, he could hardly have been influenced to any appreciable extent whatever by any literary productions of his time in Standard Persian, which were certainly scarce, if not altogether inexistent, the medium of expression being in his time chiefly, if not exclusively, Arabic.[3]

That circumstance fully explains one point, overlooked by Zhukovsky in his excursus on the peculiarities of *Jullābī's* language, namely the syntactical appearance of the phrase in the *Kashfu-l-Maḥjūb*.

The construction of the sentence in Persian is rather rigid as regards the place occupied by the subject and the predicate, the former always beginning, and the latter closing the sentence, or, in other words, a personal form of the verb indicates the end of the sentence and, so to say, plays the rôle of a full stop.[4] For the sake of greater emphasis, certain parts of the sentence

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[1] The places which he says having visited are mentioned in the *Kashfū-l-Maḥjūb* in the following passages, as recorded by Zhukovsky in his Introduction (pp. 4-5):

Māvarannahr	..	Z h. 56 = L 37, 2; Z h. 476 (not 417, as given by Z h.) = L 287, 12.
Āzarbāijān	..	Z h. 64 = L 41, 14; Z h. 535 = L. 322, 2.
Bastām	..	Z h. 77 = L 50.
Khurasān	..	Z h. 77 = L 50, 5; Z h. 191 = L 120, 16; Z h. 434 = L 262, 3.
Nīshāpūr	..	Z h. 213 = L 134, 2 (here L has a superfluous گفت).
Sarakhs	..	Z h. 287 = L 177, 14.
Ṭūs	..	Z h. 301 = L 184, 20.
India	..	Z h. 110 = L 72, 8; Z h. 531 = L 320, 12.
Syria	..	Z h. 116 = L 75, 18; Z h. 209 = L 131, 16; Z h. 300 = L 184, 16 ff; Z h. 447 = L 270, 8.
Baghdād, *Khuzistān*, *Fārs*	..	Z h. 191 = L 120, 16.
Farghāna	..	Z h. 301 = L 185, 2.
Mayhana	..	Z h. 301 = L 185, 8.
Merv	..	Z h. 323 = L 197, 20; Z h. 524 = L 316, 9.
Iraq	..	Z h. 449 = L 271, 7.
Bukhara	..	Z h. 460 = L 277, 20.
Turkestan	..	Z h. 531 = L 320, 13.

[2] With the exclusion of *Māvarannahr*, India, *Farghāna*, Merv, Bukhara and Turkestan, the other places are either in Persia proper itself, or Persia has to be traversed to reach them from Ghaznī.

[3] Like Latin was in mediaeval Europe, or like Sanskrit still is in India the medium of intercourse between pandits from the North and their colleagues of the South, with the sole difference that Arabic was and is, at the same time, a living language.

[4] That order is not necessarily adhered to in poetry.

may occasionally be placed after the predicate. That is, however, what *Jullābī* does constantly in the *Kashfu-l-Maḥjūb*. A few examples may serve to show the trend of his construction:

و از حول و قوّت خود تبرّا کنم اندر کفتار و کردار Z h. 1, 12-13 = L 2, 9.[1]

که مرا این حادثه افتاد بدوبار Z h. 2, 3 = L 2, 14.

و دیکر کتابی کردم هم اندر طریقت تصوّف Z h. 2, 6 = L 2, 16.[2]

که مؤلف آن بدان فن و علم عالم بوده است و محقّق Z h. 2, 11 = L 3, 3.

حفظ آداب خداوند بود عزّ و جلّ Z h. 2, 14 = L 3, 5.

و تسلیم امور بخداوند سبحانه و تعالی باشد و نجات از آفتهای کوناکون Z h. 2, 17-18 = L 3, 7-8.

جز تسلیم چه روی باشد مر قضا را Z h. 3, 1-2 = L 3, 10.

از بند دفع کند اندر کلّ احوال وی Z h. 3, 2-3 = L 3, 11.

برمن واجب شد حق سؤال تو کزاردن[3] Z h. 3, 20 = L 3, 23–4, 1.

These examples, which could be multiplied, seem to show, if anything, a certain influence of Arabic, without, however, strictly adhering to the Arabic construction, where the predicate begins the sentence and is immediately followed upon by the subject (if any). Jullābī's construction lies between the two, neither being strictly Iranian, nor wholly Arabic.[4]

The plan and the scope of the *Kashfu-l-Maḥjūb* are specified by the author in the introductory part of the work as follows:

قال السائل و هو ابوسعید الهجویری بیان کن مرا اندر تحقیق طریقت تصوّف و کیفیّت مقامات ایشان و بیان مذاهب و مقالات ایشان و اظهار کن مرا رموز و اشارات ایشان و چکونکی محبّت خداوند عزّ و جلّ و کیفیت اظهار آن بر دلها و سبب حجاب عقول از کنه و ماهیّت آن و نفرت نفس از حقیقت آن و آرام روح باصفوت آن و آنچه بدین تعلّق دارد از معاملات آن[5]

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[1] Zhukovsky's edition, page and line = Lahore edition, page and line, see for these abbreviations, pp. 326-327, *supra*.

[2] In L with a slightly different wording.

[3] L کذاردن.

[4] One must, however, bear in mind that this particular peculiarity of Jullābī's style has nothing whatever to do with the local speech of his native place and is shared by him with a great many writers of his epoch (and even later epochs), who were accustomed to write mostly in Arabic and wrote, as it were, only occasionally in Persian.

[5] Z h. 7 = L. 5; Nicholson's translation, pp. 6-7.

and also:

و مقصود تو معلوم گشت و سخن اندر غرض تو درین کتاب مقسوم گشت [1]

The last phrase explains, to a certain extent, the somewhat intricate plan of the work, of which Blochet[2] quite correctly says that it consists of two distinct parts. Personally, I am inclined to consider the *Kashfu-l-Maḥjūb* as a mere *tazkira* of famous early *Ṣūfīs* similar to (or, rather, the prototype, and one of the chief sources, of) such works as 'Aṭṭār's *Tazkiratu-l-Awliyā* or Jāmī's *Nafaḥāt*,[3] with the sole difference that, as opposed to the latter two works, the part in the *Kashfu-l-Maḥjūb* dealing with the tenets of Ṣūfīism is very extensive,[4] and that it does not precede, but follows upon the chapters of the book concerned with the 'lifes of saints' grouped by their various categories. The first six chapters[5] of that part as well are of a general character.

The table of contents prefixed by Zhukovsky to his edition being a veritable synopsis of the book, we thought it best to give it here in its entirety, the more so as none of the Indian editions[6] has any table of contents whatever, and in Nicholson's translation the table of contents comprises only the headings of the chapters and does not contain the titles of their subdivisions.

That detailed table of contents is as follows:[7]

L 2–8	۱—۱۱	.. .. مقدّمهٔ مصنّف
L 8–14	۱۱—۲۱	.. .. باب اثبات العلم [8]
L 14–22	۲۱—۳۳	.. .. باب الفقر

[1] Zh. 1 = L 2; Nicholson's translation, p. 1.

[2] Catalogue des manuscrits persans de la Bibliothèque Nationale, I, 262; see for that also Zhukovsky's Russian Introduction, p. 13, note 3.

[3] Both of whom have extensively drawn on the *Kashfu-l-Maḥjūb* for the subject matter of their respective *tazkiras*, as well as several other authors of later times, like Dārā-Shukūh in his *Safīnatu-l-Awliyā* and *Muftī Ghulām Sarvar* in his *Khazīnatu-l-Aṣfiyā*.

[4] 200 pages in Zhukovsky's edition (= 120 pages in the Lahore ed. of 1342 A.H.–1923 A.D.).

[5] 78 pages in Zh. (= 50 pages in L.).

[6] The Samarqand edition (v. *supra*, pp. 316-317) has a detailed table of contents, which, although omitting individual names, coincides otherwise with the one given by Zh., but as it is even less accessible than Zhukovsky's edition, it need not be taken into account.

[7] The Arabic figures denote the pages of Zhukovsky's critical edition. The accompanying European figures with the letter L indicate the corresponding pages of the Lahore lithograph of 1923 (= 1342 A.H.): I maintained the former for the sake of completeness, and introduced the latter to facilitate reference.

[8] In Nicholson's translation the Chapters are numbered from I to XXV, beginning with the chapter 'On the Affirmation of Knowledge'.

L 22–32	٣٩–٣٣	باب التصوّف .. ..
L 32–42	٦٥–٣٩	باب مرقّعه داشتن .. ..
L 42–44	٦٨–٦٥	باب اختلافهم فی الفقر و الصفوة .. ..
L 44–50	٧٨–٦٨	باب بیان الملامة [1] .. ..
L 50–55	٨٥–٧٨	باب فی ذکر ائمّتهم من الصحابه و التابعین [2] ..
L 50–52	٨١–٧٨	ابوبکر عبد الله بن عثمان الصدّیق ..
L 52-53	٨٢ - ٨١	ابو حفص عمر بن الخطّاب .. ..
L 53-54	٨٣–٨٢	ابو عمرو عثمان بن عفّان .. ..
L 54-55	٨٥ - ٨٣	ابوالحسن علی بن ابی طالب ..
L 55–63	٩٧–٨٥	باب فی ذکر ائمّتهم من اهل البیت .. ..
L 55–57	٨٨–٨٥	ابو محمّد الحسن بن علی .. ..
L 57-58	٨٩ - ٨٨	ابو عبد الله الحسین بن علی بن ابی طالب
L 58–60	٩٢–٨٩	ابو الحسن علی بن الحسین بن علی بن ابی طالب
L 60–62	٩٣–٩٢	ابو جعفر محمّد بن علی بن الحسین بن علی بن ابی طالب .. .. ..
L 62-63	٩٧–٩٣	ابو محمّد جعفر بن علی بن الحسین بن علی الصادق
L 63–65	٩٩–٩٧	باب فی ذکر اهل الصّفّة .. .. ..
L 65–70	١٠٧–٩٩	باب فی ذکر ائمّتهم من التابعین و الانصار .. ..
L 65-66	١٠١–٩٩	اویس قرنی .. .. ..
L 66-67	١٠٣–١٠١	هرم بن حیّان .. .. ..
L 67–69	١٠٥–١٠٣	ابو علی الحسن بن الحسین البصری ..
L 69-70	١٠٧–١٠٥	سعید بن مسیّب .. .. ..
L 70–127	٢٠٢–١٠٧	باب فی ذکر ائمّتهم من اتباع التابعین الی یومنا ..
L 70	١٠٨ - ١٠٧	حبیب عجمی .. .. ..
L 70-71	١٠٩ - ١٠٨	مالك بن دینار .. .. ..

[1] Here ends the first half of the general or theoretical part of the *Kashfu-l-Maḥjūb*.

[2] Here begins the historical or biographical (*tazkira*) part of the book.

L 71	١١٠ - ١٠٩	ابو حليم حبيب بن سليم الراعى
L 72	١١١ - ١١٠	ابو حازم المدنى
L 72-73	١١٢ - ١١١	محمّد بن واسع
L 73–76	١١٧—١١٢	ابو حنيفة نعمان بن ثابت الخزّاز
L 76-77	١١٩—١١٧	عبد الله بن المبارك المروزى
L 77–80	١٢٤—١١٩	ابو على فضيل بن عياض
L 80–82	١٢٨—١٢٤	ابو الفيض ذوالنون بن ابراهيم المصرى
L 82-83	١٣٠—١٢٨	ابو اسحق ابراهيم بن ادهم
L 83-84	١٣٢—١٣٠	بشر بن الحارث الحافى
L 84–86	١٣٤—١٣٢	ابو يزيد طيفور بن عيسى البسطامى
L 86-87	١٣٦—١٣٤	ابو عبد الله الحارث بن اسد المحاسبي
L 87-88	١٣٧ - ١٣٦	ابو سليمان داود بن نصير الطائى
L 88-89	١٣٨ - ١٣٧	ابو الحسن سرى بن المغلّس السقطى
L 89	١٣٩ - ١٣٨	ابو على شقيق بن ابراهيم الازدى
L 89-90	١٤١—١٣٩	ابو سليمان عبد الرحمن بن عطيّة الدارانى
L 90-91	١٤٢ - ١٤١	ابو محفوظ معروف بن فيروز الكرخى
L 91-92	١٤٣ - ١٤٢	ابو عبد الرحمن حاتم بن عنوان الاصمّ
L 92-93	١٤٥—١٤٣	ابو عبد الله محمّد بن ادريس الشافعى
L 93	١٤٦ - ١٤٥	ابو عبد الله احمد بن حنبل
L 93–95	١٤٩—١٤٦	ابو الحسن احمد بن ابى الحوارى
L 95–97	١٥١—١٤٩	ابو حامد احمد بن خضرويه
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L 100	١٥٨—١٥٦	ابو صالح حمدون بن احمد بن عمّارة القصّار
L 100-101	١٥٩—١٥٧	ابو السرى منصور بن عمّاد
L 101-102	١٦٠ - ١٥٩	ابو عبد الله بن عاصم الانطاكى
L 102-103	١٦١ - ١٦٠	ابو محمّد عبد الله بن خبيق
L 103-104	١٦٤—١٦١	ابو القاسم الجنيد بن محمّد بن الجنيد القواريرى
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L 108-109	١٧١ - ١٧٢	ابو يعقوب يوسف بن حسين الرازى ..
L 109-110	١٧٢—١٧٤	ابو الحسن سمنون بن عبد الله الخوّاص ..
L 110	١٧٤	ابو الفوارس شاه بن شجاع الكرمانى ..
L 110	١٧٤ - ١٧٥	عمرو بن عثمان المكّى .. ..
L 110-111	١٧٥—١٧٧	ابو محمّد سهل بن عبد الله التسترى ..
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باب نومهم فى السفر و الحضر ..	٤٥٧–٤٦٢	L 275–278
باب آدابهم فى الكلام و السكوت ..	٤٦٢–٤٧٠	L 278–283
باب آدابهم فى التزويج و التجريد ..	٤٧٠–٤٧٩	L 283–288
كشف العاشر فى بيان منطقهم و حدود الفاظهم و حقائق معانيهم	٤٧٩–٥٠٨	L 288-305
فمن ذلك الحال و الوقت و الفرق بينهما	٤٨٠ ..	L 289
و من ذلك المقام و التمكين و الفرق بينهما	٤٨٣ ..	L 291
و من ذلك المحاضرة و المكاشفة و الفرق بينهما	٤٨٧ ..	L 293
و من ذلك القبض و البسط و الفرق بينهما	٤٨٨ ..	L 293
و من ذلك الانس و الهيبة و الفرق بينهما	٤٩٠ ..	L 294
و من ذلك القهر و اللطف و الفرق بينهما	٤٩٢ ..	L 296

L 297 ..	۳۹۳	و من ذلك النفی و الاثبات و الفرق بینهما
L 298 ..	۳۹۶	و من ذلك المسامرة و المحادثة و الفرق بینهما
		و من ذلك علم الیقین و عین الیقین و حق الیقین
L 298 ..	۳۹۷	و الفرق بینهم .. ..
L 299 ..	۳۹۸	و من ذلك العلم و المعرفة و الفرق بینهما
L 299 ..	۳۹۸	و من ذلك الشریعة و الحقیقة و الفرق بینهما
L 300 ..	۵۰۰	عباراتی که استعارت پذیرد اندر کلام ایشان
L 301 ..	۵۰۱	الفاظی که اندر توحید خداوند تعالی استعمال کنند
L 302 ..	۵۰۲	عباراتی که بشرح حاجتمند باشند ..
L 305–328	۵۰۸–۵۴۶	کشف الحجاب الحادی عشر فی السماع و بیان انواعه
L 307 ..	۵۱۰	باب سماع القرآن و ما یتعلّق بها ..
L 312 ..	۵۱۷	باب سماع الشعر و ما یتعلّق بها ..
L 314 ..	۵۲۰	باب سماع الاصوات و الالحان ..
L 316 ..	۵۲۳	باب احکام السماع .. ..
L 318 ..	۵۲۹	باب اختلافهم فی السماع .. ..
L 319 ..	۵۳۰	باب مراتبهم فی حقیقة السماع ..
L 323 ..	۵۳۸	باب الوجد و الوجود و التواجد و مراتبه
L 325 ..	۵۴۱	باب الرقص .. .. ..
L 325 ..	۵۴۲	النظر فی الاحداث .. ..
L 325 ..	۵۴۲	باب الخرق .. .. ..
L 327-328	۵۴۳–۵۴۶	باب آداب السماع .. ..

No data of any historical worth, which could enable us to define more closely the time of Jullābī's arrival in India can be found in the *Kashfu-l-Maḥjūb*. Details regarding his personal life are also extremely meagre: the titles of his other works, of which none seems to have survived, are scattered through the book and have been recorded in the shape of a list both by Nicholson[1] and Zhukovsky.[2] The names of places visited by him during his extensive travels are given by Jullābī[3] throughout the book.[3] Nowhere, however, does he mention in what order and when these places were visited by him. No names of temporal rulers of his time are given anywhere. Nor does he anywhere mention the time and the reasons of his settling in India.

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1 In the Introduction to his translation.
2 In the Russian Introduction to his edition.
3 A detailed list of them is given by Zhukovsky in his Introduction. See also above note 1, p. 364.

One passage in the *Kashfu-l-Maḥjūb*, however, is important in that respect throwing some light on his life in India and enabling us indirectly to draw some tentative conclusions as to the time of the composition of the work under discussion. The passage runs:

'My Shaykh had further traditions concerning him,[1] but I could not possibly set down more than this (*andar waqt-i man ḍíqí búd ú bísh az ín mumkin na-shud* [2]), my books having been left at Ghazna—may God guard it!—while I myself had become a captive among uncongenial folk (*dar miyán-i nájinsán* [3]) in the district of Laháwur, which is a dependency of Multán. God be praised both in joy and sorrow!'[4]

The reading '*Laháwur*' must have been taken by Nicholson from one or the other of the India Office or British Museum Mss., used by him to check the text of the Lahore lithograph (from which his translation was made), which has:

و من اندر دیار هند در بلدهٔ لهارنپور که از مضافات مولتان است الخ ۰

Thus: *Lahāranpūr* or *Lohāranpūr*.

The 1923 Lahore lithograph chiefly used by us in the present sketch, along with Zhukovsky's edition, has:

و من اندر دیار هند در بلدهٔ بهنور که از مضافات ملتان است الخ ۰

Thus: *Bihnūr* or *Bahnūr*.

The 1931 Lahore lithograph repeats the preceding.

The Samarqand lithograph has:

بلدهٔ لهانور که الخ ۰

Thus: *Lahānūr*

Zhukovsky's edition, based on the oldest Ms. of the *Kashfu-l-Maḥjūb*,[5] has merely:

و من اندر دیار هند درمیان ناجنسان گرفتار مانده الخ ۰

Two of the secondary Mss. used by Zhukovsky add: در بلدهٔ لهانور که از مضافات ملتانست, as given by the editor in a footnote.[6]

Of the five Mss. of the *Kashfu-l-Maḥjūb* preserved in the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Mss. Nos. 1149,[7] 1151 [8] and 1152 [9] have got بلدهٔ لهانور thus, once more, *Lahānūr*, and Mss. 1150 [10] and 403 (Curzon Collection) [11] omit the mention of the place altogether.[12]

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[1] Abū Halīm Habīb b. Salīm ar-Rā'ī.

[2] The transcription is Nicholson's.

[3] v. preceding note.

[4] Nicholson, *o.c.*, p. 91.

[5] v. *supra*, p. 319-320.

[6] His Mss., B and D, v.s. p. 320.

[7] Fol. 54.

[8] Fol. 52*r*.

[9] Fol. 78, v.

[10] Fol. 63 *r*.

[11] Fol. 62 *r*.

[12] My thanks are due here to Prof. M. Mahfuz-ul-Haq who with his usual unfailing courtesy had copied out for me the

Of the two Urdū translations accessible to me, one [1] omits the whole passage quoted above from Nicholson's translation, and the other [2] omits the name of the place, saying merely:

اور میں علاقۂ ملتان میں ناجنسوں کے ساتھ گرفتار تھا ۔

To sum up, we have before us four different spellings of the name of the 'township' (بلده) in the district of Multan in India, where the author of the *Kashfu-l-Maḥjūb* began [3] writing his book and where he 'found himself stranded' [4] in 'uncongenial surroundings': (1) *Lahāwur*; (2) *Lahāranpūr* (or *Lohāranpūr*); (3) *Bihnūr* (or *Bahnūr*), and (4) *Lahānūr*.

Both Nicholson [5] and Zhukovsky,[6] who had before them only one spelling each, take the word to stand for 'Lahore'.

We learn from the Imperial Gazetteer of India [7] that 'Lahore City was not at this time [8] a place of great importance' and 'was governed by viceroys as the headquarters of a province, but during the reign of Masúd III (1099–1114), it was made the seat of the government of the [9] empire'. Its connexion with Multan seems to have been only incidental and of very brief duration, when 'in 1034 Lahore was seized by Nialtigín, the revolted governor of Multán. He, however, was expelled, and in 1036 Lahore was made the capital of the Ghaznivid dominions east of the Indus'.[10]

We see from the above that, though a town of little importance in the days of our author, Lahore was never really (and hardly could ever have been, seeing the distance that separates them) 'a dependency of Multan'. Also, at the time of its temporary seizure by the rebel governor of Multan (1034 A.D. = 426-27 A.H.) Jullābī was certainly still a very young man and could hardly have been writing his great work, the outcome

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respective passages both in the five above-mentioned Mss. and in the Samarqand edition.

[1] By *Shāh Zahīr Aḥmad Zahīrī*, p. 142.

[2] By *Mawlānā Shamsu-l-Hind Izadī*, p. 104.

[3] The passage in question occurs quite early in the book: p. 91 of Nicholson's translation, corresponding to p. 110 in Zhukovsky's edition, where the text occupies 546 pages. It is found on pp. 65, 72 and 72 of the above-mentioned Lahore lithographs of 1903, 1923 and 1931, and on p. 115 of the Samarqand lithograph.

[4] That is how I would be inclined to understand *giriftār mānda* or *g. shuda būdam* in this place: Zhukovsky in his Introduction uses on p. 21 the Russian equivalent of 'detained' and on p. 30 speaks of Jullābī's 'captivity' (cf. also Sidney Jerrold's abridged translation, *o.c.*, pp. 487-88.

[5] In his Preface.

[6] In his Introduction, v. note 4, *supra*.

[7] Vol. XVI, 1908, under Lahore City. History, pp. 106-107.

[8] i.e. in the XIc. A.D.

[9] Ghaznavid.

[10] *ibid.*, p. 106. The Punjab District Gazetteer, Vol. XXXA, pp. 26-27 merely repeats in this place the Imperial Gazetteer of India.

of a lifetime of travels and study. One would be more inclined to think of it as the work of his old age, completed, probably, a short time before his death, if 'Lahore' is really meant in this place. Yet, the so very different spellings of the name of the town and the reference to it as 'a dependency of Multan', arouse some doubts as to the identity of the place. These doubts, though not entirely dispelled, are somewhat mitigated by the existence of a very great variety of very strange ways of spelling the name 'Lahore'.[1]

We find, in fact, the following spellings in the Dīvān of *Mas'ūd-i Sa'd-i Salmān*[2]:

Lūhūr.[3]
Lahāvūr.[4]
Lūhāvūr.[5]
Lāwhūr.[6]
Lāhūr.[7]
Lūwhūr.[8]
Lūhāvar.[9]

As already mentioned[10] Zhukovsky takes it for granted that 'Lahore' is meant in the passage under discussion and draws from it the conclusion that the passage in question belongs to 'an earlier period'[11] of Jullābī's life, implying by it that our author was at Lahore twice: once as a young man, when he found the surroundings so uncongenial that he had to mention the fact in the text of his book, in which he is, otherwise, extremely chary of any personal reflexions, and for the second time, when he is known to have settled for good in the very same place, to have built there a mosque, to have died and been buried there, and to have been extremely popular there both in his lifetime and for many centuries after his death.

I cannot think that that reasoning can be accepted. First of all, it is unlikely that a man dissatisfied with his surroundings in a place where he is 'stranded' would be inclined to return to the self-same place in order to settle there definitely. It is true that Zhukovsky expresses the opinion[12] that '*according to certain indications*[13] his arrival and sojourn at Lahore were due to

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[1] To which my attention was attracted by Prof. M. Mahfuz-ul-Haq, to whom I deem it my duty to express my heartfelt thanks.

[2] In the article by Mzā. Md. b. 'Abdul-Wahhāb Qazwīnī in the JRAS. for October, 1905.

[3] *ibid.*, p. 14 (of the separate reprint) and p. 18.

[4] *ibid.*, p. 15 (twice) and p. 17.

[5] *ibid.*, p. 15.

[6] *ibid.*, p. 16.

[7] *ibid.*, p. 17.

[8] *ibid.*, p. 17.

[9] *ibid.*, p. 17.

[10] v. *supra*, p. 61 and note 6, there.

[11] Russian Introduction, p. 30 (Sidney Jerrold, *o.c.*, p. 488).

[12] Introduction p. 30 (= Sidney Jerrold, p. 488).

[13] The italics are ours.

direct recommendation of his director, *Abū* [1]*-l-Faẓl-i Khuttalī*' I was, however, unable to find any such indications either in the passage devoted by the author to his said spiritual guide,[2] nor in the passages, where reference is made to India.[3]

If Jullābī, which is quite possible and even very probable, had visited India in his younger years, he would hardly have remained for any length of time in a place which did not appeal to him, nor would he have had time to start writing an important book on such an educational journey. We would rather expect him to be very much on the move, leaving as soon as possible places devoid of interest, prolonging his stay as long as circumstances permitted in places of pleasant associations, absorbing new impressions and acquainting himself with the ways and manners of religious men of the country.

In the passage that interests us we find him, however, in India, already deeply immersed in the composition of his magnum opus. The only conclusion we can draw from it is that his wanderings are finished, that he has come to India to settle there for good and that he puts his pen to paper to record the impressions and experiences of a lifetime. The question arises—where? If at Lahore, then not in Multan district, if in the district of Multan, then not at Lahore.

Now, we have at our disposal four different spellings of the place in India where that particular passage was written: (1) لهاور[4]; (2) لهانور[5]; (3) بهنور,[6] and (4) لهارنپور.[7]

One of the most striking peculiarities in the Indian *ta'līq* writing is the absence of any difference in size between an initial *lām* and a dotted *markaz*.[8] The initial *bā* or *tā* is, therefore, easily confused with an initial *lām*, or vice versa. The shape of the 4th of our spellings makes one think that لهارنپور could be a misreading, say, for بهارتپور ('Bhāratpūr')[9] or even بهاولپور ('Bahāwalpūr'), substituting a *vāw* for the *rā* of لهارنپور, were it not that the present capital of the state of that name was founded only in the middle of the XVIII century.[10] But it actually is in the vicinity of Multan.[11]

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[1] The English translation has "Abdu'l". [2] Z h. 208 = L 131.

[3] Z h. 110 (= L 72); 313 (= L 192); 337 (=L 205); 399 (= L 241); 522 (= L 315), and 531 (= L 320).

[4] Nicholson. [5] Zhukovsky.

[6] Lahore lithograph of 1923.

[7] Lahore lithograph of 1903, on which Nicholson's translation is based, but the reading in which he seemingly did not take into consideration.

[8] In Persian *nasta'līq* an intial *lām* is three points in height, and a *markaz* one and a half point.

[9] Not that it could have had anything in common with the present-day place of that name in Eastern Rajputana.

[10] See for that 'Imperial Gazetteer of India' under 'Bahawalpur'.

[11] Some 75 miles distant.

Leaving alone the question of the correct reading of the name of the place, of which J u l l ā b ī speaks so unflatteringly, we may conclude with a certain degree of probability that Lahore was n o t meant in this place, whatever that place was. We also may infer from what has been said that, before making up his mind to settle definitely at Lahore, J u l l ā b ī had tried first one or two, or several, places in India with that intention.

As has already been noted,[1] one group of Mss.[2] and lithographs discussed in the present sketch contains the words در بلدة (?) که از مضافات مولتان است, and the other omits them.[3] The question presents itself as to whether the above words constitute an interpolation by the copyist of the original Ms. from which the first group is derived, or an omission by the scribe who wrote the original of the second group? One would be inclined to think that the latter is the case. Why should a copyist, in fact, make such an interpolation, especially a twofold one, indicating not merely the name of a town (whatever that name may have been), but also the district in which that town was situated? As an indirect argument in favour of our view may also be considered the fact that the Mss. (and lithographs) containing the reference to town and district preponderate in number, while those omitting it constitute a meagre minority.[4] It must be observed that the presence or absence of the sentence in question in certain Mss. does not at all indicate that all the Mss. of the one category are derived from one and the same original. One is rather entitled to suppose that, in our case, the Mss. containing the reference ascend to two or more originals, whilst those which omit it, being few in number, may easily be descended from one and the same defective original.

The conclusion that may be derived from the above lengthy, but necessary explanation is that, apparently, J u l l ā b ī, as already stated, came to settle in India and not necessarily at Lahore, in which place he ultimately settled for good. That

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[1] pp. 374-375.

[2] Mss. B and D used by Z h u k o v s k y for his edition (v. *supra*, p. 320); one or more Mss. used by N i c h o l s o n for his translation, as well as the 1903 Lahore lithograph; the R.A.S.B. Mss. Nos. 1149, 1151 and 1152; the Lahore lithographs of 1923 and 1931, and the Samarqand lithograph. Probably also some of the Mss. unaccessible to us (v. enumeration on pp. 324-325, *supra*).

[3] The old Vienna Ms. on which is based Z h u k o v s k y 's edition. (The Mss. C and E used by him are defective and the folios on which the passage in question occurs seem to be missing); R.A.S.B. Mss. Nos. 1150 and 403 (Curzon collection).

[4] Remain the Mss. inaccessible to us in the great libraries of Europe, some nine in number (v. list on pp. 324-325, *supra*), but, even if the inverse ratio should happen to be found in them, the Mss. containing the reference would be in the majority.

would seem to dispose of Zhukovsky's hypothesis of Lahore having been the goal indicated to Jullābī by his spiritual guide.[1]

All these considerations make us think that the *Kashfu-l-Maḥjūb*, which seems to have been Jullābī's swan-song, was written, without any important interruptions, towards the end of his life.

As regards the date of Jullābī's death, which seemed doubtful to Zhukovsky,[2] we can, with certain reservations, accept the date given in the inscription on his tomb,[3] unless some new data should be discovered shedding more light on that question.

The fact is that the only tangible, although not absolutely certain, evidence is found in the inscriptions on the buildings surrounding the shrine of Jullābī[4] at Lahore. They all give the date as 465, and are found over the entrance to the mosque near the shrine, in the shape of a chronogram on the gate of a sitting room near the *Khānqāh*, and, again on the inner gate of the *Khānqāh*.[5]

Calcutta, 25*th July*, 1941.

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[1] v. *supra*, pp. 376-377.

[2] pp. 29-30 of his Russian Introduction (left untranslated by Sidney Jerrold), where he discusses the dates given by Dārā-Shukūh in his *Safīnatu-l-Awliyā*, in the *Riyāẓu-l-Awliyā* of Bakhtāwar-Khān, in Mīr Ghulām-'Alī Balgrāmī's *Ma'āṣiru-l-Kirām* and in Ghulam Muḥammad Lāhurī's *Khazīnatu-l-Aṣfiyā*, without coming to any definite conclusion.

[3] See for that J. Horowitz, 'A List of published Muhamedan Inscriptions of India', in the 'Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica' for 1911 p. 102 under the heading *Lahore*, Nos. 900–902. It should be noted, however, that, as Horowitz himself says 'inscriptions found in India that bear earlier dates than the last decades of the sixth century of the Hijra can be shown either to have been imported into India from other countries . . . . . ; or else to have been executed long after the date that they bear', and here he mentions, as an example, 'Nos. 900–902 (Lahore) dated 465'. My thanks are due in this place once more to Prof. Mahfuz-ul-Haq for drawing my attention to Dr. Horowitz's article.

[4] Or *Dātā Ganj-bakhsh*, as he is called nowadays in India.

[5] v. note 3, above.

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ARTICLE No. 10.

The Rājāvāḍī (Bhāwāl) Plate of Lakṣmaṇasena Deva.
(Additions and Corrections.)

By N. K. BHAṬṬAŚĀLĪ.

Dr. Randle's edition of the plate, published in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 1 ff., was improved considerably by the emendations of Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, Editor of the *E.I.* In my edition of the plate published above, pp. 1 ff., I think I could effect some improvements over the readings of Drs. Randle and Chakravartī. Distribution of the reprints of my article among the scholars of Bengal brought in some suggestions for further improvement, notably from Prof. Dineśa Chandra Bhaṭṭāchāryya, M.A., of the Hooghly College. I must express my gratefulness to this keen-sighted scholar for his painstaking labour of love in going through my paper so scrutinizingly and for sending me corrections and suggestions for improvement in reading, many of which are incorporated in the note below.

Page 21, bottom: All things considered, it is best to leave the reading as मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च । So, the emendation goes and सुश्रीदेवी also disappears.

TEXT. ŚLOKA 1: Prof. Bhaṭṭāchāryya also supports the reading देवस्त्वां स, as made out by Dr. Randle. I concur. The translation would therefore be: 'The Five-faced god, on whose lap is his beloved Gaurī like a streak of lightning on the bosom of the autumn clouds; whose person assumed variegated appearance by holding (the god) Hari by a half of his body; who holds faces which are awesome with the brilliance of the three eyes resplendent like the sun;—may that god, the subduer of the demon Gaja, advance your affairs.'

ŚLOKA 2: Prof. Bhaṭṭāchāryya suggests अमृतप्राग्धारधारा-ग्रहम् । प्राग्धारः means 'trickling out'.

ŚLOKA 7: Last line of the verse: For यस्यातीव read यस्येतीव । यस्य+इति+इव । व्यात्यापि is found on both the plates. Prof. Bhaṭṭāchāryya says that this must be corrected to व्याप्यापि ।

ŚLOKA 10: My reading of the last two lines of this śloka was as follows:—

चक्रे यन्मयजन्मनिस्तहमिलन्निद्रानुबन्धच्छलात् ।
क्लष्टेनाधिपयोधिकञ्चुकमिव त्यक्तं प्रमुग्धं वपुः ॥

Prof. Bhaṭṭāchāryya proposes to correct कृष्टेन into कृष्णेन and त्यक्तं into त्यक्ता। He would explain the two lines thus:—

कृष्णेन (विष्णुना) अधिपयोधि (पयोधौ, अव्ययीभावसमासः) प्रमुग्धं वपुः कञ्चुकमिव निःसहमिलन्निद्रानुबन्धच्छलात् त्यक्ता यन्मयजन्म (लक्ष्मणसेनमयं जन्म) चक्रे (कृतं)।

Tʀᴀɴsʟᴀᴛɪᴏɴ: Kṛṣṇa, leaving his unconscious body like a gown in the ocean (His bed), under the pretext of falling irresistibly into an unbroken sleep, effected his birth as Lakṣmaṇa Sena.

If this explanation is accepted, my remarks about the painful birth of Lakṣmaṇa Sena cannot stand.

Śʟᴏᴋᴀ 11: Prof. Bhaṭṭāchāryya wants to read प्रतिपदमुपदास्वक्रिरे in the second line in place of प्रतिसदनपदास्वक्रिरे। This reading was suggested by Dr. Chakravartī also in the *E.I.* Dr. Chakravartī explains the line thus: 'The King of Kaliṅga, accompanied by his wives, often presented gifts to him (even) when he (Lakṣmaṇa Sena) was young.' Prof. Bhaṭṭāchāryya understands the line to mean that frequent presents of damsels were made to him (Lakṣmaṇa Sena) by the King of Kaliṅga, even when the former was in his first youth.

Śʟᴏᴋᴀ 13: The text of the śloka, as made out by me, is given below.

यत्रारामद्रुमदलरुचा शैवलिन्यर्द्धगङ्गा

प्रस्यन्दाजाञ्जयपदगुणै येषु रोमाञ्चिता भूः।

प्राणान्मुञ्चत्यवनिपतयो नो च नर्थ्यानेन

ग्रामास्ते ते सपदि ददिरे कोटिशः शासनानि॥

The criticism of Prof. Bhaṭṭāchāryya made me look into the estampages of the plate again. Dr. Randle suggested शैवलिन्यर्द्धप्रङ्गाः। Dr. N. P. Chakravartī proposed शैवलिन्यूर्द्ध-गङ्गा। Prof. Bhaṭṭāchāryya suggests शैवलिन्यर्थगम्या or शैवलिन्यर्थगर्भा। I think the correct reading is शैवलिन्यर्द्धगङ्गा। शैवलिनी means a river and not moss. The meaning is: 'Where the brooks had assumed half the sacredness of the Ganges by the beauty of the trees of the groves.'

In the second line, read जयपदगुणैर्येषु... ।

Prof. Bhaṭṭāchāryya's suggestion for the latter half of the third line is नो पुनर्थ्याननेन। The meaning would be,—the

princes would give up their lives, but not these villages. अनेन = लक्ष्मणसेनेन ।

In the second line Prof. Bhaṭṭāchāryya suggests जनपदगुणैर्य्येषु . . . which is the reading adopted by Dr. Randle. But the letter after ज is clearly य and not न ।

Paper received 29-10-1942.
,, *published* 30-11-1942.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS.

THE MINISTER AS A KING-MAKER (Kitabistan, 1941). By DR. ISVARA TOPA. 8vo. 162 pp.

Dr. Topa's handy work has been enriched by a foreword from the late Rt. Hon. Sir Akbar Hydari in which he points out that 'Dr. Topa had every reason to congratulate himself on the task of synthetizing in an excellent manner the basic concepts and principles of the Arthaśāstra into a system of political thought'. The Arthaśāstra is not so much a work on political science as it is on governmental art. Dr. Topa has undoubtedly succeeded in embodying the principles underlying the governmental precepts in simple and elegant style and presenting a valuable running commentary on Kauṭilya's monumental śāstra. But one would have wished the author to notice the different chronological theories relative to Kauṭilya in his introduction.

It is certainly helpful to grasp the full significance of the governmental maxims when once the epoch of the political background against which they stand is at least reasonably determined. The author has, however, taken 'Visṇugupta Kauṭilya' as 'the minister of Candragupta Maurya'. But he has not given us any full reason for his arriving at this conclusion.

Secondly, the student of the subject would have liked him to refer more to the original Sanskrit text than to the translations of the same. Barring these the author deserves all commendation for the knowledge that he has added to the rich store of Kauṭilyan scholarship.

J. C. DE.

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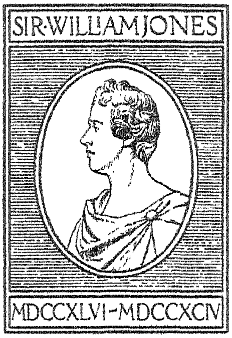

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Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. Letters.
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ARTICLE No. 7.

Psychological Imagery in Kālidāsa.

By C. W. Gurner.

The prominence given by the Sanskrit poets in imagery and simile[1] to parallels between psychological experience and the physical world is characteristic of two trends in Indian thought and literature. In the first place, it is a manifestation of the intense introspection which underlies the philosophy of the Upanishads. In the second place, it implies the comprehensive conception of Reality as a quality attaching alike and in equal measure, whatever its ultimate value, to the concrete and to the abstract in human experience. Ultimately, no doubt, to the Indian thinker, neither category is 'real'; neither the physical world we touch and see and move through, nor our consciousness alike of this environment and of the reactions of our individual personality to its existence. Yet on the level of appearances both possess equal value: the psychological state is as real as the physical factors which determine its reactions: either may be applied indifferently, with equal truth and force to the illustration or imaginative interpretation of the other.

This can hardly be said to be the case in Western literature, from the classics to modern times, though within the last few years there has been a tendency to draw on Freudian psychology for the purposes of poetry as well as of art. But generally speaking, it is true to say firstly, that poetic imagery in Western literature makes sparing use of parallelisms between the psychological and the physical world, and secondly, that in so far as Western poetry has recourse to such imagery it is predominantly for the purpose of illustrating the psychological from the physical world, the intangible from the concrete. Instances to the contrary will occur especially to readers familiar with Milton and Shelley but, (to take one specimen only which will focus the subject under discussion), when one comes across a simile such as Leigh Hunt's for the river Nile—

'It flows through old hushed Egypt and its sands
Like some grave mighty thought threading a dream'

the effect is definitely of something rare and unexpected.

---

[1] In this article which is concerned only with the literary or cultural value of illustration of the physical world from the psychological, and parallelisms drawn between the two, no attempt is made to analyse the types of this imagery in accordance with the 'Alaṅkāras' of Sanskrit poetics.

Not so in Sanskrit literature, where the poet may dip his pen indifferently in either inkpot. The world of consciousness is no less familiar a resource for investing physical states and processes with imaginative beauty and emotional value than is the physical world as a source of imagery for psychological experience. Virgil creates a simile for mental indecision from the fluctuation of water in a bowl, which stands out so conspicuously that it has become a schoolboy's tag. To Kālidāsa the sense of liquidity in consciousness and water is an interchangeable commonplace usually associated with the idea of clearness (*Prasāda*) or the reverse.

The immediate object of this paper is the study of Kālidāsa's use of this imagery from consciousness whether for poetic illustration of physical states and activities, or for illustrating one phase of conscious experience by reference to another. The common factor lies in drawing from the wide range of psychological experience the material to serve for the point of comparison in the simile which gives amplitude and poetical value to the idea expressed. At the same time the extent of the parallelism between the two worlds in the poet's mind is suggested by less exhaustive mention of similes in the opposite direction from the physical to the psychological.

It must be prefaced however that, like most other features of Kāvya poetry, the simile from correspondence between the worlds of consciousness and external realities has a long history behind it, and serves already in the early epics to mark the cleavage of tone between the literature of the East and of the West. The poetic value of imagery is a fully developed factor both in Homer and in the Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata. But chariot horses out of hand on the plains of Troy would hardly have suggested to Homer,[1] as a similar spectacle does to Vālmīki, the loss of control by an individual over his five senses (Rām. VII. 7/30). (One must refrain here from following up the interesting coincidence that this particular commonplace of Sanskrit imagery does make its appearance in Western literature in the philosophical writings of Plato, but essentially for its philosophical rather than poetical value.) Similes from Avarice to the detention of Sītā by Rāma (Rām. VI. 34/23), from the departure of soul from body to the dispersal of the princes (Rām. VII. 40/30), from recovery from delusion to the restoration of Hanumān to his natural shape (Rām. V. 1/197), illustrate

[1] At the discussion ensuing on the reading of this paper Dr. E. R. Dodds, Regius Professor of Greek at Oxford (whose presence at the 160th Anniversary of the Society was a happy coincidence) instanced the simile in the Iliad for the chase of Hector. 'As in a dream one man may not be able to reach in pursuit another who flees; neither can the one escape nor the other reach him in pursuit; so neither could Achilles catch him on his feet nor Hector escape' (Iliad, XXII. 199, 200). This illustration of the living scene from the dream picture is very much in point.

what may be called the 'external' use of the psychological simile (from consciousness to the material world) in the Rāmāyaṇa. More subtle, and at the same time more frequent, is the illustration of one psychological state from another, as for instance, in the field of pure consciousness, the sense of recovery from wounds is made more vivid by comparison with that of waking at dawn (Rām. VI. 74/70). Or there may be an emotional value, as in the simile for friendship from sensual attraction (Rām. V. 9/20), or an ethical value as in the comparison of saintliness eschewing evil thoughts to the struggle against despair (Rām. VI. 2/4). Perhaps the most subtle of such similes from the immaterial world in the Rāmāyaṇa, though slightly outside the scope of this article, is that drawn from the philosophical conception of the Ātma invisible in material objects to suggest Rāma invisible in battle (Rām. VI. 94/22). In one of the most artificial passages in the Sundarakāṇḍa similes from psychological and abstract ideas are piled up to enliven the conception of Sītā in captivity in such a fashion as to parade the author's ingenuity but to rob them of all true poetical value (Rām. V. 15/23). This brief summary will suffice to show the background of psychological simile in the Rāmāyaṇa, the epic which perhaps exercised a predominating literary influence over Kālidāsa.

It is well known that Kālidāsa shows material signs also of the influence of his predecessor Aśvaghosa; and the didactic and moral tendency which dominated the Buddhist poet's Sanskrit writings tended naturally to the development of the psychological simile, especially of an ethical type. This is developed, for instance, to absurd lengths in the Temptation scene (Buddhach. XIII. 46–51). This trait in Aśvaghosa has already been noticed by the writer in this Journal[1]; and it is sufficient for present purposes to recall :—

(*a*) That Aśvaghosa is predominantly interested in the psychological simile based on *ethical* values rather than on phases of consciousness.

(*b*) That he uses it for a didactic purpose rather than for its value as a poetical embellishment.

Aśvaghosa will never let us forget that he is the Teacher before he is the Poet. In the works of Kālidāsa ethical values fall into their place with all other phases of human experience as the raw material for literary creativeness.

It is natural therefore that in his use of this type of imagery Kālidāsa should draw on the whole range of psychological experience, the simple consciousness of existence, intellectual powers, volitional impulse, emotional feelings, moral values and religious ideas. The analogy between the mental state and the physical world, or between two mental states, is designed

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1 *Journal R.A.S.B.*, Vol. XXVI, page 175.

partly to increase the charge of actuality and vividness in description, partly to add to that peculiar sense of poetical beauty derived from the presentation of an unexpected resemblance in detached and often remote aspects of reality.

The simple consciousness of existence or vitality suggests to Kālidāsa the simile (reminiscent of Aśvaghosa) from recovery at the point of death to the joy of reunion. 'Blessedly hast thou been restored to me, as I sank in the darkness of separation, like consciousness to one expiring' (Vik. IV. 39; cp. Buddhach. VII. 38). But the natural charm to be found in amplifying the one phase of consciousness by illustration from the other is lost in the pedantic analogy between knowledge derived from a teacher and cosmic vitality imparted by the sun (Ragh. V. 4). It is in fact rather in the opposite direction that the parallelism between the vital consciousness and physical processes contributes to poetical value in Kālidāsa's writing, as for instance in the trio of similes for recovery of consciousness from moonrise at night, fire without smoke, and a river restored to limpidity—water and the mind again! (Vik. I. 7). There is an element of intellectual, as distinct from purely vital, consciousness in the conception of the mental peace and lucidity which comes just before dawn, introduced, with less obvious relevance than is usual in Kālidāsa in the picture of the mother who 'obtained a son as the mind does lucidity in the last watch of the night' (RV. XVII). The point of the simile must lie in the hour of birth with a secondary allusion to the mother's feelings after delivery.

Similes and analogies from the intellectual processes relate to the experience of education, and the acquisition of knowledge, and also to the effects of knowledge, which lie however rather outside the definition of psychological experience. Here again the epics had given a lead, as in the Rāmāyaṇa's suggestive correlation of Sītā and Rāma with Knowledge and a devout Brahman (Rām. V. 4/17); a reminiscence of which may lie behind Kaṇva's consolation on parting with Śakuntalā, 'Like Knowledge imparted to a good pupil, no cause for tears' (Śak., IV. 2/3). The idea becomes entirely secularized, however, in the parallelism between the prince's marriage to neighbouring princesses, and his education in the royal sciences (the personification of the Sciences being, of course, essentially dependent on the conception of polygamy) (Ragh. XVII. 3). The actual process of concentration on study, with more exotic personification of Knowledge, enlivens the injunction to Dilīpa in performance of his vow for offspring, to gain the favour of the sacred cow by constant attendance, as of Knowledge by application (Ragh. I. 88). While finally, to turn from the process of learning to the results of education Sumitrā bears twins as devotion to knowledge produces Enlightenment and Conduct (Ragh. X. 71).

The psychology of memory, as distinct from the process of learning, is naturally prominent in the drama Śakuntalā; but with one exception, the easy transition from forgetfulness of a message to failure to recognise a person (Śak. IV. 1), the emphasis lies on illustration of the mental state from the physical world, rather than in the opposite direction. The remorsefully introspective Duṣmanta feels an unhappy recollection as a poisoned arrow; and is consoled for his loss of memory with the simile of the mirror clouded by dirt, and of that unfailing resource, of Sanskrit poetry, the eclipse of the moon (Śak. VI. 9 and VII. 32).

Kālidāsa's use of the simile from Volition well illustrates the influence of the Word on the Idea which arises from the value given to the pun as an ornament in Sanskrit poetry. The experience of driving a smooth-running car on a good road free from dust might be described by the proud owner in colloquial English as 'like a dream'; but to Kālidāsa a similar experience (with a chariot) is 'like a wish fulfilled' (Ragh. II. 72). The chariot itself is the wish, the satisfaction of the easy journey is that of fulfilment; and the relevance of the simile is enhanced by the fact that the journey is on a definite mission. Yet, alas, by the critical standards of Western taste (though Shakespeare in his youth would have applauded) its poetical beauty is impaired by the fact that the central feature in the ornament lies in the verbal coincidence which makes a 'wish' the 'chariot of the mind' ('Ratha' and 'Manoratha'). And one can never get away from this punning in the simile from Volition. In the Mālavikāgnimitra the prince is hurrying with such dignity as he can retain to see the new dancing girl perform, when the music of the drums quickens his footsteps 'like the sound of his own wish coming down the road to Success' (the 'wish' being, of course, again a chariot) (Māl. I. 22). And similarly in the search for Urvaśī the charioteer must have his wish, in a series of puns on the same word (Vik. IV. 22). It is a relief to get away from this over-wrought verbiage to the pleasingly simple description of the apes speeding here and there in the search for Sītā under Rāma's direction 'like his own wishes' (Ragh. XII. 59); a conception which gains perhaps in force from the more commonplace analogy of swiftness of mind in pursuit of a purpose (K.S. II. 63). Somewhat on the opposite side of this parallelism is the implied comparison between a mind intent on its purpose, and flowing water (K.S. V. 5) in which, however, the element of emotional affection begins to appear.

The simplest form of imagery from emotional experience lies in the ideas of 'entrance' and 'embracing', which are metaphorical for mental processes in most languages. But here again we are concerned with the less familiar process of poetical embellishment through application of the psychical process to a physical action. Such for instance (though not technically

by simile) is the underlying point in the description of Rama, who 'in keeping his vow to his father intact found his way into the forest and into all good hearts' (Ragh. XII. 9). It is not surprising that in poetry so much influenced by erotic emotion as classical Sanskrit the type of affection from which such imagery is drawn should be predominantly sexual. The monarch entering his new residence resembles a lover entering his beloved's heart (the point being that he is going to *stay* there) (Ragh. XVI. 40); the bridegroom enters the bridal chamber as he does women's thoughts (Ragh. VII. 17). And with the idea of 'embracing' one moves a step further towards the absorption of ornament in this erotic atmosphere. Kingdom, Queen and the goddess Lakshmi are interchangeable elements in a long series of similes from conjugal relations, of which it will suffice to cite one elaborate example, based no doubt on the conventional doctrines of the Sṛiṅgāra texts as much as on direct personal consciousness. The young monarch 'for fear lest she should suddenly take fright showed such tenderness in his enjoyment of a kingdom recently acquired as of a bride newly wedded' (Ragh. VIII. 7). ('Avoiding any roughness in his approaches' as advised by Vātsyāyana on a bridal night (V.K.S. III. 2/16).)

A further type of imagery from the emotional to the physical world is that provided by personification of passion in some external object, especially flowers, based on the verbal coincidence in the meaning of 'Rāga' and the conventional association of redness with passion to which this coincidence contributed. The theme is so hackneyed even by the time of Kālidāsa that one can find little interest in it; but it must be mentioned, along with the similar treatment of laughter and fame personified in whiteness which lie outside the psychological field. Slightly more distinctive, though again conventional in its nature, is the trick of making a particular object the personification of passion implied in action. The Svayamvara bride adjusts the garland to its proper place on the prince's neck like the embodiment of affection (Ragh. VI. 43). Carried to the extreme of mannerism the same type of personification represents the rival dancing masters hurrying to place their quarrel before the monarch as 'embodied feelings' (Mal. I. 10).

The difficulty at this point is in fact to find a dividing line between imagery of genuine psychological value, and that from the elaborate system of conventional and catalogued erotic ideas on which the poet could draw. It is surprising to find how large a fund of illustrative resources erotic imagery provides, even in the Rāmāyaṇa, for instance in the 14th Sarga of the Sundarakāṇḍa. Kālidāsa himself, from the Meghadūta onwards, elaborates the art of generating the erotic 'taste' (Rasa) by recourse to the same resources either in illustration of one passion from another (of hunting from passion for women, Ragh. IX. 69), of entirely different experiences (victory from the fickle Abhi-

sārikā, Ragh. XVII. 69), of nature in reaction to the individual (the morning wind as the coaxing hand, Md. I. 31; K.S. VIII. 25), or of Nature in its picturesque appearances (the Kinśuka flowers as scratches, Ragh. IX. 31). This tendency reaches a climax in the 8th Sarga of the Kumārasambhava where in fact subtle changes in its development contribute to discrediting Kālidāsa's authorship.

On the other hand, Kālidāsa's poetry is rich in studies of emotional states devoid of this erotic feeling, such as family affection, the transition between happiness and distress, indecision in parting, etc., illustrated with vivid touches of imagery from the physical world, which it would go beyond the present scope to detail, but which will suggest themselves at once to any of his readers.

The psychological imagery so far discussed has been devoid of ethical implications. There remains a class of similes in which the whole point of the comparison lies either in the moral value of the experience serving for illustration or on the results of moral effort. The simplest form of simile from ethical experience turns on the conceptions of conflict or of crossing. Parallelism between battle and the moral struggle of the individual soul is a commonplace in many languages; but the distinctively Sanskritic application, in which Kālidāsa is only following the beaten track, is that which draws on the internal struggle within a man's heart to illustrate conflict and aggression among mankind. 'Then he proceeded by the land route to overcome the Pārsikas, as the self-controlled man overcomes the senses by knowledge of the Absolute (Ragh., IV. 60).' The same theme reappears in the contrast between the retired monarch in the Āśram and his young successor on the throne; and is done to death in the picture of the model prince, in which, however, the six passions replace the five senses as the enemy (Ragh. VIII. 17; XVII. 41). More peculiar, perhaps, to Indian thought than the commonplace of conflict is the analogy between the physical and psychical worlds in the sense of 'crossing'; and the efficacy of simile in adding dignity and vividness to description could not be better shown than in the three words comparing Hanumān's flight across the sea to the detachment of a selfless life (saṃsāram iva nirmamas, Ragh. XII. 60). The peculiar appropriateness of the simile in the context gives vitality to what might otherwise be a frigid and pedantical analogy between keeping of his promise by a man true to his word, and the crossing of the river in the very act of reluctantly doing so (Ragh. XIV. 52—Lakṣmaṇa deserting Sītā).

Comparison of the world oppressed by diabolic activities to the sense of involuntary sin goes deeper still into this introspective type of imagery; and well marks the contrast with Western literature. 'The three worlds afflicted by Rāvaṇa, like the heart of a saintly man by Sin entering against his will'

(Ragh. X. 39) are after all, from the view-point of popular orthodox theology, very much the same as the Christian's world (or at least Job's) afflicted by Satan; but it may be doubted whether any parallel could be found for a simile so exotic and yet so pointedly full of meaning.

In the curious simile to be found in the same Sarga of the Raghuvaṃśa from modesty as an ornament to prosperity to son and mother (*Ibid.*, 70) we are still on ethical grounds; but the moral force of the experience is weakened when the point of the comparison lies not in the reaction of the individual to circumstances but in the vulgar idea of the reward of virtue. The procession of the Gods and Ṛiṣhis accompanying Viṣṇu 'like success following a worthy enterprise' (K.S. VII. 71) will serve to illustrate this type of simile which, however, is only on the borderline of the psychological. Imagery from Success and Failure in Kālidāsa depends in fact for the most part not on psychological experience but on the conventionalized conception of Nīti and rules of conduct as laid down, for instance, by Kauṭilya. The literary stock at the poet's disposal under the conception of Artha, just like that provided by conventions in the world of Kāma, are not true psychological imagery and lie outside the scope of this study.

Similarly, in the case of religious experience, it is not easy to isolate imagery of a psychological nature from that based on philosophical and doctrinaire tenets, and facts of religious practice such as asceticism. The long series of similes from the conceptions of 'Dharma' and 'Tapas' and life in the Āśram must therefore be excluded. There is one conception however, that of 'Faith' (Śraddhā), in which, cautious as one must be about admitting analogies with its connotation in other religions, a psychological content does seem to underlie the personification characteristic of Kālidāsa. The union of faith and ritual observance appears (again with special relevance to the activities illustrated) in the simile for prince and queen in attendance on the sacred cow (Ragh. II. 16) and also in the Ṛiṣhi's blessing on Pa, Ma and Baby at the conclusion of the Śakuntalā. 'Blessings on the saintly Śakuntalā, her child and thyself as on the union of Faith, Wealth and Observance, three in one' (Śak. VII. 29).

In fact the psychological world, the range of conscious and sub-conscious experience, is only one branch of the field of abstract ideas on which Kālidāsa draws for the ornament of simile and imaginative interpretation in all its forms. It is this faculty of illustration from the abstract to the concrete which is distinctive, not of Kālidāsa as compared with other Sanskrit writers, but of Sanskrit literature as a whole compared with the Western classics. Individual instances to the contrary will no doubt occur to readers familiar with some particular Greek or Latin poet; but most will agree with the generalization

in which this contrast is drawn; and the sectional study of one particular feature in one particular poet, to which this article has been devoted, is only a sign-post to the underlying mentality of a whole literature.

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ARTICLE NO. 8.

Korku Funeral Customs and Memorial Posts.

By K. P. CHATTOPADHYAY.

In a recent note contributed by Major Gordon[1] the Korku memorial tablets have been described in some detail, and illustrations published along with the descriptions. The tablets studied were put up by Korkus of the Chhindwara district. A different type of memorial is erected by the Korkus of Melghat and adjoining areas. These memorial posts, known as muṇḍas, have been described in the *Gazetteer of the Amraoti District*[2] and in the note on Korkus by Russell and Hiralal.[3] The memorial tablets of the Korkus of Betul have been recently described by Rai Bahadur S. C. Roy who has mentioned also this type of memorial posts.[4] No illustration of this type of 'muṇḍā' has, however, been so far printed in any recognized scientific journal.

There is an unpublished note on the Korku *muṇḍās*, sent to the Calcutta University along with a specimen of a muṇḍā, in 1922, by an officer of the Melghat Forest Division, through Rai Bahadur Hiralal. In September-October 1938 and again in January-February 1941 the writer of this note paid short visits to the Melghat area, to collect certain details regarding the Korkus. Information regarding the Korku funeral customs was collected from a number of informants in the Melghat area. A careful study was also made of different types of memorial posts. The information collected is summarized in this article. Details from the unpublished note already mentioned and from the other sources are indicated, where mentioned for comparison or confirmation.

One of the accounts of the details of the disposal of the dead was obtained by the writer from Mr. Batu, an educated Korku, posted at Chikalda as revenue inspector. He is of the Beṭhe clan and hails from the Dharni Tahsil. Another account was obtained from Bhau of village Tetu. A third account was collected in the village of Gol Tikri in Sembadoh, from a group of village elders, including the Bhumkā (village priest). A fourth account, to check certain details mentioned by Bhau, was obtained from the elders of the village Bori in Chikalda range. Certain

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[1] Korku memorial tablets, by Major D. H. Gordon, *Man*, 1936.
[2] Central Provinces District Gazetteers, Amraoti District, Bombay, 1911.
[3] The Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces, by R. V. Russell and Rai Bahadur Hiralal, Vol. III, London, 1916.
[4] A note on Korku memorial tablets, by Rai Bahadur S. C. Roy, *Man in India*, 1936.

additional details were obtained from the Paṭel (headman) of the old village of Sembadoh, and from old men in Multanidhana (Sembadoh), in Bori (Harisal range) and in Ghatang and from two men of Salona. As noted by Russell and Hiralal, the Korkus bury their dead. Each village has its own special site for burial, and the body is carried there by the villagers, under direction of the '*Panch*' (village council). The corpse is clothed in white if of a man or a widow woman. A married woman is clothed in red. The grave is dug south to north about 3′ deep, and a few copper coins are thrown in before the body is lowered into it. Some rice or grain and a whole turmeric are tied to a corner of the cloth of the corpse. A little grain is also thrown into the grave, and some grain and turmeric powder are sprinkled round the borders of the grave. The body is then laid on its back with the head to the south. According to my informants in Sembadoh, bark of the *moin* tree (Lannea grandis) is placed, a piece each, on the head and belly and one on the legs. Earth is now thrown in about half a foot, and then thorns of *ber* (Zizyphus sativa), *bābul* (Acacia arabica) and other trees. More earth is now put in until the grave is full. On the top each man of the party will put a stone on the grave. A few branches of the Ākwā tree (possibly Calotropis gigantea) are also stuck on the grave. The mourners and villagers now bathe in a stream and return home. Here, at the house, the women-folk have kept under a small basket some grain at the spot where the man or woman died. At Sembadoh and Tetu, I was told that flour was so kept. As the funeral party return, the basket (*tuknej*) is taken off. If the heap of grain or flour is seen undisturbed, the person is held to have died a natural death. Any disturbance is taken to indicate that witchcraft has been responsible for the death.

Food is now cooked (rice) and a portion of it offered to the deceased on a *palās* (Butea frondosa Roxb.) leaf or a brass plate nowadays. All the relations offer a little food to the departed, mentioning his or her name (unless there is a taboo for the particular relative to utter the name), and then sit down to the funeral feast. Mr. Batu stated that on Dharni side, they called this rite *Pitar Miloni*. Russell and Hiralal have noted that 'after the lapse of some days the deceased's family or relatives go to the burial place taking with them a piece of turmeric. This they cut into strips, and placing them in a leaf-cup pour water over them. As the water falls on the tomb, a god is called to witness that this day the man's spirit has been sent to live with the ancestors. The pieces of turmeric are then tied in a cloth which, after receiving an oblation of fowl's blood, is suspended from the main beam of the house, this being considered the dwelling-place of the departed. This ceremony, called *Pitar Miloni*, is the first rite for the admission of the deceased with the spirit of his ancestors, and preliminary to the final ceremony of *sedoli* which

may be performed at any time between four months and fifteen years after the death. But until it is complete the spirit of the deceased has not been laid finally to rest and has the power of sending aches and pains to molest the bodies of its living relatives'. Each clan has its own area for the *sedoli* rite, at which a *muṇḍā* or tomb post fashioned from 'an unblemished teak or salai (Boswellia serrata)' is erected. A goat is sacrificed and a feast held, accompanied by song and dance. The turmeric strips are smeared with the sacrificial blood. Next day the tomb post is erected, and the turmeric pieces thrown into a river saying 'ancestors find your home'. It is stated that the pith of a bamboo may be substituted for turmeric to represent the bones and alternative disposal of the bones in a crab hole is also mentioned. The slicing of a turmeric into strips and pouring water thereon are unknown near about Sembadoh or in Dharni. In the Gazetteer it is stated that the memorial post is planted under a *mahuā* tree. The bones are said to be represented by bits of bamboo or five crabs' legs. In the unpublished note it is stated that the *sedoli* should be performed a year after the death. If the *sedoli* is not performed the deceased sends cough, fever and rheumatic bodily pains to the relatives and also the village in general. The villagers then press the relatives to perform the rite—unless they take it up on their own initiative. A date is fixed and five old men cut a log from a teak tree which must be a seedling tree. It is cut down after making offerings of liquor and purchase money in the shape of a few coins, as noted by Russell and Hiralal. The log is not allowed to touch the ground but carried on shoulders by four persons one of whom must be the eldest male of the family. It is then shaped to have a square cross-section, is about three feet in length and pointed at the top. It has to be taken to the village where the ancestors of the deceased lived. All the writers note that various designs including the sun and the moon are carved on the different sides. It is stated in the note that the pointed end is painted red. In the dance at the *sedoli* ceremony, the men and women form separate rings and each party abuses the other. At the end of the ceremony a hut is erected over the *muṇḍā*. If the deceased was a village headman or a *parhar*, i.e. one who was often possessed by spirits and deities, the *muṇḍā* is treated as a god and is worshipped. According to Russell and Hiralal, one *muṇḍā* should be put up for each ancestor, but 'poor persons make one do for several and their figures are then carved' below that of the principal ancestor commemorated. My informants stated that the *sedoli* is performed very rarely nowadays. Mr. Batu stated that on Dharni side, it is celebrated only for a man of importance. This seems to be the case also in many of the forest villages at present. In the villages of Tetu and Memna I did not find any *muṇḍās*, and the custom was reported to have fallen into abeyance. In Bori village

(Chikalda range), however, the custom still lingers. The village site is on the top of a hill, about a couple of furlongs from the main road. The *muṇḍās* have been erected near a stream, under a mango tree, close to the public road. At the time of my visit in 1938 there were five *muṇḍās* of the ordinary type, which I shall call the solid type (Photo 1). Of the five *muṇḍās*, two were very old, and the latest was erected six years ago. There was also the dilapidated remains of a hut, which was stated to have been a *muṇḍā* hut. The site for the *muṇḍās* of the village of Salona is also under a mango tree, near the main road. There were sixteen *muṇḍās*, of which five were of the solid type and eleven of a different type which I shall call the pillared chamber type. There was also the broken remains of a seventeenth *muṇḍā* of the latter type. I was able to obtain the names of only a few of the men whose memorial posts these were. They were all of *Jāmun got* (clan) and of some influence and wealth. The Paṭel of this village has also erected a *muṇḍā* to his father's memory but as he is not of *Jāmun got* the post is in another village. At the old site of the village Sembadoh I saw two old *muṇḍās* of the solid type under a teak tree by the roadside. Two other solid type *muṇḍās* were seen in October 1938, also in a similar site, near the village Multanidhana across the river. The *sedoli* had not been performed in this area for some years previously. In 1941, the writer found a third *muṇḍā* in the site near Multanidhana, erected early in 1939. It is of Dholja, the deceased Paṭel of Masandi, a village near Salona. The *muṇḍā* was erected by his son Nangu who is now Paṭel. One of the other two *muṇḍās* was erected by Thunji, the Paṭel of Makhla in memory of his father and mother. All these men are of Kasada clan. A group of a dozen solid type *muṇḍās* was also observed near the village of Mungia, in the Harisal range. The different types of *muṇḍās* and the designs on them are described at the end of the paper. I shall now describe the ceremony as reported to me.

The *sedoli* is generally performed in the month of Māhā (Jan.-Feb.). It may, however, also be celebrated in Ākhāti (April-May) but not in the interval between these two months. Ordinarily it should be performed a year after the death, but five to ten years even may elapse. In all the villages the writer was told of the signs of displeasure of the deceased, previously noted, at such delay in performing the rite. A date is fixed for the ceremony, which must fall on a Tuesday. A preliminary ceremony takes place on the previous day, i.e. on Monday. First of all, a small basket called *dablij*, i.e. like a *dabli*, is made of bamboo strips. Stalks of grass, of the kind known as *pavana* (Ischaemum sulcatum) or *sonā* are fetched and seven pieces of one finger's length are taken for each dead person. They are said to represent bones of the deceased. Bamboo pieces are not allowed as substitutes on the Dharni side; but in Sembadoh,

and other forest villages in Melghat, this was stated to be permissible. These 'bones' are placed in the small basket. On Monday these 'bones' in the basket are carried to a stream by young unmarried girls. Opinion differed on this point to some extent. The 'bones' are rubbed with turmeric paste and washed in water. A cock is now sacrificed on the river bank and the blood offered to the deceased ancestors. A new cloth is put on the basket and it is carried home. On Dharni side the Bhumkā finds out by throwing grains into the upturned joined palms of relatives as to who should offer the cloth. What sign is observed was not told to me. The basket with bones and with the cloth on it are placed on the slightly raised platform at the base of the central post (*dhāran*) of the hut. Relations worship the deceased so represented by bones with (or at least make offerings to it of) turmeric powder and rice powder. All my informants agreed that there is singing and dancing. The women sing the marriage songs, as if it is a marriage ceremony. In the meantime the *muṇḍā* has also been made. A teak sapling, which has not flowered, is cut at night on the same day as the grass stalks for bones are gathered. The trunk has to be fashioned to shape and completed before dawn. The figures incised on it may, however, be done later. The post is 3′ to 4′ in length, and about a foot's length is buried in the ground. All persons, who have died since the *sedoli* was last performed in the family, have their figures inscribed on the *muṇḍā*. The principal person for whom the post is being erected gets his conventional figure first; then come the others. Children of the same parents can have their figures on the same face of the *muṇḍā*; members of the same family who resided together, i.e. of the same house, can have their figures on the same *muṇḍā*. The *muṇḍā* post must be complete and ready on Tuesday morning. Mr. Batu stated that the *muṇḍā* was made of *mahuā* wood. But all the other informants mentioned the teak tree, which agrees with the published accounts. So far as I was able to judge from inspection, the actual memorial posts were of teak.

On Tuesday morning, the basket of 'bones' will be taken to the open space in front of the village known as *Ākhāṛi ballā*, where the cattle are assembled each morning when taken out to work or to graze. There is a deity here, the *Ākhāṛideo*, under a tree. A goat is sacrificed to him now. Further dancing then takes place and the *muṇḍā* is also carried when dancing. Unmarried girls carry the bones but men carry the post. The post and the basket are then put back in the hut, the bones remaining on the platform previously mentioned. Mr. Batu stated that on Dharni side, a shed like that put up at marriages is erected at the *sedoli* ceremony (on Monday). The *muṇḍā* is kept against the central post of this shed when not being carried at any ceremony. At Bori, Tetu and Sembadoh I was told that the basket of 'bones', referred to as 'flowers' from Tuesday,

is kept this night, outside the village preferably, on a *ber* (Zizyphus sativa) tree. According to the Paṭel of Ghatang, it is kept in the watch hut in the fields of crop. In Dharni, the Bhumkā throws grains, in the evening, to divine which of the alternative sites the 'bones' favour.

Next morning, i.e. on Wednesday, the villagers and relatives go dancing to the site where the memorial post is to be erected. The 'bones' are carried in the basket by girls and the post by men as usual. A hole is now dug in the ground, rice and turmeric placed in it and the *muṇḍā* put in position by the eldest male of the house. The basket of 'flowers' (*phul*), as the bones are termed, is kept beside it and offerings are made and worship (*pujā*) performed. The 'bones' are now to be disposed of in water. A square is drawn of flour of wheat or some grain on the bank of the stream (near the *muṇḍā* site) and the basket is put on it. Worship is now done to the 'bones' and further dancing takes place. The 'bones' are then taken on upturned palms by the chief performer. He gets into water, and turns his hands upside down in the water. In Sembadoh, I was told that the bones are placed in a crab hole, with the basket. The party now return and partake of a feast. Later on, a hut is erected over the *muṇḍā*. It should be put up before the rains. The *muṇḍā* sites are generally selected near public roads, so that passers-by may make offerings. If, for example, a Korku was taking tobacco when he was passing it, he would, I was told, drop a little tobacco as offering to the *muṇḍā*.

Spirits of the dead members of the family, for whom the *sedoli* is being performed, and also those for whom it has been performed before, are said to come and possess men and women during the first two days of the ceremony. The person possessed will shake his or her head, and speak to the relatives. Wine or food may be asked and this has to be supplied. When the spirit is satisfied, it departs.

Muṇḍā types.

Mention has been made of two types of *muṇḍās*. The solid type has already been described. The other type has a pillared chamber in the lower part. The post is hollowed out, leaving four pillars at each corner of it to support and join the portion above with the base. Photos of two such *muṇḍās* are given. The first (Photo 2) is said to be of a woman. The total height above the ground is nearly 30″. The solid base extends to a little over 7″ above the ground. Next comes the pillared and square chamber of height 4″, with a carved image inside it, at the centre, facing north. Next there is another 10″ of solid post of square cross-section. Then comes the pointed top, making up the total height noted. The side posts of the chamber in front have each a figure apparently of a woman carved on it. The panel above the chamber has another figure also, it seems, of a

woman in the centre. There is also a representation of the sun and the moon. I was not able to obtain the name and other details of the deceased thus commemorated and propitiated.

The second photograph (Photo 3) is of a *muṇḍā* erected in memory of a prosperous Korku of Salona, of name Bhura. A masonry platform encloses its base. The total height above the platform is 3′. The faces are 7½″ × 6½″, the wider surfaces being the front and rear of the post. The solid part at the base is 6″, the pillared chamber 8″, with a human figure 6″ high and carved out of wood, at the centre of the hall. It showed marks of turmeric and rice flour coloured red with lime and turmeric, used in ceremonial, when seen by the writer in September 1938. There are numerous designs including that of the sun and the moon, on the face of this *muṇḍā*.

In Sembadoh, the figure of the principal deceased was found carved on one of the solid type *muṇḍās* at the place where the pillared hall is usually scooped out. Above it, were carved seven other small figures, of members of the same family. At Bori, one of the *muṇḍās* was erected in memory of seven persons, of different parentage but of the same family. One face had the sun and the moon, and below it, two persons riding on horseback. On another face were three and on a third face, two more figures. A second *muṇḍā* had two human figures, with a spidery carving below on one face. The sun was carved on the opposite face. A third face had two figures on horseback. It was said that if a man had a horse and had ridden it in his lifetime, he would be shown as riding it, on the *muṇḍā*. The designs of the older *muṇḍās* could not be clearly seen and it was not possible to clean them to enable me to study the carvings. The solid type *muṇḍās* were of smaller cross-section than the chambered variety. The *muṇḍā* in the museum of the Anthropology Department of the Calcutta University is 2′ 8″ long and has a cross-section 3½″ × 3½″. On one of the faces, probably that allotted to the principal deceased, is a representation of the sun, and above it the moon. Below the sun, comes a human figure. There is also what is very like a conventionalized representation of a human ear. If this face is called the north face, then on the east face there is, near the base, from the end a human figure; then above it, a peacock and a bear or wild dog. There is also a man on horseback. On the south face is another human figure, also standing, and above it a conventionalized figure of a hut, and finally an elephant. On the fourth side are the usual criss-cross geometrical design and also a representation of the Korku *dako* or two-sided drum. This drum is played when a *Parhar* possessed by a deity is being asked questions. Presumably the deceased was a *Parhar*. Rai Bahadur S. C. Roy notes that a human figure carrying a drum, carved on a *muṇḍā* was explained to him as that of 'an *ojha* or a *ghost-doctor* playing on his drum'. Apparently it is the figure of a *Parhar*. Roy was further told that

'formerly stone mundas or funeral tablets used to be set up'. He found a few stone *muṇḍās* at the memorial site in the village of Amdhana in the Betul district. 'With regard to the representation of the sun and moon . . . . the Korkus do not actually worship or appease the sun and moon but regard them as identical with or representative of Bhagwan.'

The similarity of these stone memorials to stone tablets and pillars on graves or memorials erected by Mundas, Hos, Bhumij and Pahiras have been pointed out by Roy, who suggests that the Korkus also probably had a similar custom earlier. Gordon suggests that the Korkus probably imitated the Hindu custom of carvings on memorial pillars such as the *Virgal* and *Sati* stones. Roy accepts this view and proceeds to elaborate it. According to him the Korkus who used to put up simple stone memorials like Mundas and others 'subsequently took to representing on them the figures of the departed' prompted by the Hindu examples. But as stone is difficult to work and costly, 'the setting up of wooden tablets came to be substituted'. It may be pointed out that such a substitution has taken place among the Maria Gonds of Bastar. Grigson has noted instances of replacement of stone by wood in memorial pillars.[1] There is, however, no direct evidence that the custom has been copied from Hindus, as suggested by Gordon and Roy.

As this paper is only a preliminary note on Korkus, I shall not discuss the custom in detail here. It may, however, be pointed out that the *sedoli* festival has many points in common with the final bone disposal rites of the Santals and Oraons.[2] Like these tribes, they consider the ceremony as a kind of marriage rite of the departed. Bones, or their conventional substitutes, are kept until the final ceremony. They are then disposed of in water. The writer also found that the Korkus believe that apart from their supposed home elsewhere, the ancestral ghosts reside in the family hut at the base of one of the posts.[3] Offerings are made here by Korkus at certain social ceremonies, as at marriage and also before eating new crops comparable to the offerings made to ancestral ghosts in the *bhitar* by Santals. The Oraons still occasionally erect stone menhirs as memorials. The Santals occasionally do so to commemorate a dead founder of a village. In general, the menhir has been replaced by a short upright piece of stone in the *Mãnjhithãn*, one for each deceased *mãnjhi* or even only one piece of stone for all. In some villages,

[1] The Maria Gonds of Bastar, by W. V. Grigson (1938).

[2] The details regarding Santals are taken mainly from unpublished data collected by the writer. Some of the points have been noted by Bodding and others. For Oraons, see Oraon Religion and Customs, by Rai Bahadur S. C. Roy, Ranchi, 1916. Also, The Religion and Customs of the Oraons, by Rev. P. Dehon, *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. I, 1906.

[3] Unpublished notes on Korkus based on data collected by the writer.

upright pillars of wood (saplings) are put up in the *Jāherthān* at the Baha festival to represent each dead *mānjhi*.[1] But, as among Korkus, these older customs have fallen into abeyance in most areas. The Mundas, Gonds and other tribes of Chotanagpur and Central Provinces, who have similar beliefs, have also certain parallel customs. These will not be discussed here, as a comprehensive survey of these rites has been made in a separate paper, which will shortly be published. Attention may, however, be drawn to another matter—the striking resemblance in structure between the Korku *muṇḍās* and the Hindu *bṛṣakāṣṭhas* of Bengal. Here also we have two types, a solid type and a chambered variety with four pillars (Photo 4). They are also memorial posts.[2]

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[1] Unpublished notes on Santals based on data collected by the writer.

[2] A survey of the bṛṣakāṣṭhas of Bengal was made by Mr. B. K. Chaudhury of the Indian Museum in 1937-38 and an abstract published in the *Proceedings of the Indian Science Congress*, 1938. The photograph. here printed, was obtained long prior to the publication of that Abstract. in connection with the present writer's study of Hindu social customs, during 1935-36. A photo of bṛṣakāṣṭhas has recently been published in the 'Folk-art of Bengal by A. Mukherji, (Calcutta University Publication).

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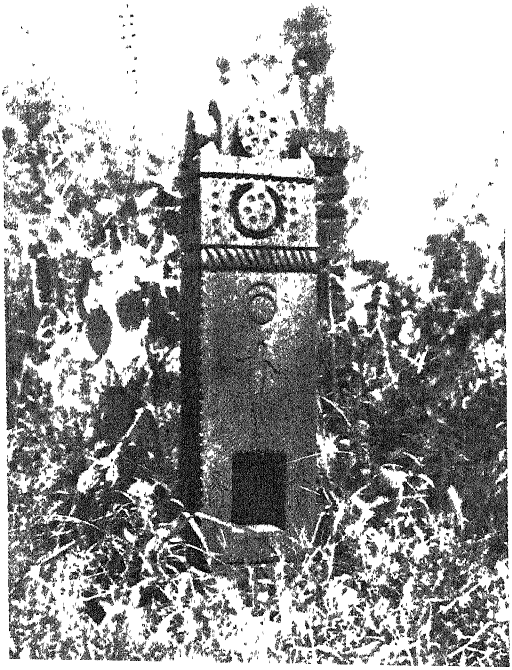
Photo 1.

Photo 2.



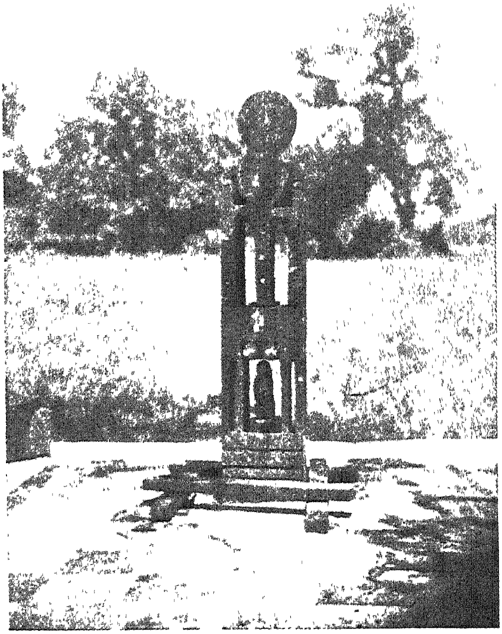
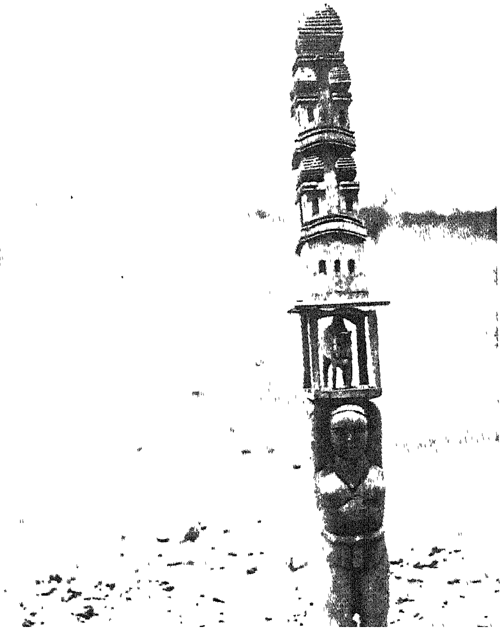


Photo 3.

Photo 4.



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ARTICLE No. 9.

Some terracottas from Mathurā preserved in the Francis Hopp Museum of Asiatic Arts.

By CHARU CHANDRA DAS GUPTA.

INTRODUCTION.

It is well known that the early Indian terracottas have been found in considerable number from various sites and preserved in different museums of India, Europe and America.[1] These figurines whose period extends from the prehistoric to the latest ages of ancient India help us to form our ideas regarding the following important points. First, they, unlike any other kind of Indian plastic art, furnish us with the valuable evidence for proving the evolution of ancient Indian sculpture from the prehistoric to the latest ages of ancient India. Secondly, they supply us with the valuable information regarding the problem of the intrusion of the foreign element in early Indian sculpture. Thirdly, they furnish some valuable data regarding the religious and secular aspects of life. Thus it is clear that the study of ancient Indian terracottas is one of the most important topics in the field of ancient Indian plastic art. The object of this paper is to study an excellent collection of these specimens in the Francis Hopp Museum of Asiatic Arts at Budapest.[2]

The collection under discussion was kindly presented to the said museum by the late Mr. Imre Schwaiger, the art-dealer of Delhi and London. All these specimens are reported to have been found in Mathurā; but no information is available regarding the actual depth in which they have been found. It must be pointed out here that the exact knowledge of the stratum in which an uninscribed specimen has been found is of no use in the determination of its age unless some inscribed or datable object is also found in association with it. Therefore the age of ancient Indian terracottas can be determined by studying the findspot of an object and the inscribed objects found in association with it.[3] When these evidences are lacking, recourse is to be taken to stylistic evolution and comparison with dated specimens. Therefore we can arrive at an approximate conclusion regarding

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[1] *Journ. Roy. Asiat. Soc. Bengal. Letters*, Vol. IV, pp. 67–120.

[2] I am greatly indebted to Dr. Zoltan de Takacs, Ph.D., Director of this Museum, for all facilities which he has given me for the preparation of this paper.

[3] This point has been fully discussed by me in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XII, pp. 140-41.

the age of these figurines by the consideration of stylistic evolution and also by comparing them with those specimens whose age is already known.

These specimens may be ascribed to the following ages, viz., I. Post-Indus Valley pre-Maurya,[1] II. Maurya, III. Śuṅga, IV. Kushaṇa, and V. Gupta.

Post-Indus Valley pre-Maurya.

1. A female figurine whose arms and lower body from a little below the breasts are lost. The eyes are diamond-shaped; the nose and the mouth are very crudely indicated and the ears are not shown. The hair whose presence is shown by its elevation from the body-surface is set in the *applique* manner and is coiffured in a peculiar way. It wears a necklace which is set in the *applique* manner. There is a curved line, made of dots, on the forehead and there are also ten incised circlets just below the neck. (Fig. 1.)

2. A female figurine whose arms and lower body from a little below the breasts are mutilated. The eyes are diamond-shaped; the nose is extremely mutilated; the mouth is open and the ears are not shown. The hair is indicated by the incised vertical lines. The upper body is bare. It wears three dog-collared necklaces which are made of closely set and incised circlets; seven leaf-like pendants are attached to the lowermost of these necklaces. Round its left shoulder there is a strip of clay which possibly indicates the remnant of a necklace. (Fig. 2.)

If we consider the style of these two specimens, then we should conclude that they belong to the same group and consequently to the same age for the following reasons. First, both have the hand-modelled body. Secondly, the hair and the necklace of Fig. 1 as well as the leaf-like pendants and the flowing necklace of Fig. 2 are set in the *applique* manner. Thirdly, the treatment of the eyes is similar in both specimens. Fourthly, the incised circlets below the neck of Fig. 1 and the incised circlets which form the dog-collared necklaces of Fig. 2 are exactly similar in treatment. So far as the age of these two figurines is concerned, we should consider the above-mentioned four characteristics. It is well known that the terracotta figurines of the Indus Valley age have the main body hand-modelled and have some constituent parts of the body and the decorative apparels set in the *applique* manner;[2] but these two figurines have the main body hand-modelled, have some decorative apparels set in the *applique* manner, and also some constituent parts of the body and some decorative

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[1] For the exact significance of this term, see my article in *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, Vol. XII, p. 189, foot-notes 2 and 3.

[2] *Journ. Roy. Asiat. Soc. Bengal. Letters*, Vol. IV, pp. 67–120.

apparels set in the incised manner. The last characteristic of these two specimens naturally leads us to conclude that they are to be placed later than the Indus Valley age. In course of our later discussion we shall show that these two specimens are to be placed earlier than the Maurya age. Therefore these two figurines should be ascribed to the post-Indus Valley pre-Maurya age. It is interesting to note that the incised circlets found in Figs. 1 and 2 and the curved line made of the incised dots in Fig. 1 are found in some South Indian specimens.[1] There is no definite characteristic in these two figurines by which we might call them either religious or secular.

MAURYA.

3. A female figurine whose arm and lower body from a little below the breasts are lost. The eyebrows are indicated; the eyes are petal-shaped; the nose is naturalistically treated and the mouth is indicated. The hair is tastefully coiffured. The head-dress is highly ornamental. It wears a tiara made of beads and a dog-collared necklace to which four leaf-like pendants are attached. (Fig. 3.)

4. A human figurine whose head only is preserved. The face is moulded; but the double stringed tiara made of beads is set in the *applique* manner. The eyebrows are indicated; the eyes are petal-shaped; the nose is, to some extent, broad, and the mouth is indicated. It seems that the ears which were originally modelled have broken down. The hair is tastefully coiffured. (Fig. 4.)

5. A human head. The face is moulded but the ornaments are set in the *applique* manner. The eyebrows are indicated; the eyes are petal-shaped; the nose is, to some extent, broad, and the mouth is indicated. It wears a huge and jewelled head-dress and an ornamental tiara. (Fig. 5.)

6. A male figurine whose arms and lower body from the waist are lost. The face and the body are moulded but the ornaments are set in the *applique* manner. The eyebrows are indicated; the eyelashes are indicated by the incised dots; the eyes are petal-shaped; the nose is, to some extent, broad; the nostrils and the mouth are prominently indicated. It wears a head-dress and a dog-collared necklace which is set in the *applique* manner. (Fig. 6.)

7. A male figurine whose arms and lower body from a little below the chest are lost. The body is moulded but the ornaments are set in the *applique* manner. The eyebrows are

[1] For the incised circlets, see *Catalogue of the Prehistoric Antiquities in Government Museum*, Madras. By R.B Foote, pp. 22-23, 28-29, 36-37, 48-49, 50-51, pls. II. 217, 218, 294; III. 538, 537, 557, 566, 570; IV. 546; V. 300; VI. 392; for the curved line made of incised dots see *ibid.*, pp. 26-27, pl. II, 273.

held that a similar symbol was possibly on its left side also. It wears a tiara made of beads.[1] (Fig. 10.)

11. A female figurine whose lower body from a little below the breasts is lost. The face is so worn out that nothing can be said regarding the nature of its eyebrows, eyes, nose, mouth and ears. There is the faint trace of the developed breasts. It wears a dog-collared necklace and an elaborate head-dress. (Fig. 11.)

12. A male head. It is completely moulded. The eyes are well marked; the nose is broad and the mouth is half-open. It wears a Perso-Hellenistic head-dress. It is racial in character. (Fig. 12.)

13. A female figurine in the frontal attitude holding a child on the left side of the chest. Its lower body from a little below the navel is lost. It is completely moulded. Its eyes, nose, mouth, arms, breasts, abdomen, navel are very naturalistically treated. It has its hair combed. It wears one dog-collared necklace and one flowing necklace. There is a wristlet round the right wrist. It has put on a veil but the frontal part of its upper body is absolutely bare.[2] (Fig. 13.)

14. A male figurine on horseback. It is well preserved except the legs of the horse which are lost. It is completely moulded. The eyes, nose, mouth, arm and leg are well indicated. Its upper body and lower body up to a little above the knees are clothed. It wears a head-dress and a dog-shaped necklace. It holds a dagger in its right hand.[3] (Fig. 14.)

It may be shown that, according to the consideration of style, these figurines are evolved out of the Maurya terracotta figurines and form a group by themselves. Let us, first of all, discuss the first point. If we make a comparative study of Figs. 10 and 5, then we easily find that Fig. 10 is probably evolved out of Fig. 5 of the Maurya age. The main and common characteristic of all these figurines is that they are completely moulded. Though all these figurines belong to the same age, yet they might be classified under the following sub-groups, viz., (1) Figs. 10 and 11, (2) Fig. 12, and (3) Figs. 13 and 14 judged from the standpoint of modelling.

Let us now discuss whether these figurines are religious or secular. These figurines may be divided into the following groups according to the sex, viz., (1) female—Figs. 11 and 13,

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[1] For the similarity in the treatment of the eyes, see *Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society*, Vol. IX, p. 38, pl. XIV, fig. 47.

[2] For the similarity of the body-modelling, see *Archaeological Survey of India*, Annual Report for 1930–34, p. 260, pl. CXXX, fig. 3. It is interesting to note that this figurine has also been found at Mathurā and has been ascribed to the Śuṅga age.

[3] For an exact specimen, see *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts*, Boston, Vol. XXV, p. 95, fig. 13. There cannot be any doubt that these two specimens are cast in the same mould or in the moulds of similar fabric.

(2) male—Figs. 12 and 14, and (3) unidentifiable figurine—Fig. 10. Let us, first of all, discuss the female figurines, viz., Figs. 11 and 13. So far as Fig. 11 is concerned, we cannot form any definite opinion because there is no definite characteristic on its face by which its character might be indicated. Fig. 13 represents a female fertility figure and is, therefore, religious in character. It has the majority of the female fertility characteristics indicated in the most determinate manner, viz., the developed breasts, the prominent abdomen and the deep navel. Besides these characteristics there is a child on the left side of the chest. This figure may, therefore, be identified as the Universal Mother or Isis type of Dr. Murray. Let us now discuss the male figurines, viz., Figs. 12 and 14. That Fig. 12 represents a non-Indian and is secular is distinctly clear from its head-dress. Fig. 14 which represents a horseman is undoubtedly secular in character. Let us now discuss the figurine whose sex is unidentifiable, viz., Fig. 10. So far as this figurine is concerned, we cannot say anything definitely regarding this point as the whole body is lost and as there is no definite characteristic, whether secular or religious, on the face.

KUSHAṆA.

15. A head, possibly male. It seems that the whole body is lost. The eyebrows are most probably indicated; the eyes are naturalistically treated; the mouth is greatly worn out and the ears are indicated. It wears a high head-dress. (Fig. 15.)

16. A male head. The eyebrows are indicated; the eyes are naturalistically treated; the nose is broad; the mouth is well indicated; the lips are highly expressive and the ears are not made. The hair is peculiarly coiffured. (Fig. 16.)

17. A male figurine whose lower body from a little below the shoulders is lost. The eyebrows are indicated; the eyes are naturalistically treated; the nose is much worn out and the mouth is well indicated. The hair is combed. It wears a head-dress. (Fig. 17.)

18. A human head. It is completely moulded. The eyebrows are most probably indicated; the eyes are greatly worn out; the nose is broad and the mouth is well indicated. It wears a halo-like head-dress. (Fig. 18.)

19. A female head. Its eyes, nose and mouth are well indicated. It wears a jewelled head-dress and jewelled ear-rings under which the ears are most probably hidden.[1] (Fig. 19.)

20. A female figurine whose left arm, left and right legs from a little above the knees are lost. The eyes are bulging out; the nose is mutilated and the mouth is most probably indicated.

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[1] For some similarity in technique, see *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts*, Boston, Vol. XXV, p. 94, fig. 19.

There is a demonish stamp over the whole face. The whole body seems to be bare.

21. A male figurine whose lower body from a little above the waist is lost. The whole figure is demonish in appearance. The eyebrows are indicated; the eyes are indicated as bulging out; the nose is extremely broad; the mouth is open and the tongue protrudes; the ears are most probably indicated and the arms are raised upwards to hold three round things on the head. It wears a flowing necklace made of beads. (Fig. 21.)

22. A standing human figurine. It is greatly worn out. Its upper body seems to be bare as indicated from the nude navel, but its lower body is fully clothed. It holds the arms in an attitude of prayer. It wears a double chained necklace, two armlets on the upper arm and two wristlets. The legs are not visible.[1] (Fig. 22.)

23. A seated male figurine. The upper body seems to be bare. It wears the ear-ring and the highly ornamental three-chained necklace. (Fig. 23.)

There is no doubt that, according to the consideration of style, these figurines have been evolved out of the Śuṅga figurine discussed above and also form a group by themselves. The main and common characteristic of all these figurines is that they are completely moulded. Though all these figurines belong to the same age, they may be classified under the following groups, viz., (1) Figs. 15–19, (2) Figs. 20–22, and (3) Fig. 23.

Let us now discuss whether these figurines are secular or religious. These figurines may be divided into three groups according to the sex, viz., (1) female figurine—Fig. 20, (2) male figurines—Figs. 15–17, 21 and 23, and (3) figurines whose sex is unidentifiable—Figs. 18, 19 and 22. The secular or religious character of these figurines will be found out by an analysis of the characteristics of these specimens. Let us, first of all, discuss the female figurine, viz., Fig. 20. So far as Fig. 20 is concerned, we shall show that it is religious in character. In this connection we shall have to visualize the figurine when it was in a good state of preservation. The remaining right leg proceeds upwards. So it is quite natural to conclude that the lost portion of this leg from the knee downwards proceeds downwards because any other posture seems to be improbable. It seems that the left leg was also in the same posture. Thus the figure seems to have originally the squatting posture. It is extremely difficult to form any view about the original posture of the lost left arm. It is extremely important to note that this figurine touches the sexual organ with the right arm. Therefore it becomes the representation of an absolutely nude female figurine seated in the squatting posture and touching the sexual organ with the

[1] For similarity in dress, see *Archaeological Survey of India*—Annual Report for 1911-12, p. 74, pl. XXIII, fig. 22.

right arm. Dr. Murray has elaborately shown that female fertility figures may be classified under three groups, viz., (1) the Universal Mother or Isis type, (2) the Divine Woman or Ishtar type, and (3) the Personified Yoni or Baubo type.[1] If we carefully study the above-mentioned writing of Dr. Murray along with this specimen, then we might conclude that it represents the Personified Yoni or Baubo type. Therefore there is no doubt that it is a religious figurine. Let us now discuss the male figurines, viz., Figs. 15–17, 21, 23. There cannot be any doubt that Figs. 16, 17, 21, 23 are secular in character, because Fig. 16 has the hair coiffured in the secular manner and has the facial expression of a secular man, Fig. 17 has the hair coiffured in the same manner, wears a secular head-dress and has the facial expression of a secular man, Fig. 21 represents a burden-bearer and Fig. 23 sits in the secular posture. Fig. 15 seems to be religious in character because the ears are disproportionately long.[2] Let us now deal with the figurines whose sex is unidentifiable, viz., Figs. 18, 19, 22. It is extremely difficult to say anything regarding the nature of Fig. 18. Fig. 19 appears to be a secular figure. Fig. 22 seems to be a religious worshipper or devotee.

GUPTA.

24. A male figurine whose body is lost. The right side of its wig is also lost. It is, to some extent, worn out. It is completely moulded. The eyes which are greatly worn out are well indicated; the nose is prominent; the lips are thick and sensitive.[3] (Fig. 24.)

25. A similar figurine. (Fig. 25.)

26. A male figurine whose body is lost. It is greatly worn out. It is completely moulded. The eyebrows are most probably indicated; the eyes are naturalistically treated and the mouth is greatly worn out. It wears a high head-dress. (Fig. 26.)

27. A human figurine whose lower body from a little below the neck is lost. It is completely moulded. The eyes are greatly worn out; the eyebrows are possibly indicated; the nose is broad and the mouth is half-open. It wears a head-dress. (Fig. 27.)

28. A male head the right portion of whose forehead is lost. It is completely moulded. The eyebrows are naturalistically treated; the eyes are also naturalistically treated; the

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[1] *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, Vol. LXIV, pp. 93–100, pls. VIII–XII. For further work along this line, see *Man*, Vol. XXXVI, pp. 183-84, article no. 246.

[2] This characteristic reminds us of the *pṛthukarṇa* (long ear), one of the thirty-two *mahāpuruṣa-lakṣaṇas*.

[3] For the great similarity in the treatment of the wig, see *Archaeological Survey of India*—Annual Report for 1910-11, p. 20, pl. XII, fig. *a*. 2. 4; *Ibid.*, for 1911-12, p. 77, pl. XXVI, fig. 75.

nose is, to some extent, broad; the mouth is half-open and very expressive. It wears a head-dress which is highly artistic in execution.[1] (Fig. 28.)

There is no doubt that, on the consideration of style, all the specimens should be ascribed to the same age. Two of these specimens (Figs. 24 and 25) have the great similarity with some Bhita specimens of the Gupta age so far as the wig is concerned. On this consideration also we ascribe all these specimens to the Gupta age.

So far as the character of these specimens is concerned, there cannot be any doubt that all these specimens are secular because the facial expression and the head-dress of all these figurines are distinctly secular in character.

Conclusion.

The above discussion clearly illustrates certain important points. First, it shows that Mathurā was undoubtedly a great centre of clay-sculpture in ancient India because the terracotta figurines discovered at this site range from the post-Indus Valley pre-Maurya to the Gupta ages in the chronological scheme. Secondly, it has been shown that early Indian terracottas, as exemplified by these specimens, have gone through different stages of evolution so far as style is concerned. Thirdly, it has been shown that these specimens do not only portray the religious life of ancient India but also the secular one.

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[1] For the similarity in facial expression, see *Archaeological Survey of India*—Annual Report for 1910-11, p. 20, pl. XII, fig. *a*, 2. 2.

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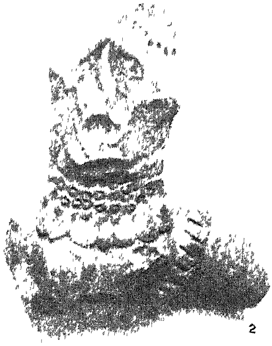

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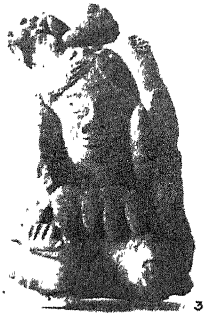

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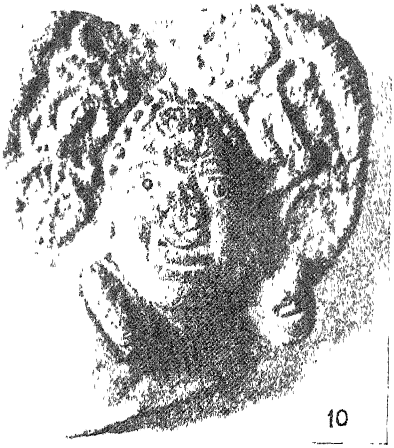
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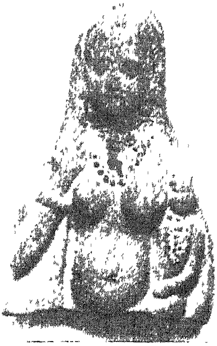
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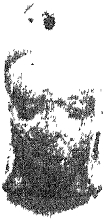
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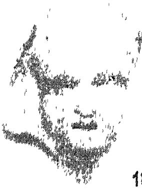
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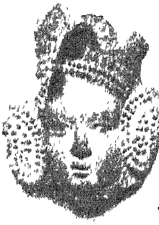
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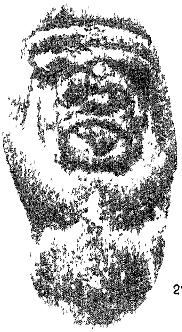
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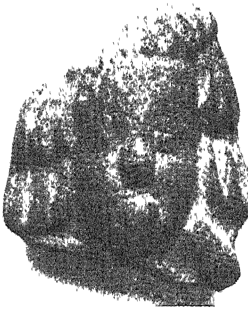
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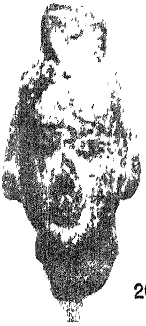
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REVIEWS OF BOOKS.

THE ASTRONOMICAL METHOD AND ITS APPLICATION TO THE CHRONOLOGY OF ANCIENT INDIA. By DR. K. L. DAFTARI, B.A., B.L., Hon. D.Litt. Published by the University Office, Nagpur, pp. i–xvii, 1–257.

The book is divided into three principal parts which treat of (i) the Date of the *Mahābhārata* War, (ii) the System of Ancient Chronology and the Date of Śree Rāma, and (iii) the Date of the Vedas.

The author in this work explains only one astronomical method for settling ancient Indian chronology, viz. by finding the year in which a given set of planetary positions derived from the current *Mahābhārata*, for example, was satisfied. His finding is that the *Mahābhārata* war or the *Bhārata* battle as we should call it for brevity of expression, was fought in 1197 B.C., which more correctly should have been stated as, −1197 A.D. or 1198 B.C., as we shall see presently. The author has derived his planetary positions from chapter 3 of the *Bhīṣmaparva*. Before doing so, he should have enquired the following points: (1) Is not this chapter a later addition in the present recension of the *Mahābhārata* ? (2) Are not these planetary positions mere astrological effusions portending dire consequences and as such containing no shadow of truth in them ? (3) Seeing that these planetary positions are not consistent in themselves he should have first looked for their origin from the *Bṛhat Saṁhitā* of Varāhamihira and other anterior works of the type by Garga and others. (4) He should have tried to settle the date of the beginning of the present recension of the great epic and what might be the real date of chapter 3, of the *Bhīṣmaparva*. (5) What is most important, were all the 'planets' including Mercury and the moon's nodes discovered at the time of the Pāṇḍavas ? (6) What were 'planets' discovered by the Vedic peoples and how far did they use them in their Calendar and astrology ? (7) Do the *Vedāṁgas* say anything about the 'planets', Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter and Saturn and the moon's nodes ? As the Vedas were divided in *Ṛk*, *Sāma* and *Yajus* at the Pāṇḍava times, the author should have established that the planetary positions given in chapter 3, of the *Bhīṣmaparva*, though hopelessly inconsistent in themselves, had been in existence in the original Pāṇḍava Saga or *Gāthā Nārāśanisī*, on which the present Great Epic was based in about 400 B.C.

In short the author has taken his stand upon loose sand. He has tried to solve a problem of his own making which has

nothing to do with the year of the *Bhārata* battle, and as we shall see that his solution of it is inaccurate. Before him Lele had tried to settle the date of the *Bhārata* battle from these planetary positions, and arrived at the fantastic date of 5229 B.C.! Ketkar imagined that on the day of the new-moon of lunar Agrahāyaṇa ended, there was a total eclipse of the sun visible at Kurukṣetra and finished a little before sunset. His finding was that the battle was fought from November 8, till November 25 of 2585 B.C., and there was a total solar eclipse on November 23. But by calculating with the most up-to-date astronomical constants the reviewer has found that the eclipse was not total, and not finished before sunset and of doubtful visibility at Kurukṣetra. These findings have not found any support from the public. Both Lele and Ketkar were not respectors of any of the thee traditions as to the date of the *Bhārata* battle, which are: (1) The Aryabhaṭa tradition that it was fought in 3102 B.C., (2) The Vṛddhagarga tradition that it happened in 2449 B.C., and the Purāṇic tradition which says that the interval of time between the birth of Parīkṣit and the accession of Mahāpadma Nanda, the interval of time was either 1015, 1115, 1050, or even 1500 years. Our new researcher Dr. Daftari is also a 'Knocker out' of all traditions. He pins his faith in the *Utpātalakṣaṇas* of chapter 3 of the *Bhīṣmaparva*, on which no right thinking man should place any reliance.

A witness who says that—

Mars was either in the *nakṣatra*	*Maghā* or *Śravaṇā*.
Jupiter ,, ,, ,,	*Śravaṇa* or *Viśākhā*.
Venus ,, ,, ,,	*P. Bhādra* or *Svātī*.
Sun and Moon were ,, ,,	*Rohiṇī* or *Jyesthā*.
Saturn was ,, ,, ,,	*Maghā* or *Viśākhā*.

can never be believed. To divide such a statement into two sets would be an error of judgment. It is an attempt to get at the truth from a bewildering set of lies and absolute inconsistencies of a story teller that Daftari makes when he infers from the above and one other statement equally unreliable that on the first day of the *Bhārata* battle in the morning, the longitudes were for—

True Sun	$= 8^s\ 5^\circ$	in *nakṣatra*	*Mūlā*,
,, Jupiter	$= 7^s\ 1^\circ$	,,	*Viśākhā*,
,, Saturn	$= 7^s\ 1^\circ$	,,	*Viśākhā*,
and ,, Mars	$= 7^s\ 1^\circ$	,,	*Viśākhā*.

After solving some indeterminate equations of the first degree, he concludes that the probable years are only:—

$$\left.\begin{array}{r} -\ 841{\cdot}3 \\ -1695{\cdot}3 \\ \text{and } -3640{\cdot}3 \end{array}\right\} \text{as reckoned from March 21, 499 A.D.* (J.D. = 1903397)}$$

* Supplied by the reviewer and not by the author.

His finding is that,—1695·3 years or 619219 days before March 21, 499 A.D. was the day on which the battle began. The date arrived at must be,—1197 A.D., November 21 (J.D. = 1284178), Monday, on which at Kurukṣetra Mean Time, 6 a.m., the planetary longitudes as calculated by the reviewer and Daftari were for—

Planet.	Tropical Longitudes.	Long. refd. to M. V. Equinox of 499 A.D. March 21.	Daftari's Longitudes.	*Nakṣatra.*	Discrepancies in Daftari's solution from his data.
Sun ..	228° 6′ 33″	8s 11° 32′ 33″	8s 11° 48′	*Mūlā*	+ 6° 48′
Moon ..	238° 26′ 0″	8s 21° 52′	8s 23° 12′	*P. Āṣāḍhā*	
Mercury ..	210° 46′	7s 24° 12′	7s 23° 0′	*Jyeṣṭhā*	
Venus ..	196° 36′	7s 10° 2′	7s 10° 30′	*Anurādhā*	
Mars ..	213° 10′	7s 26° 56′	7s 25° 27′	*Jyeṣṭhā*	+24° 27′
Jupiter ..	194° 27′	7s 7° 53′	7s 8° 15′	*Viśākhā*	+ 7° 15′
Saturn ..	192° 30′	7s 5° 56′	7s 5° 38′	*Viśākhā*	+ 4° 38′
M's A. Node	23° 39′	1s 17° 5′			
M's Perigee	344° 12′	0s 7° 38′			

The reviewer has referred his tropical longitudes to the mean vernal equinox of March 21, 499 A.D., by adding 23° 26′ to each of them. It seems, Daftari has not used the most up-to-date astronomical constants for finding the longitudes.

The above is a very faulty solution by the author of a problem of his own making, as may be inferred from the discrepancies between his data and the final result, and it cannot possibly have anything to do with the year of the *Bhārata* battle for more than one reason.

On the day preceding that for which the longitudes have been calculated, i.e. on Nov. 20,—1197 A.D. at K.M. Time, 6 a.m.

The Apparent Sun = 227° 5′ 16″,
,, ,, Moon = 225° 20′.

Hence the new-moon happened about 10 a.m., K.M. Time, at 21° 50′ ahead of *Antares* (=205° 26′ 27″). Daftari's implication is also that the *Bhārata* battle began from this day and we examine his finding on this hypothesis.

At this new-moon of November 20, 1197 A.D., the sun's longitude expressed in signs, degrees and minutes was = 8s 10° 31′, showing that this date was the 10th day of the solar month of *Pauṣa*, and according to the reckoning of the modern Hindu calendars, the new-moon in question marked the end of lunar *Agrahāyaṇa* and not of *Kārtika* as alleged by Daftari. By a piece of wordy circumlocution the author has attempted to persuade his unwary readers that with this new-moon the

lunar month of *Kārtika* ended in this year, —1197 A.D., according to the *Vedāṁga* calendar. This is entirely untenable. The year, —1197 A.D., is similar to the year 1938 A.D. of our time, since the interval in sidereal years = 3135 = 1939×1+160 ×7+19×4, as according to the most modern astronomical constants, 1939, 160 and 19 years are the true lunisolar cycles in which the moon's phases near to the fixed stars are repeated. Hence the new-moon of November 20, 1197 A.D., is most similar in our own time to the new-moon of December 21, 1938 A.D.

We now proceed to show that this new-moon of November 20, 1197 A.D., was that of *Agrahāyaṇa* ended according to the *Vedāṁga* calendar also. According to the *Paitāmaha Siddhānta* as summarized by Varāhamihira in his *Pañca Siddhāntikā*, the lunar *Māgha* which came in 80 A.D. began with the new-moon on the 11th January. On this day at G.M.T., 0 hr. or K.M.T., 5–8 a.m.

Appt. Sun = 289° 14′ 15″,
,, Moon = 289° 17′ 32″,
and *β Delphinis* = 289° 39′ nearly.

This new-moon was eminently suitable for starting the 5 yearly *Vedāṁga* calendar. Here the *pratipat-tithi*, began at the very beginning of the *nakṣatra Dhaniṣṭhā*, according to the *Vedāṁga* calendar. Now this year, 80 A.D., was similar in our time in respect of lunar phases near to the fixed stars, to the year 1935 A.D., the interval being 1855 sid. years = (160×11+19×5) sid. years. The five yearly cycle would commence from February 4, 1935, and the third year would end on February 6, 1938. These first three years are to be called *Saṁvatsara*, *Parivatsara* and *Idvatsara*. In this period there is one intercalary month both according to the modern and *Vedāṁga* calendar, viz. from the 16th September to 15th October 1936 according to the present day calendar and from August 7 to September 5, 1937, which was the second *Śrāvaṇa* in the *Vedāṁga* calendar. Hence in the next year, the *Anuvatsara* of the *Vedāṁga* calendar, the lunar months reckoned would be named in the same way in both the calendars. Here the *Anuvatsara* lasts from February 7, 1938 to February 6, 1939, and the new-moon of November 20, 1197 A.D., being most similar to that on December 21, 1938, which fell in the *Anuvatsara*, also marked the end of lunar *Agrahāyaṇa* in the *Vedāṁga* calendar of the corresponding luni-solar cycle. Thus Daftari's contention that the new-moon of November 20, 1197 A.D., was of *Kārtika* ended falls to the ground.

Again on the 18th day from November 20, 1197 A.D., was the 8th December of the year, on which at K.M.T., 6 a.m.

Appt. Sun = 244° 27′
,, Moon = 99° 51′ nearly.
= 4^s 3° 17′, when referred to the mean vernal

equinox of March 21, 499 A.D. This shows that the moon was in the *nakṣatra Maghā* and not in the *Puṣyā* division, on the day of the mace duel as accepted by Daftari by tampering with the *Mahābhārata* text—

पुष्येण संप्रयातोऽस्मि श्रवणे पुनरागतः ।

and reading it as

श्रवणे संप्रयातोऽस्मि पुष्येण पुनरागतः ।

One point more in this connection has to be considered. I find that on page 56 of his work, Dr. Daftari calculates the longitudes of all the planets for the morning of November 21, 1197 A.D., and also for the same hour of December 9 next, but in the latter case he omits to cite the longitude of the moon, for reasons best known to him. If he had done this it would have been clear to all that the moon's *nakṣatra* on this day was *Pūrvaphalgunī*.

Finally, the 68th day from November 20, 1197 A.D., was the 26th January, 1196 A.D., on which at 6 a.m. Kurukṣetra Mean Time—

Appt. Sun = 295° 1′ 16″
,, Moon = 37° 31′ nearly.

Here, Moon→Sun = 102° 30′ nearly, the ninth *tithi* was current, but the sun had reached the winter solstice 25 days before this date of Bhīṣma's expiry as implied by Daftari's finding. His assertion that 'Bhiṣma must have died within two days from the beginning of the Uttarāyaṇa' is most thoroughly exploded by this calculation. That the *Bhārata* battle was fought in −1197 A.D. is thus a hopelessly lost proposition.

Dr. Daftari here expresses, −1197 A.D., as 1197 B.C., and in another place, −2448 A.D. as 2448 B.C. This is against the international convention. He should have expressed his dates truly in the Julian calendar as accepted in Ancient Chronology. Again in the *Caitra Śuklādi* reckoning of the Hindu year as introduced by Āryabhaṭa I, the date, *Caitra-Vadya* 9th of the Saka year 421 is = 21st March, 499 A.D. Hence the no. 421 does not stand for the current year but for the elapsed years. All these have been very confusing to the present reviewer, and should not have occurred in a book meant for international chronologists. There are other misexpressions in the work, where the author speaks of the 'aphelia' of sun and moon, which should have been correctly stated as 'apogee'.

Again on page 60 of his work Daftari translates *Aṅgāraka* as Venus. This is what a true Doctor in Sanskrit literature should do, but it may be doubted if the author has ever seen Mars in opposition. Also on page 18, Daftari translates—
'चन्द्रसूर्याविभौ ग्रस्तावेकमासीं त्रयोदशीम्', as 'Both the

sun and the moon were eclipsed on the 13th *tithi* (day more properly, of the same month'. Evidently the Doctor has changed the order, 'moon and sun' to 'sun and moon', to suit his purpose, forgetting that an eclipse of the sun followed by an eclipse of the moon could not be interpreted as occurring in the same lunar month which is reckoned from the light-half, i.e. from a first visibility of the crescent to the next. He has done this twice in translating the same passage, which truly means that a lunar eclipse was followed by a solar eclipse in the same lunation. Hence what he says in support of his finding the year of the *Bhārata* battle on this ground on page 44 of his book is quite meaningless or his casting anchor at −1197 A.D. as the year of the *Bhārata* battle is quite unwarranted on this account also. In any case the phenomenon of a lunar eclipse followed by a solar eclipse in the same lunar month both being visible from Kurukṣetra is not one of unusual occurrence.

As to Daftari's selecting a set of planetary positions from the *Utpātalakṣaṇas* in the *Mahābhārata* for finding the year of the *Bhārata* battle, the question of utmost importance is to settle if all the 'nine planets' were discovered in the Pāṇḍava times. Our finding is that in the period in which the *Ṛgveda* was completed, the only 'planets' noticed and mentioned were: (1) the sun, (2) the moon, (3) Jupiter, and (4) Venus named variously in the *Ṛgveda* as *Venā*, *Vena*, *Sūryā* and *Sūryasya Duhitā* (Daughter of Sun). This *Venā* (Venus) is allegorically spoken of as being married to Moon and the Aśvins carried her in their triangular car to her groom. At about 400 A.D., when the knowledge of the 'nine planets' was communicated from Babylonia and Greece to India, and these were accepted as destiny makers of men, a mode of performing a religious ceremony was prescribed to propitiate the new gods, in which libations of *ghee* or clarified butter were to be poured on fire with a selection of *Ṛcas* as given in the *Matsya Purāna*, chapter 93. These *Ṛcas* are all well known to all astrologers.

It thus appears that the appropriate *Ṛcas* for oblations to Sun and Jupiter alone could be found from the *Ṛgveda*. As to Moon she was a food of the gods and her counterpart on the earth was the effusion of the *soma* plant or creeper, a food of mortals. The *Ṛcas* selected for the rest of the 'nine planets' had nothing to do with these new deities. The conclusion is now irresistible that in the period in which the *Ṛgveda* was finally developed, of which the lower limit must have been the date of the *Bhārata* battle, the seven of the 'nine planets' were either not at all discovered or even if some were discovered they were not understood to have anything to do with the human destiny, i.e. they were neither the makers nor the indicators of it in the Ṛgvedic period.

In the face of these facts now presented it would be, in our opinion, very rash or a height of absurdity to try to settle a problem in ancient Indian chronology with a set of positions of 'planets', and more specially to try to determine the year of the *Bhārata* battle, selected from the *Utpātalakṣaṇas* of the *Mahābhārata*, which cannot by any construction be taken as belonging to the Pāṇḍava time, and are clearly later additions by some writers who had no sense of astronomical consistency. An attempt was made by Bentley first in modern times to find the dates of Rāma and Kṛṣṇa from their horoscopes as found in the *Purāṇas*, the *Rāmāyaṇa* and a work named *Khamānīkya*, with only partial success in bringing out the planetary positions. The dates arrived at were (1) the 6th April, 961 B.C., for Rāma and (2) for Kṛṣṇa the 7th August, 600 A.D., both of which are unacceptable. These results show that a set of 'planets' positions found anywhere in Sanskrit literature must be treated with great suspicion, and regarded as the work of a mere astrologer whose time can hardly be before the time of Varāhamihira (550 A.D.). The *Utpātalakṣaṇas* of the *Mahābharata* also must be dated about the same time or about a century and a half anterior to it.

As to the method followed by Daftari in the solution of the problem of his own making it cannot be said to be entirely new. Bentley must have followed it in his investigations referred to above. The greatest Indian astronomer Ārya-bhaṭa I, must have followed the same method in finding his *Kali* epoch, the 18th February, 6 a.m., or 18th February 0 hr. both of the Ujjayinī Mean Time, at which all the 'mean planets' were supposed to have been at the beginning of the Hindu sphere and the moon's apogee and the ascending node at the longitudes of 90° and 180° respectively. These situations of the 'mean planets' have been examined by Bailly, Bentley, Burguess and the present reviewer also with the most up-to-date astronomical constants. Āryabhaṭa's solution of his problem was attended with only partial success. In the present case also Doctor Daftari's problem has been only partially solved by him, though he started with four or five planets only. As he is a 'Knocker out' of all traditions what was the harm if he had given us full planetary positions for, —841·3 years and 3640·3 years as reckoned from his zero date? Although we can never persuade ourselves that any one of his solutions can give us the real date of the *Bhārata* battle, we could judge his method and solutions as a matter of curiosity. In astronomical chronology each researcher has his own methods, which may be different even from the same set of data. Again, as different sets of data of different classes require different astronomical methods for their solution, there cannot be only one method for all sorts of data as Dr. Daftari seems to suggest—there cannot be one

panacea for all the evils 'that flesh is heir to'. It may be doubted if there can be found one single instance in which as many as five of the 'planets' positions are recorded in ancient literature or epigraphy and which may be taken as correct. We are thus bound to consider his method also more or less useless for all practical purposes.

Dr. Daftari, in our opinion, should have avoided (i) all statements found in the *Mahābhārata* as to the planetary positions in the *Utpātalakṣaṇas*, (ii) all attempts as summary found in the Great Epic, e.g. as in the *Śalyaparva*, ch. 35, etc., (iii) he should not have taken *nakṣatras* to mean equal divisions of the ecliptic. He should have put the greatest trust in 'incidental statements' as to the moon and her phases—without rejecting or tampering with any of them except for an absolute necessity. He should have used for a data the statements as to the winter solstice day as stated in the *Mahābhārata* in determining the year of the *Bhārata* battle.

We cannot accept his finding of the year of the *Bhārata* battle, and his method, whatever its merit, is useless for all practical purposes. As his date of the *Bhārata* battle is unacceptable, his findings in the rest of his work are also unacceptable. His book was published in 1942, but he is apparently unaware of the publications by the reviewer dealing with the same topics in *J.R.A.S. Bengal. Letters*, Vol. III, 1937; Vol. IV, 1938, and Vol. VII, 1941.

P. C. SENGUPTA.

SOME HISTORICAL ASPECTS OF THE INSCRIPTIONS OF BENGAL (Pre-Muhammadan Epochs). By BENOY CHANDRA SEN, M.A., B.L., Ph.D. (Lond.), Lecturer, Calcutta University. Published by the University of Calcutta. Pp. lxxviii+613.

The work of reconstructing the early history of Bengal with the help of literary and archaeological data, which was so brilliantly initiated decades ago by the late Mr. R. D. Banerjee has since been taken up by a band of earnest Bengalee scholars. The recently published Dacca History of Bengal, Vol. I, shows what wealth of material have already been collected by them and how they can be scientifically and critically utilized in elucidating the political, social and cultural history of their country. The most important of the archaeological data which have helped scholars in the fulfilment of this task is the epigraphic one. The author of the book under review has specialized in the study of this branch of Indian archaeology and has particularly directed his attention to the inscriptions of Pre-Muhammadan Bengal. He has long been teaching this subject to the post-graduate students of the Calcutta University with great credit. The present work fully testifies

to the fact that the years of hard labour devoted by him to the study and teaching of epigraphy have not been spent in vain. These have unquestionably prepared him for undertaking the stupendous task which he has so creditably fulfilled. He has more than justified his claim which is 'to prepare the foundations of further researches that may be undertaken by the author on a larger and more comprehensive scale in future'. This promise on his part is welcome, and the subsequent contributions from his pen on this and other allied topics will be eagerly awaited by all students of Indian history and archaeology.

The book is divided into three well-knit parts each one of which is divided into several chapters. There is an elaborate introduction and the index appended to the volume is full and exhaustive, and both will be of immense use to the readers. The first part of the book deals with the geography of Bengal at great length, while the last two parts give us a thorough and complete account of her political and administrative history up to the end of the Sena rule. The treatment of the respective topics in the author's carefully formulated scheme is highly satisfactory. He has not only made full use of the inscriptions but also of all other possible sources having any bearing on his theme. The importance which he has accorded to the elucidation of numerous geographical problems in a historical work is praiseworthy, for the study of the history of a country should always proceed alongside with that of its geography. Various other problems connected with the political and administrative history of Pre-Muhammadan Bengal have been discussed by him at great length, and he has tried to assess the different views of previous scholars regarding them at their proper worth. While offering his own well-considered suggestions about many of these, he has seldom failed to present his case with great skill and acumen. The long time the book was in the press was, in a way, a blessing in disguise, for it enabled the author to make it as up to date as possible. The unusual length of the introduction is explained by the fact that he had to incorporate many additional informations which could not be put in their proper places in the body of the book, due to much of the latter having already been in print. Several misprints and other slight errors which have crept in in spite of the great care evidently taken by the author to make it as perfect as possible do not seriously detract its value. No student of the early history of Bengal, nay of India, will be able to do without the book, and it will ever serve as an inspiration to all workers in the field.

JITENDRA NATH BANERJEE.

THE HISTORY OF BENGAL, VOLUME I: HINDU PERIOD. Edited by R. C. MAJUMDAR, M.A., Ph.D., F.R.A.S.B. Published by the University of Dacca, Dacca, 1943. Pages 38+729, with 5 maps and 190 illustrations in 80 plates. Price—not mentioned.

The book under review is undoubtedly one of the most remarkable publications of recent years. It is the result of the first noteworthy attempt to write a comprehensive history—political, administrative, social, economic, religious and cultural—of an important province of India, and its editor, authors and publishers should be congratulated by all lovers of Indian history. In a work of this magnitude it is easy to find out cases in regard to which one may be inclined to disagree with the views accepted or postulated; but the volume under review, an outcome of the collaboration of a number of eminent scholars, will no doubt remain the standard work on the history of Bengal for many years to come. It is a landmark in the history of Indological studies in Bengal and is sure to be a guide to future workers on Indian history.

The contents of the book under review are divided into 17 chapters of which the first three dealing with the physical and historical geography of Bengal and with its history down to the beginning of the Gupta epoch have been contributed by Prof. H. C. Raychaudhuri. Chapters IV–IX which include all the sections discussing the political history of the country from A.D. 320 to the Muslim conquest come from the pen of Dr. R. C. Majumdar, editor of the volume under review. Three other chapters have also been written by Dr. Majumdar jointly with other scholars—chapter X on the administration of ancient Bengal with Dr. R. G. Basak, chapter XV on the ancient Bengali society with Drs. D. C. Ganguly and R. C. Hazra, and chapter XVII on the Bengalis outside Bengal with Dr. Ganguly. Chapter XI on Bengal's contribution to Sanskrit literature has been written by Prof. S. K. De; chapter XII on the rise of vernacular literature by Prof. S. K. Chatterji; chapter XIII on religion and iconography respectively by Dr. P. C. Bagchi and Dr. J. N. Banerjea; chapter XIV on architecture and on sculpture and painting respectively by Mr. S. K. Saraswati and Dr. N. R. Ray; and chapter XVI on the economic conditions by Dr. P. C. Chakravarti.

On the whole, the performance is exceptionally creditable and some of the sections (e.g. chapters XI–XII, etc.) are an outstanding feature of a work of this kind. The book refers to various aspects of the ancient history of Bengal with the minor exception of the question of the development of the Bengali alphabet and numerals which might have formed

part of chapter XII. Such sections as chapters I–III, X, XIV, etc. are highly entertaining. It must, however, be admitted that several of the sections (e.g. in chapters XIII and XV) appear to be rather hurriedly written and invite criticism both in respect of omissions and commissions. The chapters on political history from the 4th century A.D. have been written by one of the most erudite scholars who have specialized in the subject. As however Dr. Majumdar's views on many problems of the history of Eastern India are quite well known to students, certain portions in chapters IV–IX have a familiar ring about them. His treatment is generally exhaustive and he has analyzed elaborately even the most unconvincing theories in order to demonstrate their unsoundness.

As already pointed out it is not difficult to offer alternative, supplementary or emendatory suggestions with regard to numerous points in a work of this magnitude. But they cannot detract from its great value. The following are a few such remarks made by way of illustration.

P. 14. *Pañcha-gauḍa.* The verses सारस्वताः कान्यकुब्जा गौड-मैथिलिकोत्कलाः। पञ्च गौडा इति ख्याता विन्ध्यस्योत्तरवासिनः॥ and कर्णाटाश्चैव तैलङ्गा गुर्ज्जरराष्ट्रवासिनः। अन्ध्राश्च (sic.) द्राविडाः पञ्च विन्ध्यदक्षिणवासिनः॥ of the *Skanda Purāṇa* appear to refer to social units of the Brāhmaṇas. In addition to its territorial and political import, the word pañcha-gauḍa had also a social significance.

P. 94f. *Gauḍavaho.* Better read *Gaüḍavaha.*

P. 98. *Rājabhaṭādi-vaṃśa-patita.* As pointed out by Raychaudhuri, no evidence has been brought forward to prove the identification of Dharmapāla, mentioned in Haribhadra's *Ashṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*, with Dharmapāla son of Gopāla of the Pāla dynasty. Dharmapāla was a fairly common name; cf. Dharmapāla of Daṇḍabhukti, Dharmapāla of Assam, etc.

P. 184, Gopāla as king of Vaṅga. For the same suggestion, see *Proc. Ind. Hist. Cong.*, 1938, p. 193ff; *New Ind. Ant.*, 1939, p. 382ff.

P. 195 (cf. p. 17). Trailokyachandra as ruler of Harikela. The passage आधारो हरिकेलराजककुदच्छत्रस्मितानां श्रियां apparently signifies that Trailokyachandra was a feudatory of the lord of Harikela; cf. *Bhāratbarsha,* Jyaishtha, 1348 B.S., p. 768ff; *Ind. Cult.*, 1941, p. 405ff.

P. 198. Siṃhapura in Kaliṅga as the original home of the Varmans of Bengal. The Bengal Varmans were of the Yādava lineage originally belonging to Siṃhapura and the only Varman family of Siṃhapura claiming descent from the Yādavas can be traced in the Punjab. For the early history of the Bengal Varmans, see *Bhāratbarsha, loc. cit., Ind. Cult., loc. cit.*

P. 222, n. 1. The name of Dommaṇapāla's father was possibly Śrivāsapāla, sic. Srīvāsapāla; cf. *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, 1939, p. 306f.

P. 231. Mr. C. C. Das Gupta's calculations of the astronomical data of the Barrackpur inscription of Vijayasena are all wrong.

P. 402. Bhāgavatism and Pāñcharātra (possibly related at the beginning) completely different in the Gupta period. P. 402, n. 4. The *Vyūhavāda* exclusively related to Pāñcharātra and the *avatāravāda* of Bhāgavatism completely different in their ideological basis. Satisfactory evidence has not been adduced in support of the suggestions. The inscriptions of the Gupta age have nothing to say on such complete difference. On the other hand, the *Pādma Tantra*, one of the 108 canonical Vaishṇava Tantras or Saṃhitās which is earlier, than 800 A.D. (Schrader, *Int. Pāñch. Ahirb. Saṃ.*, pp. 20-21, uses the word *bhāgavata* and *pāñcharātrika* as synonymous; cf. सूरिस्सुहृद्भागवतस्सात्वतः पञ्चकालवित् । एकान्तिकस्तन्मयश्च पाञ्चरात्रिक इत्यपि ॥ (*J.R.A.S.*, 1911, p. 935). The suggestion that Pāñcharātra had nothing to do with *avatāravāda* is disproved by the *Ahirbudhnya Saṃhitā* much earlier than 800 A.D. (Schrader, *op. cit.*, p. 20). The 39 *Vishavas* or Avatāras (that is incarnations of God or His Vyūhas or Sub-Vyūhas or angels) mentioned in this work include all the well-known *Avatāras* noticed in such works as the *Nārāyaṇīya* section in the Śāntiparvan of the *Mahābhārata* (Schrader, *op. cit.*, pp. 42-43): 1. Ekaśṛiṅgatanu (= Matsya, No. 28); 2. Kamaṭheśvara (= Kūrma, No. 15); 3. Varāha (No. 16); 4. Nārasiṃha (No. 17); 5. Vāmanadeha (No. 29); 6. Paraśurāma (No. 35); 7. Rāma Dhanurdhara (No. 36); 8. Ananta (= Balarāma, No. 3) and Vihaṃgama (= Haṃsa, No. 9). 9. and 10. Kalkin (No. 38) and Kṛishṇa (No. 34). Other works like the *Vishvakomasaṃhita* include Buddha in the list of secondary Avatāras. The *Harshacharita* (ed. Parab, pp. 236-37) which is a post-Gupta work no doubt marks some distinction between the Bhāgavatas and the Pāñcharātrikas. The nature of this distinction is not clearly noticed; but the commentary of Śaṅkarārya (14th century) who explains *bhāgavata* and *pāñcharātrika* respectively as *vishṇu-bhakta* and *vaishṇavabheda* does not appear to support the lines of distinction suggested in the volume under review. The Gupta records give evidence to the great popularity of the *Avatāras*, but do not refer to the independent worship of the Vyūhas; and the Pāñcharātra literature appears to suggest that the Vyūhavādins were very much influenced by the *avatāravāda* as early as the beginning of the medieval period. Krishṇa and Balarāma are referred to as Avatāras in medieval Vaishnava literature. This however does not signify that the Vyūhavada completely died out as a philosophical doctrine. We may make a distinction

between the survival of the *vyūhavāda* and that of the indifferent worship of the Vyūhas. See also Raychaudhuri, *E.A.V.S.*, 2nd ed., p. 176 and note.

P. 419ff. The later Senas are called *śaraṇāgatavajrapañjara*, 'a secure refuge for those who seek his protection'. One may be tempted to interpret the word *vajrapañjara* as an epithet of Dadhīchi; but that does not appear to be supported by Indian literature. The word is used in the sense of a mystic *Yantra*, in the literature of the Vajrayāna school (*Sādhanamālā*, I, pp. 195, 226, 255). It is the epithet of certain prayers addressed to Durgā and also the name of a Dāṇava. *Vajrapañjara* seems also to have been the *viruda* of a Vajrāchārya who is known to have been the author of the celebrated Tārā *mantra: Oṃ tāre tuttāre ture svāhā*. Cf. एतन्मन्त्रवरं श्रेष्ठं सर्व्वबुद्धैर्नमस्कृतम् । पठितसिद्धिकरं दिव्यं (v.l. तीव्रं) वज्रपञ्जरभाषितम् ॥ (*ibid.*, pp. 186, 200, 233). We do not know whether he may be identified with Vajra (Ghaṇṭa-pā) of Varendra or with any of the known Vajrāchāryas with names or *virudas* containing the word *vajra*. But this Vajrapañjara is possibly to be assigned to a period not later than Devapāla (first half of the 9th century), because, as pointed out by S. K. Saraswati, the *Mantra*: *Oṃ tāre tuttāre ture svāhā* is found on the Hilsā Buddhist Tārā image established during the 35th regnal year of Devapāla (*J.B.O.R.S.*, X, p. 33).

P. 589. Reference to the Vaidyas in South Indian records of the 8th century. As pointed out by Raychaudhuri, the earliest known reference to a person of the *vaidyāmaya* with name ending in *Varman* (शासनं वैद्यान्वयश्रीवत्सवर्म्मणा लिखितं) is found in the Telamanchi grant of Vikrāmāditya I dated A.D. 660 (*Ep. Ind.*, IX, p. 101).

P. 669. *Kapardaka-purāṇa*. Cf. the word *paṇapurāṇa* apparently indicating 16 copper *paṇas* equated as a single unit to the silver *purāṇa* or *Kārshāpaṇa* in the Nangsal inscription (Lévi, *Le Nepal*, III, p. 154ff.). This would suggest that Bhandarkar's interpretation of *Kapardaka-purāṇa* as a *purāṇa* of the shape of a *kapardaka* is highly improbable. It may be noticed in this connection that the 21 Nepal inscriptions as edited by Lévi have not been noticed by Bhandarkar in his *List of Inscriptions*. We eagerly await the publication of Volumes II and III of the *Dacca University History of Bengal*.

DINESH CHANDRA SIRCAR.

LIFE IN THE GUPTA AGE. By RAJARAM NARAYAN SALETORE, M.A., Ph.D., The Popular Book Depot (Bombay). Price—not stated.

Under the unassuming title 'Life in the Gupta Age' Dr. Saletore has compiled what is in effect an encyclopædia conspectus of the classical Indian conception of human existence in the fourth to the seventh century A.D. framed in an historical summary of the main dynastic features of the Gupta period. The account is based on an analytical study of the classical writers, in particular Kālidāsa, Bāṇa and Daṇḍin, supplemented by the reports of the Chinese travellers and the evidence of the leading inscriptions, and illustrated at appropriate points, particularly as regards costume and toilet, from the Ajaṇṭā paintings. While the background is sketched in from the doctrines of Kauṭilya and Vātsāyana, so difficult to isolate either in, or from, the heyday of Indian civilization which absorbed their permanent values; and brief references are made to the Smṛtis. The general effect is perhaps rather to recreate the picture of life as it appeared through the tinted spectacles of the courtly poets or the dark glasses of the Chinese travellers than to attempt a precise sociological study of the age. Specialists in each field will probably find no new contribution to their knowledge and the general reader may hesitate to attach the assembled batteries of referenced detail. But the work is invaluable as a systematic and comprehensive compendium of the features of an existence which, coloured as its representation may be, was anything but imaginary, and did, as the author quotes Barnett and Vincent Smith to remind readers, represent one of history's peaks in civilization. It is of particular value in collating the inscriptions with literary sources, not so much for the more familiar purpose of illustrating the common literary tradition as for that of touching on precise points of contact in the social and administrative system and in official terminology.

The general range covered is extremely comprehensive, extending over the whole field of political, social, cultural and religious activities, literature, and the costume and ornaments of daily life. The result is perhaps a certain diffuseness and lack of precision in examining some of the features touched on. It is for instance too summary a thesis to discredit Fa Hien and to ascribe the institution of the slavery to the Gupta age on the basis of little more than the hyperbolic literary use of the expression *Dāsī* and the functioning at court of captive women as *Dāsīs*. And notwithstanding frequent references to Vātsāyana the author does less than justice to the accomplishment of Gupta civilization, as interpreted by the poets, in attuning to a conscious and refined technique of erotic behaviour, (an ideal only now being given expression to by

Western socialogists) when he remarks with a reference to Raghu, XIX that 'sometimes kings and nobles fuddled themselves with wine and women'. But whatever aspect of this civilization one may be interested in studying, the material and the index to its analysis will be found in Dr. Saletore's work. And one cannot too often be reminded that whatever the general condition and state of the people as a whole in the actual Gupta age,—a matter about which after all the conventional tributes of court eulogists do not tell us a great deal—the urban life in courtly and cultured circles did give expression to those, values, literary, aesthetic and intellectual, which are recognized as the essence of civilization. No encyclopædia can interpret that spirit. Dr. Saletore's work comprehends all the facets of its manifestation. The book contains an excellent bibliography to which might be added a small monograph 'Culture inspired by Kālidāsa' by Sivaramamurti, correlating literary cliches and conventions of the Gupta age with their sculptural expression.

C. W. G.

India and the Pacific World. By Dr. Kalidas Nag, M.A., D.Litt. (Paris), of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Calcutta University. Published by the Book Co., Ltd., College Square, East, Calcutta. Size D.C. 8vo. Pp. xiv+294. Price Indian Rs.11 and Foreign £1 or 5 dollars.

This useful book covers a much wider field than its title indicates. It is really a survey of the history of culture in the lands of Eastern Asia and Oceania. It also contains a summary of the most noteworthy contributions of modern literature to this vast subject. The book includes much valuable material for a detailed history of Greater India but the many interesting references to the cultural contacts between India and the Far East are often rather overshadowed on account of the deep interest which the author takes in the wider problem relating to the general development of culture and civilization in Asia. The book, in fact, provides an invaluable background for a more detailed study of the history of Greater India. There is nobody more competent than Dr. Kalidas Nag to write on this fascinating topic. He has probably travelled more widely in the Far East than any other Indian scholar. His literary style is good and his enthusiasm for his subject appeals both to the specialist and the ordinary general reader.

Now that Dr. Nag has completed this excellent introduction to the history of Greater India we may confidently look forward to further contributions from his pen to this subject. One of

the most interesting chapters in such a history would deal with the early development of cultural relations between India and China. As he states in his last chapter 'Sino-Indian collaboration in the field of art, literature and philosophy formed the noblest chapter in the history of North-Easter Asia whence Indian culture penetrated through Korea into Japan and to other islands of the North Pacific.' For about eight hundred years after the reign of the Emperor Wu-Ti (140–87 B.C.) the history of the cultural relations between India and China is inextricably bound up with that of the great silk road through Chinese Turkestan, the importance of which the discoveries of the late Sir Aurel Stein have done so much to elucidate. We hope that in the near future Dr. Nag will tell us more about this aspect of the history of civilization in India.

NORMAN G. A. EDGLEY.

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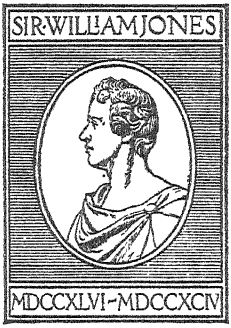

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ARTICLE NO. 1.

Hellenism in North-West India.

BY COLONEL D. H. GORDON.

(*Communicated by Dr. B. S. Guha.*)

It is unlikely that this article will solve any of the riddles of Indian Hellenism, nor has it been written with that intention, but it may contribute something to a fuller understanding of the issues involved and present a wider range of material evidence than has as yet been assembled. Some of this evidence has been included in the chapter on Hellenistic Terracottas in a Memoir on Early Indian Terracottas compiled by the writer for the Archaeological Survey of India, the issue of which has unfortunately been postponed indefinitely by the paper shortage.

Enquiry into the extent that Indian art is laid under contribution to Greek art has for the most part been so clouded by national and political bias that the wood has been obscured by the trees of controversy, often on matters so trivial as to be unworthy of consideration except as debating points. Without plunging profitlessly into the morass of the art controversy which has raged intermittently in India during the last thirty years or more, as to the extent which Indian art may borrow from the West and not lose its essential characteristics, it may be urged that the elements of this controversy apply with equal force and cogency to Western influence during the early historic period, from the time of the eclipse of the Mauryas to the end of the Gupta dynasty.

Western influence is unfortunately only too often mixed up with Western taste, and some Indian art purists go so far as to eliminate from their works items of sculpture which experience has shown make the greatest appeal to that taste. In this there are faults on both sides, as what could be more irritating than for a European to praise a particular figure with the words—'I like such and such a sculpture, it isn't a bit Indian looking'. It may not be so typically Indian as, in the mind of the observer, many others, but at the same time it is Indian, and owes little if anything to European art influence. In art, though they may be more rare in Nature, the modern, more particularly the modern European, likes his women to have long legs, even disproportionately so. The figures in the triptych shrine of the River Goddesses in the Kailas Temple at Ellora have nice long legs, as also have an attendant on the River Goddess at Dumar Lena. In consequence most volumes by the Indian purists do not show these attractive ladies. In

the same way the admirable Shiva and Parvati shaken by Ravana, the attractive though somewhat sentimental Sālabhanjikā,[1] and the 'Rukhmini' of Nokhas[2] might easily disappear as being too suspect for retention as purely Indian.

First of all it will be as well for us to examine the extent of Hellenistic influence, and then attempt to determine from what sources this influence derives. Tarn, who though no doubt an excellent Greek historian is a most indifferent archaeologist, speaks of the art of the Indo-Greeks for themselves and cites certain well-known art objects from North-West India.[3] Whether there was in fact any art of the Greeks for themselves in India is a matter which needs closer examination. It will be as well to remember that relatively little of the original sculpture of the golden age in Greece has survived. Of free-standing statues nearly all we have are copies made in Hellenistic and Imperial Roman times, and popular pieces were copied over and over again. It is only those sculptures of which we have literary descriptions that can be ascribed with any real degree of certainty as being copies of a famous statue by one of the great masters. As for the others, art critics and historians see in certain pieces the revealing touches which indicate the master hand that executed the original. Unfortunately opinion on these matters is far from unanimous, and, while one appreciates that there is controversy on such points, it is distinctly shaking to find that so famous a statue as the Aphrodite of Cyrene is ascribed by so eminent an art critic as Roger Fry to the fifth century B.C.,[4] while an equally eminent classical archaeologist, A. W. Lawrence, dates it to late second or early first century B.C.[5] The Aphrodite may be a copy of an earlier piece, and the disparagement usual to creations of the Hellenistic period no doubt favours this, but there is no evidence for it. The same discrepancy may be found in the torso of Nike which Fry ascribed to the same circle as the work of the Parthenon, but Lawrence to possibly the Monument of Euboulides. This indicates that, even close to their place of origin the dating of the art objects of the Hellenistic period is far from settled.

The beginning of the Hellenistic age is put at about 334 B.C., and closes historically with the fall of the Seleucid and Ptolemaic kingdoms, but artistically it continues for varying and almost indefinable periods, for it is doubtful whether art influences once created ever wholly die. The perpetuation of Hellenism is not to be found in Greece itself, but primarily in Magna Grecia, Asia Minor and Syria and the islands fringing these countries, and in Italy and Sicily. The impulse spread

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[1] Pl. XLV, Indian Sculpture, Stella Kramrisch.
[2] Pl. LXX, Hist. of Indian and Indonesian Art, A. K. Coomaraswamy.
[3] The Greeks in Bactria and India, W. W. Tarn, p. 394.
[4] Last Lectures, Roger Fry, p. 202.
[5] Later Greek Sculpture, A. W. Lawrence, pp. 45, 126.

to the whole of the Seleucid Empire and thence to Bactria, India and China. It was kept alive by those arch-copyists and philo-hellenes the Parthians, and traces survive in India as late as the seventh century, and in China into T'ang times. Moreover it can now be said with a considerable measure of confidence that the peak period of Hellenism in the Middle East was from 150 B.C. to 120 A.D., and to date any piece with exactitude within this period is a matter of some considerable difficulty.

We should now review what there is of Hellenistic material stretching from Asia Minor and Syria to Bactria and India. In Asia Minor we have abundant remains of considerable merit, especially as regards sculpture, ranging from the Pergamene Battle of gods and giants to the Augustan sculpture at Aphrodisias. Palmyrene sculpture shows a more considerable measure of local influence, similar to that which we shall find further East. In Mesopotamia, along the trade routes to Central Asia at Dura Europos and Seleucia, sculpture is scarce and we have to rely on painting and particularly on terracotta figurines for our evidence. Bactria was proclaimed by Foucher to be void of art objects though this must be qualified in the light of more recent research. Our review moving eastwards now brings us to the region we intend chiefly to examine, the Paropamisadae and Gandhara. Here again, though sculpture in stone and in stucco is abundant it is to the terracottas that we shall chiefly look to give us the evidence we require. For it is of terracottas in particular that Evert Barger is speaking when he suggests that they, together with beads, seals, and pottery, might become an international currency in the hands of archaeologists.[1]

Let us now examine those objects which are reputed to have been made for the Indo-Greeks by themselves: the silver repoussé Dionysus and the bronze statuette of Harpocrates from Taxila. Marshall dates the former to the second century B.C. and the latter to the first century B.C.[2] The objects were found together among articles which were possibly buried at the time of the Kushan invasion, so they date not later than about 50 A.D.[3] but as they are almost certainly imports, particularly the Harpocrates which is suggested by Lawrence as being of Alexandrine origin, an upper date can be purely conjectural and of no real importance to the matter under discussion. Tarn instances one other object as being a product of Greeks for Greeks, this is the Athena in the Lahore Museum. Being a blue schist carving, this attribution has considerable

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[1] Mem. Arch. Survey of India, No. 64. Excavation in Swat and Explorations in the Oxus territory of Afghanistan, E. Barger and P. Wright, p. 4.

[2] A.S.I. Annual Report, 1912-13, p. 27.

[3] A Guide to Taxila, Marshall, p. 92.

bearing on the matter under discussion, or would have if it meant anything. Tarn has obviously not seen this figure, nor had the writer when he read Tarn's book, and so it was a statuette, possibly in bronze, displaying an Athena of the type found on the coins of Azes which was anticipated. The actual Athena is distinguishable as such only by her helmet, and is as definitely Indian as is more than ninety per cent of Gandharan sculpture. There is no evidence for the production of any art object whatsoever by the Greeks for themselves in India.

Tarn is very persistent that the art of Kushan Gandhara must be in some way connected with the Bactrian Greeks.[1] Foucher dug with a large number of workmen for eighteen months on the site of Bactria but found nothing to indicate a high level of Hellenistic culture. The idea that every city which displayed on its coinage a goddess with a turretted head-dress was a Greek polis, and that as it was a polis it must have had a theatre, a gymnasium, et cetera, is one that is not likely to be upheld by the evidence of the spade. Experience of sites of this general period, i.e. 250 B.C.–400 A.D., convinces the writer that, if there was much to be found at the site of Bactria, material would have been forthcoming in sufficient quantities to justify a verdict from Foucher very different from that which he gave. Very considerable familiarity with the site of Pushkalavati, in the general vicinity of Charsadda, has not indicated that this city is likely to differ to any extent from that of Sirkap at Taxila. Tarn, quoting Hargreaves in Foucher's Ancient Geography of Gandhara, speaks of the Stupa of the Eye-Gift towering aloft on the acropolis of Pushkalavati. This has no real meaning, as the mound of the Bala Hissar, the whole mass of which was thought by Foucher to be the Stupa of the Eye-Gift itself, is in reality nothing but one of those Dheris, Daros or Tels which cover the Middle East, and which are the artificial product of the debris of continued occupation and the collapse and rebuilding of mud wall buildings. Anyone viewing this mound in the light of modern knowledge can see quite clearly the main habitation levels, floors, hearths, sump-pits, the whole studded with pottery. Foucher's sneer that one might as well call it a pigeon cote as the Bala Hissar, shows incredible lack of observation, not only archaeological but ornithological as well, as the birds which inhabit this and all other mounds of the Peshawar plain are minas.

The only thing that we know for a certainty in Colonial Greek style for Colonial Greeks in this region was their coinage. The superiority of Colonial Greek coinage over that of the homeland is a strange phenomenon, but the fact remains that the Colonial Greeks produced the finest coins ever minted in any

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[1] Tarn, *op. cit.*, p. 395.

age, no other coins have excelled them. The writer was once of opinion that a certain style of Hellenistic terracotta, found fairly plentifully throughout Gandhara, were also relics of the Bactrian Greeks, but such archaeological evidence as we now have does not support this idea. It is, however, these and other terracottas which are going to be of the greatest value in solving the Hellenistic problem.

Terracottas formed the sculpture, sacred or profane, of the ordinary household. Throughout the Near and Middle East, terracotta figurines have an unbroken history dating back almost indefinitely. They have provided the household gods and votive offerings for hundreds even thousands of years. During the period 200 B.C. to 200 A.D., throughout the Greco-Roman world, a Hellenistic female type, often in the postures and nakedness of the oriental Mother Goddess, became popular alongside with other and more definitely local and oriental manifestations. Great quantities of these figurines have been unearthed at Seleucia on the Tigris, and they are found also throughout the Gandhara region from the Kunar Valley on the West to Taxila on the East, South as far as Akra near Bannu and North into Bajaur. Along with these figures and of an inclusive date are to be found primitive peg-shaped female figurines having the characteristic applied and incised eyes which distinguish them from all others. The date of these latter figures is now definitely established by excavation, and while the earliest found may be as early as 200 B.C. the latest are as late as 250 A.D. and possibly later. They have a Syro-Mesopotamian origin, but a recent one, which dates in all probability no earlier than the conquests of Antiochus the Great. It is therefore a little short of horrifying to find that A. K. Coomaraswamy, not content with labelling such figures with a middle 2nd millennium dating in his article in IPEK 1927, which was excusable with regard to the state of knowledge on this subject at that time, well knowing that these figures come from the Gandharan region, produces one of them as an 'Indus Valley figurine' in his article in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica.* This is a most disingenuous misrepresentation. These crude figurines are very common, being present in many hundreds possibly thousands throughout Gandhara, Hellenistic ones being much more scarce but suffering a ready deterioration. It is difficult to determine what this deterioration is due to, but it is more likely that demand produced careless workmanship than that the deterioration shows any progressive lack of skill.

There is a strong similarity between terracottas of Hellenistic style found in Gandhara and those found at Seleucia. Miss Wilhelmina Van Ingen's excellent monograph [1] on these

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[1] Figurines from Seleucia on the Tigris. Wilhelmina Van Ingen.

latter finds is a mine of stimulating information on the subject of the terracottas of this period in general. Her remarks concerning the mass production methods of the image makers of Seleucia apply with equal force not only to those of Gandhara, but, as the writer pointed out many years ago, to those of Mathura as well. So long as the image makers had a mould, they turned out their mass produced article with a moderate efficiency; even so, as Miss Van Ingen points out, their assembling of double mould figures was often slap-dash and crude. Without a mould they were lost, and could only produce the primitive style of figurine which has deluded so many wishful thinkers into endowing them with a quite fictitious antiquity. Figs. 1–4 show typical Hellenistic terracottas, which by analogy with those from Seleucia, are to be dated from some time in the period first century B.C.–first century A.D. The evidence of the heads of this type found at Taxila points, however, to the Saka-Parthian as being the more exact period of production, that is from about 50 B.C. to 50 A.D. After 50 A.D. there is reason to believe that the mould-makers developed a more varied and individual style, and a number of terracottas were produced which showed much more of life and character.

Terracottas are most disobliging from the point of view of conforming to contemporary sculpture, and this makes them even more difficult to place. Moulded terracottas typical of late Sunga times are found widely distributed from Sar Dheri in the North-West, eastwards through Muttra to Kosambi, Bhita and Basarh, and it is on the heels of this type that we get the influx of moulded Hellenistic terracottas. These also appear as far East as Basarh, where previously, on the authority of Dr. Spooner, such terracottas were attributed to Persian influence in Mauryan times. There is no evidence to support this, and Parthian influence at the turn of the millennium B.C. to A.D. fits the archaeological facts much closer.

The Hellenistic figurines are almost entirely female and show a nude goddess with a wreath or diadem headdress, the hair drawn back into a single thick braid, and at the top of the braid at the back a plate-like head ornament. In good specimens the hair is clearly indicated, the plate has a pattern on it, the wreath or diadem is carefully applied, the features are well defined, and the body has depth. As the work deteriorates the braid disappears and with it the plate, or they become merely a tuft at the crown of the head. The features become more blurred until in some exceptionally poor pieces they disappear altogether. The body, which is in two pieces back and front, loses depth owing to the two portions being moulded flat and stuck together like a sandwich.

Fig. 5 shows a definite orientalization of this female figure, which is on the whole a great improvement. The head is not fixed with complete frontality, thus giving the whole figure

a more lively appearance. This figure, unlike those just described, is the product of a single mould, and the arms are not wholly free from the sides, gradually this type deteriorates through examples employing only a single mould, with the figure becoming steadily flatter and the arms merging more and more into the background of the plaque. It is doubtful whether we shall ever know for a certainty just to what cause this deterioration in terracottas should be attributed; it is observable, however, very clearly in at least four different types, possibly more. One thing appears to be quite certain, it is not due to a falling off in the skill of local craftsmen. Demand one feels produced a lowering of standards, and cheap reproductions of popular types were turned out on mass production lines to serve the needs of the poorer classes.

Such terracottas as we have been describing are relatively scarce in the West, a few have been found at Tarentum, but eastward from Myrina, which is famed for its terracottas, they are plentiful. Few of the Hellenistic terracottas from Gandhara have any counterparts outside the Middle East. The exceptions are a class of terracotta, and a single figure from that amazing site Sar Dheri, which has produced a more striking variety than any other site in Northern India. The single terracotta is represented only by the head and torso, from waist to knees, of a small statuette of the familiar Western Hellenistic Venus de Milo type, having drapery slipping from the hips. The class is even more interesting as it has excellent dating value. Shallow bowls having a design, usually a portrait, embossed in the centre, known to classical archaeologists as 'emblemata bowls' were popular in Italy in Augustan times. These Indian terracottas, of which specimens are shown in Fig. 6, are of exactly this type. The examples show two similar portraits, a young man right and a girl left, and in the centre a philosopher. Another example has Cupid and Psyche, and one in the Lahore Museum has two figures holding a drinking cup. These are by no means common as only some seven or eight specimens are known to the writer, but they are securely dated, allowing for a few years for this fashion to spread, to the first half of the first century A.D. In addition to these are some bearded male heads, some of which, as for instance that in Fig. 4, are of the style which do duty for philosophers or ascetics, and others such as Fig. 7 are of the actor's mask type. A figure with a tragic mask, of a type found also at Seleucia, was unearthed in the vicinity of Swabi, possibly at the large mound near the village of Turlandi, where a large number of terracottas have come to light. As anything of true Gandharan type in terracotta appears to be at a higher level than these terracottas of Hellenistic style, and a sufficiency of true Gandharan types have been found to make such a juxtapositioning possible, it looks as though the earliest Gandharan sculptures are unlikely

to be older than early in the first century A.D. This is not proof conclusive, for, as has been already pointed out by Barger, the terracottas on the habitation sites and remains of Gandharan sculpture are not much found together.

Let us now examine the Gandharan sculpture itself and see how much of Hellenism there is in it. Influence is of course undeniable, but anything that suggests the copying of Greek originals is very scarce. There are three or four reliefs which show considerable Western influence, and which are copies or memories of existing examples. The lack of full comprehension is obvious in the instance of the frieze of River Genii, having the most extraordinary display of pectoral muscles rendered by a series of small circular bosses. In addition to the above, certain bearded figures in seated or crouching postures, mostly of the type designated as Atlantes figures, are closely of the type exemplified by similar figures supporting portions of the Theatre at Athens. The so-called Apollo type of Gandhara Buddha, except for the straightness of the nose, bears no real resemblance to any Apollo produced in Greece. The writer has a particularly fine head with a far firmer and more masculine look than is found in practically any other specimen he has seen either in the Lahore or Peshawar museums, but there is nothing particularly or peculiarly Apollo-like about it if one were to set it beside the Apollo Belvedere.

Compared to those of the sculptures at Sanchi and Barhut these faces look more European. But the faces of Gandhara did and do look more European. This is purely fortuitous, people of that sort lived there, and from Vedic times when the Gandharas were considered to be regrettably mixed up with Mlechchhas, they have mingled more with the outside world, been more receptive to outside influences, and rightly or wrongly considered themselves for a variety of reasons, which it shall be no business of ours to specify here, much superior to those who live South and East of the Indus and its tributaries.

When dealing with Gandharan sculpture we are up against a formidable array of difficulties. We have a mass of material, a very great deal of it of extremely indifferent quality, which presents no real clue that is going to help anyone in dating it or even in arranging it in any acceptable art sequence. From the fourth to the eighth centuries, when the influence of Gandharan art finally faded away, dating is now on a firm basis, but in the earlier periods there is as yet little to guide us. To fit the facts however, one must accept as a working hypothesis the contentions of Dr. C. L. Fabri. As he points out in his most important article in 'Asia' the introduction of Hellenistic features would, as the history of such influences in India shows, come gradually, and the so-called Indianizing of Gandharan sculpture would not therefore be a deterioration, but itself the original basis of this art evolving directly from the Indian art of Barhut and

Sanchi; it is therefore Indian and not Indianized.[1] Only in this way can one show that continuity which is inevitable in art history, as Fabri says—'There are no gaps in human history', and the art of Gandhara evolves naturally, absorbing such influences as were then current in the Middle East.

Only the patronizing air he adopts towards Bachhofer induces one to examine the amazing statement that Tarn makes about the stucco heads from Hadda. Tarn, with his exiguous knowledge of art history in general, expects that Bachhofer should have some inkling of the explanation as to why these heads, which are of the fourth-fifth centuries A.D., should look like Hellenistic work of the second century B.C.; and then in a footnote he makes his masterly expositions, namely that—'The stucco heads were cast in old Hellenistic moulds and then attached to the fourth century A.D. bodies.'[2] Firstly, were there any old Hellenistic moulds, if so, what evidence have we for their existence? If there were, did the makers of these Hellenistic moulds, presumably in the first or second century B.C., make them so that they might be used for the first time four hundred years later? If second-hand Hellenistic head moulds were employed, what then is the explanation of the excellent Hellenistic bodies, such as that of the young man with flowers in the lappet of his robe and the child with its robe looped into a hood?[3] There is nothing in stucco made from such moulds in these regions at an earlier date, and there is much to show that there is excellent work in the second and third centuries A.D., both in terracotta and stucco, leading up to these types. In fact, Tarn reveals nothing except the fact that he has no knowledge of Gandharan art at all.

It will be as well if we attempt to work back from the terracotta heads of Akhnur and Ushkar and the stucco heads of Hadda, the date of which is accurately known, to the earlier more debatable work in Gandhara. The terracottas of Ushkar are in the opinion of Dr. Fabri the very last remains of Hellenism in N.W. India, and he places them a generation later than those of Akhnur. This has geographical considerations in its favour taken as an assumption that the last traces of Gandharan culture retreated further and futher North from Taxila through Akhnur in Jammu into Kashmir. Relics of Buddhism have been found at Ushkar, Harwan and Avantipur. The terracottas of Ushkar are, however, far less rococo than those of Akhnur and may for the most part be distinguished by the steeply flaring, sharply marked brow ridges. The terracottas of Akhnur are loaded with ornamentation and are of soft podgy types, wholly

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[1] Buddhist Baroque in Kashmir, C. L. Fabri, *Asia*, October 1939.

[2] Tarn, *op. cit.*, p. 398.

[3] L'Oeuvre de la Delegation Archeologique Francaise en Afghanistan, Hackin, 1933. Figs. 5 and 11.

lacking in any virility. The terracottas of Ushkar can be dated by the Monastery of King Lalitaditya, 700 to 736 A.D., and those of Akhnur may well, as Fabri suggests, precede them by a generation.

At Taxila a fair number of Late Gandharan terracotta heads have been found, the most common type being that of a youth with head inclined sideways, having a diadem and a fringe of conventional curls, and wearing rather a sickly smile. This type is also common at Hadda, so that these terracottas and the terracotta Buddha heads found with them can be dated to the fourth and fifth centuries A.D., and are contemporary with the stucco work at Jaulian and Mohra Moradu, at which latter place many of them were found. There is, however, a great deal of stucco work all over Gandhara much of which, as Fabri has pointed out, is quite indistinguishable in a photograph from the sculpture in schist. It is only the fact that the finding of a coin of Theodosius II at Hadda, in such circumstances as to date at least a portion of the stucco work there, has tended to label the whole stucco output of Gandhara with a fourth-fifth century dating, which has obscured the possibility that some of this work is almost certainly at least a century earlier. The magnificent stucco head of Buddha in the India Museum, South Kensington, shown as a 'Head of Bodhisatva' on Pl. X *b*, in Dunbar's History of India, is in all probability work of the third century, and it is probable also that many other pieces such as the Kuvera and Hariti at Takht-i-Bhai [1] are of the same date. The most striking heads at Hadda are those which strangely enough present the least Hellenistic characteristics. The bearded head resembling a mediaeval Christ and the monk with most sensitively rendered features owe no real debt to Hellenism, nor does the vivid female figure grasping two plaits. Influences were at work producing a fresh vital art which stamps with an even clearer mark of absurdity the contention that these heads were cast from moulds made originally in the second century B.C. That this vitality was confined to the art of Hadda is an idea which has gained considerable currency, and it has been fashionable to belittle the achievement of Gandharan art to the point of selecting those least admirable and lifeless examples and putting them forward as typical of the best that Gandharan artists could produce.

To show what could be done, here is the head of a bearded ascetic in terracotta (Figs. 8 and 9). It bears no relation to the plump-cheeked pseudo-ascetics of Ushkar and Akhnur. There may be something of what is termed 'expressionism' about this head, but it has that intensity and vitality which are essential to a true plastic interpretation of the subject. Such a

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[1] The Mother Goddess of Gandhara, Gordon, *Antiquity*, March 1937. Pl. I.

head is almost certainly a product of the third century and comes from the Charsadda area. If there is anything Hellenistic about it, such traces are only perceptible to those who, willy-nilly, are set on finding them. Where Hellenistic models suit the purpose of the Gandharan craftsmen, they employ them, but by far the majority of the finest works of art from this region show only those traces which pervaded the whole Middle East at that date.

Figs. 10 and 11 show a unique head from the vicinity of Tangi, the most northerly of the Hashtnagar villages; it is a large terracotta head, a copy of a Hellenistic barbarian type, it is the hair treatment, however, which is the most striking feature, as these wavy tangled locks, so common in Hellenistic statuary, normally disappear in the conventionalized whorls and ridges found on the stucco heads at Hadda, Taxila and elsewhere. Good Hellenistic types are therefore not the prerogative of Hadda, but were produced whenever and wherever the Gandharan artist felt that they suited his purpose. It is impossible to shut off the work in stone from that in stucco into separate watertight compartments, and it cannot really be doubted that they co-existed, and that the monasteries more remote from the Swat hills, such as those little establishments at Askaru Dheri, Kula Dheri and on the ridge of the Marble Rocks, north of the Kabul river just outside Nowshera, were turning out images in stucco at the same time as the monks of Loriyan Tangai and the monasteries, known only to image traffickers, north of Mian Khan and Sangao were producing the best work in the blue schist of the hills in which they lived.

It is now possible to arrive at some tentative conclusions. In N.W. India, Hellenistic terracottas are found which follow closely on the heels of late Sunga terracottas of about 120–80 B.C. Similar ones are found at Seleucia where the majority can be dated 140 B.C.–120 A.D. and at Memphis in Egypt where they can be dated by the style of local contemporary Indian terracottas to the first century A.D. The Seleucia dates give extreme marginal limits for this style of figurine, but the Taxila finds indicate 80 B.C. as being the highest date for them in Gandhara. Bactria produced no Hellenistic art, but Barger discovered piller bases of Corinthian style at Kunduz,[1] and in the same neighbourhood stucco heads and fragments were discovered at a monastery site; these have been dated by M. Hackin as being somewhere in the period first century B.C. to first century A.D., though there seem to be no very strong grounds for such a conclusion. The Gandharan carvings of a more definitely Indian style, deriving clearly from the art of Barhut and Sanchi, are as Fabri maintains the earliest, and both in stone, stucco and terracotta Hellenistic influences pervaded N.W. India

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[1] Barger, *op. cit.*, p. 43, and Pl. IX, 4.

from late first century A.D. up to their final disappearance in the seventh century.

All the terracottas of the Saka-Parthian period are not of Hellenistic style. In the same way as at Seleucia there are primitive products, and also local types such as male figures with moustaches, beards and pointed Iranian caps. Male types with headdress knotted up on one side, such as are found at Muttra, persisted over a long period showing a continuity of this type from late Sunga to late Kushan times. Kushan terracottas show greater variety than their predecessors, but continuity can be shown late on into Gupta times, and in Kashmir at the site of Avantipur possibly as late as the tenth and eleventh centuries, when the iconographic terracottas of Northern India seem to come to an end.

It is unlikely therefore that the Hellenistic characteristics were produced by any specially imported artists or craftsmen, but were part of widespread art influences throughout the Middle East, the inevitable consequence of the Hellenistic dynasties set up as a result of Alexander's conquests. Much, if not the greater part, of the spreading and continuance of this Western influence was the result of the deliberate fostering of such art by the philo-hellenic Parthians, and it is not until they are firmly settled in India that we get art objects of Hellenistic style appearing alongside local primitive products, and succeeding the sculptures with influences from Sanchi and the terracottas of Sunga style. Though we have a mass of material of all types at our disposal, we have a great deal yet to learn about it, and new objects are continually appearing which do much to upset established notions. In fact the whole matter of Gandharan dating calls for review and revision in the light of recent discoveries and ideas, and also one hopes in the light of fresh extensive excavation, as yet not attempted, at the site of the Bala Hissar at Charsadda.

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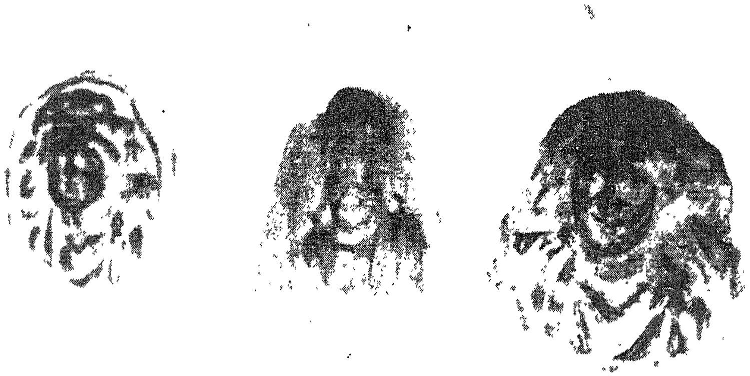

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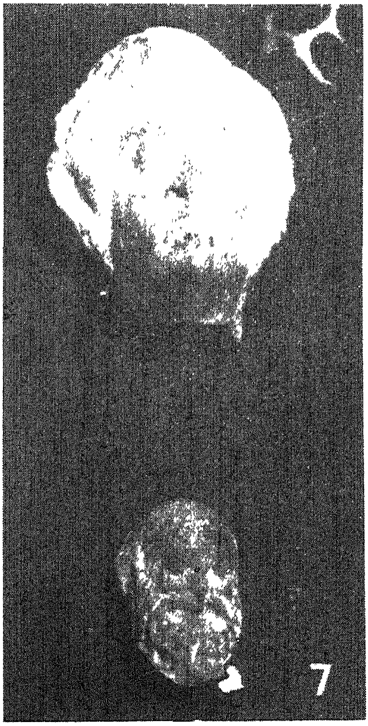

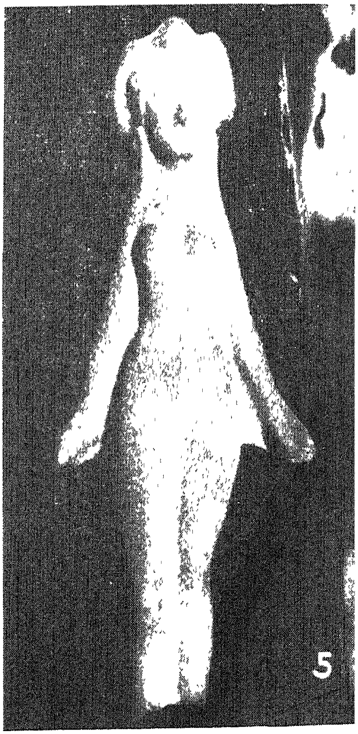

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Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. Letters.
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ARTICLE NO. 2.

Mathura Lion-Capital Inscriptions.

By HARIT KRISHNA DEB.

The remarkable Lion-Capital, covered over with Kharoshṭhī writing, found at Mathurā by the late Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji and bequeathed by him to the British Museum, has from time to time been made a subject of discussion by Indologists who have expressed divergent opinions on the reading and interpretation as well as upon the fundamental question of the manner in which its different parts are to be inter-related. For instance, M. Barth held that what we have before us is not one single record, composed or engraved at the time the pillar was set up, but a series of records not all contemporaneous with the first consecration. Professor Lüders, on the other hand, expressed the view (*SBAW*, 1913, pp. 415ff.) that it is one single inscription. The latest treatment is due to Professor Sten Konow who, in editing the record in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. II, Part I, pp. 30–49, opines that, at all events, there can hardly be any doubt that the whole has been executed at the same time. But I venture to differ. The capital was damaged when section I was engraved, as will be evident from the fact that there is a large chipped-off surface avoided by the engraver.

Professor Konow's reading and translation, marking in many respects an advance on previous attempts, may most conveniently be cited as bases for discussion herein. I may add that I have had the advantage of a close inspection of the plaster-cast in the Indian Museum.

PROFESSOR KONOW'S READING.

A

(1) mahaksha[tra]vasa Rajulasa (2) agramahesh(r)i Ayasia (3) Kamuïa dhit(r)a (4) Khar(r)aostasa yuvarañā (5) mat(r)a Nada Diakasa [taye] (6) sadha matra Abuhola[e] (7) pitramahi Piśpas(r)ia bhra (8) tra Hayaürana sadha Hana dhi[tra] (9) a[te]-urena horakapa (10) rivarena iś(r)a pradhravipratr(r)e (11) ś(r)e nisime śarira prat(r)iṭhavit(r)o (12) bhak(r)avat(r)o Śakamunisa Budhasa (13) Muki[śri]raya saśpa [a]bhusavi[ta] (14) thuva cha sagharama cha chat(r)u (15) diś(r)asa saghasa sarva (16) stivat(r)ana parigrahe.

E

(1) Khar(r)aosto yuvaraya (E′) Kamuïo (2) Khalamasa Kumara (3) Maja kaniṭha (4) saman[u]mot(r)a(E″)k(r)a karita

B

(1) mahakshatravasa (2) Va(ra)julasarputra (3) Śuḍase kshatrave

C

(1) Kaluï a (2) varajo

D

Naüludo

M

(1) kshatrave Śuḍi(ḍa)se (2) imo paḍhravi (3)prat(r)eś(r)o

I

(1) Veyaüdirna kadhavaro Busapa (2)ro kadha (3)varo (4) vi ya u

J

(1) rvaraparena palichhina (2) nisimo karita niyat(r)it(r)o

H′

dhamadana

H

guhavihare

KL

(1) ayariasa (2) Budhat(r)evasa (3) ut(r)aena ayimi[ta]

F

(1) Budhilasa nak(r)araasa (2) bhikhusa sarvastivat(r)asa

G

(1) mahakshat[r]avasa Kusul[u]asa Patikasa Mevaki[sa] (2) Miyikasa kshat[r]avasa puyae

J3

sarvastivat(r)ana parigrahe

N

(1) ayariasa Budhilasa nak(r)arak(r)asa bhikhu (2)sa sarvastivat(r)asa pagra (3)na mahasaghiana pra (4)ma ñavit(r)ave Khalulasa

O

(1) sarvabudhana puya dhamasa (2) puya saghasa puya

P

(1) sarvasa Sak(r)asta (2)nasa puyae

Q

(1) Khardaasa (2) kshatravasa

R

(1) Takshilasa (2) Kroninasa

J′

(1) Khalaśamu (2)śo.

Professor Konow's Translation.

'The chief queen of the mahākshatrapa Rajula, Ayasia Kamuïa, the daughter of the yuvarāja Kharaosta, the mother of Nada Diaka, by her, together with her mother Abuhola, her father's mother Piśpasi, her brother Hayaüra with his daughter Hana, the harem and the almslord chapter, was established in this piece of land, which is just outside the (saṁghārāma) border, the relic of the Lord Śākyamuni, the Buddha—after having performed the solemnities over the illustrious king Muki and his horse,—and a stūpa and a saṁghārāma, in the acceptance of the order of the four quarters of the Sarvāstivādins.

The Yuvarāja Kharaosta, Kamuïa, having made prince Khalamasa (and) Maja, the youngest, assenting parties, by the mahākshatrapa Rajula's son,—the younger brother of Kaluī—, the kshatrapa Śuḍasa, Naüluda,—by the kshatrapa Śuḍasa this piece of land, (viz.) the encampment Veyaüdirna, and also the encampment Busapara, limited by Urvarapara, was granted, after having made it (an appurtenance just) outside the limit—as a religious gift in the cave-monastery,—having given it, with (libations of) water, to the teacher Buddhadeva: to Budhila from Nagara, the Sarvāstivādin monk,—*in honour of the mahākshatrapa* Kusuluka Patika (and) the kshatrapa Mevaki Miyika,—in trust of the Sarvāstivādins: to the teacher Budhila from Nagara, the Sarvāstivādin monk, a khalula (dialectician ?) to teach the foremost Mahāsāṁghikas the truth; as honouring of all the Buddhas, honouring of the Law, honouring of the Order; in honour of the whole Sakastana, of the kshatrapa Khardaa, of Takshila Kronina. Khalaśamuśa.'

READING.

Upon the r e a d i n g, I venture to propose a few modifications:—

A

L. 5. [*taye*]—The letters are not visible, and the space may have been left uninscribed.

L. 8. *Hana dhi*[*tra*]—Read *Habanisa*; cf. *bu* in *Abuhola*, line 6, *na* (wavy) of section D; the *i*-mātrā of *ni* partly coalesces with the lower half of the curve of the next akshara *sa* which again is distinct.

L. 7. *Piśpaśri*—Read *Pishpaśri*; there is, in *shpa*, a continuation of the upper curve to the right.

L. 9. *a*[*te*]*urena*—Read *ast*[*r*]*aürena*. What K. reads as [*te*] was left unread by Bhagwanlal; and Dr. Thomas, after stating that it looks like *tra*, takes it to be miswritten for *te*. To my eyes it is clearly *stra* though the *r*-hook is indistinct. The form found on Indo-Greek coins is cursive; in Aśokan records, we find an alternative form of *sta* (Bühler's Chart, Tafel I, col. IV. 39) showing the non-cursive way which is seen to be followed in our *stra* here.

L. 13. *Muki*[*śri*]*raya saśpa* (*a*)*bhusavi*[*ta*]—Read *Ma*(?)-*śakitri-rayasaśpae bhusaṁvi*(*ta*). The indentations at the edge are misleading. Thomas read *ma* (? *mra*) *kiṭe*. K.'s plate shows a break in the continuity of the vertical line of his supposed *mu*; if we recognize the break, we may perhaps read *maśa* in place of his *mu*, said to resemble the *mu* of the Taxila copper-plate. Upon the Lion-Capital itself the syllable *mu* is thrice employed—in A(3), A(12) and E′—and, on all three occasions, the shape is cursive and radically different from the shape found in the Taxila copper-plate. Regarding the next letter *ki*, there can be no two opinions; then follows a letter read as [*śri*] by K. 'with every reserve' (p. 39). Setting apart the *i*-mātrā recognized by K. (p. 39); we may discern a compound with what appears to be a subscript *ra*. It seems best to read the syllable as *tri*. Then follow *rayasaśpae bhusaṁvi*(*ta*)-*thuva cha sagharama cha*. The *saṁ* of *bhusaṁvi*(*ta*) seems certain. Instead of *rayasaśpae*, K. reads *rayasaśpa-a*, with diffidence, and he proceeds to combine the supposed *a* with the subsequent *bhusavita* to form *abhusavita*, arriving at an explanation which he frankly admits as 'highly hypothetical' (p. 40). We must read *e* after *śpa*, following Bhagwanlal and Dr. Thomas.

B

Vajulasa—Read *Rajulasa*. *Ra* is clear on the Indian Museum cast.

D

Naüludo—Read *Naülube.* The last akshara, had it been *do*, would not have exhibited the short upward stroke at the left end of the horizontal. The presence of this stroke has hitherto been apparently ignored. Syntactically, *Naülube* agrees best with *Śuḍase kshatrave*, while *Naüludo* with the *o*-ending would hardly go in with *Śuḍase* or with *kshatrave*, both with the *e*-ending which probably denotes a short form of the instrumental *-ena*. We shall see below that *Naülube* is derived from *Naulibi*, a town in Gandhāra.

G

Kusulua—Read *Kusullaa*; cf. *lu* in *Naülube*, section D.

I-J-H′-H

L. 1. *Veyaüdirna*—Read *Veyaüdaka*. The supposed *i*-stroke is in reality one of the sculptured lines indicating folds of flesh, about which I have satisfied myself by an inspection of the plaster-cast in the Indian Museum. For *ka*, in place of K.'s *rna*, compare the other *ka*'s in the same section written cursively by two strokes, reserving the lower portion of the left vertical for the second stroke.

After *veyaüdaka*, I go on to what I consider the next line, incised just below line 1, consisting of *ro kadha*, then (like Prof. Konow) to *viyaa*; differing from K. only in reading (with Bühler and Thomas) the last akshara as *a* instead of as *u*. The akshara is in shape essentially divergent from the other *u*-s found not only in the record under discussion but usually in all records of the post-Aśokan period.

Having thus read—(1) *veyaüdaka*, (2) *ro kadha*, (3) *varo*, (4) *viyaa* (the four lines following naturally one below the other, all incised on the body of o n e lion out of the t w o composing the capital), I go on to the top-line incised on the body of the o t h e r lion and continue down to the lines below, incised on the body of this other lion. The resultant reading is: *veyaüdakaro kadhavaro viyaakadhavaro Bubusaparvat(r)aparena palichhina nisimo karita niyat(r)it(r)o.* There is an akshara *bu* of small size, incised after the first *Bu*, to which Prof. Konow attaches no value. According to him, 'the record was first drafted in small letters on the stone, and then executed in larger size. The akshara *bu* has then not been cancelled with the rest of the draft and then subsequently engraved through misunderstanding'. The assumption seems quite gratuitous, and no parallel instance has been cited in support of it. It is more reasonable to regard the small letter *bu* of *Bubusa* as an a d d i t i o n by way of c o r r e c t i o n, like the small letter *e* of *puyae* in line 3 of the

Taxila copper-plate: in both cases, the diminutive size is clearly conditioned by limitation of space. Upon the same analogy, we should recognize the positive value of the small aksharas *viya* on the hip of the left lion, just before the large *-rva* of J(1), which are explained away by Prof. Konow as 'a remnant of the first draft' and interpreted by Prof. Thomas as possibly 'an insertion to show that the large *rva* is an error for *vya* = *viya*'. I look upon the letters *viya* as a continuation of H′, H (*dhamadana guhavihare*) incised in equally small letters above M-I-J and evidently appended later than M-I-J. More letters after *viya* are discernible on the hip of the left lion; the Plate IV facing p. 142 of Rapson's *Ancient India* (Cambridge, 1916) seems to disclose three letters below *viya*—namely, *akadha*, of which the *ka* is distinct and the *a* and *dha* are slightly blurred. We can, I think, read *viya*[*a*]*ka*[*dha*] and then suppose that two more letters, *varo*, were engraved thereafter but have since disappeared. Sections H′-H should then read: *dhamadana guhavihare viya*-[*a*]*ka*[*dha*](*varo*). I may add that the body of the left lion shows a large chipped-off surface which must have suffered the damage already before section I was engraved; it necessitated separating *va*° from *t*(*r*)*aparena palichhina* and compelled the engraver to commence the next line (*nisimo karita*....) very much to the left.

The portion *veyaüdakaro*....*niyat*(*r*)*it*(*r*)*o* seems to be metrical,—a quatrain with sixteen syllabic instants to a line, usually known to prosody as *Mātrāsamaka* (var. *Pādākulaka*):—

veyăüdăkărō kădhă-vă-rō
vĭyăăkădhăvărō Būbŭsă-
parvăt(ra)ăpărēna pālīchhīnā
nīsīmō kārĭtă nīyăt(r)ĭt(r)ō

N

pagrana—Read *sag*(*r*)*are*. The first akshara has been misread as *pa* owing apparently to a flaw in the stone; from the general level of line 2 we should be led to expect that the akshara began from below the *sa* of *Budhilasa* in line 1, even as the next akshara *gra* or *g*(*r*)*a* started from below the *Na* of *Nak*(*r*)*ara* in line 1. Following this indication, we can see that the letter before *g*(*r*)*a* is not *pa* but *sa*, very like the *sa* engraved just before it. The second akshara can be read as *g*(*r*)*a*, i.e. as a *ga* with fricative sound denoted by a curved *r*-hook; we may compare *k*(*r*)*a* appearing with the same kind of *r*-hook. The third akshara, with which line 3 begins, cannot be read as *na*; it is quite unlike the *na* after *Mahasaghia* in the same line; it has a left-hand element with a slightly curved top, and we should read it as *re*, since a short-curved *ra* is found in *Rajulasa* (section B) as well as in *Veyaüdakaro* (section I).

Mahasaghiana—Read *Mahasaghia na.*

K(r)oninasa—Read *K(r)ochh(r)anasa.* The second akshara may be compared with *chhi* in *palichhina* (section J) and *chhi* in line 10 of the Mansehra inscription (*Corpus*, pl. IV); abstracting the *i*-mātrā, the only noticeable difference is an additional curved *r*-hook, apparently denoting a modified sound like *k(r)a, g(r)a, t(r)a,* in these records.

J′

Khalaśamuśo—Read *Belaśamuśo.* There is a projection to the left of the first letter which has escaped notice hitherto and which guarantees the reading *Be.*

Interpretation.

(I)

In regard to the interpretation, much depends upon determining the proper sequence for the different sections designated by scholars as A, B, C, D, etc.

What goes most strongly against the supposition that all the sections form part of one single record engraved at one and the same time is the circumstance that the letters vary considerably in size and in shape. Dr. F. W. Thomas notes the sizes. Without insisting on the proposition that the sections must be arranged absolutely according to the sizes of the letters, we may observe that far bigger letters are employed in M-I-J, engraved on the front, than in A, engraved on the top and the back. If, moreover, we recognize that a natural commencement is to be sought on the front, we shall not be disposed to accept the current view that the 'chief inscription' is comprised in section A. In point of shape, also, there is marked variation between section A and the group M-I-J. To note major divergences: in the latter record, the vowel *u* has its loop to the right, the medial *o* is likewise formed with a loop, the *ka* is peculiarly written by first cursively combining the top-angle with the right-hand angle and afterwards adding the lower portion of the left-hand vertical, and the *ya* has a straight left limb; in section A, the vowel *a* has a curved right-hand element, the vowel *u* has an open loop to the left, the medial *u* has likewise an open loop, the *ka* has a slanting right-hand element, the *ma* is flat at bottom almost forming angles with the verticals, and the *ya* (except once) has the shape of an approximate semicircle. The hand that wrote out section A could hardly have written out sections M-I-J. A peculiarly shaped *sa*, we may add, isolates section G from the rest. And the small lettering in sections H′, H, C, D, E is due, as we have seen, to their having been crowded in by way of additions and corrections.

Commencing then with the group M-I-J, incised on front in bold lettering distinguished in shape from the lettering in other portions of the Lion-Capital, we read:—

(M)	(I-J(1)(2))	
kshatrave Śuḍise imo paḍhravi -prat(r)eśo	Veyaüdak- -ro kadha- -varo viyaa-	-kadhavaro Bubusa pa- -rvat(r)aparena palichchhina nisimo karita niyat(r)it(r)o

The name *Veyaüdakaro* might be a derivative of *vi-udagra*, 'very exalted'. *Udakaro* for Skt. *udagra* would be normal; the dialect employed shows a tendency towards the substitution of surds for sonants, as in *prat(r)eśo* for *pradeśaḥ*, *Nak(r)araasa* for *Nagarakasya*; and *-kara* for *-gra* might illustrate the rule of dissolution (cf. *Prākṛitalakshaṇam*, III. 30). That *kaḍhavaro* can stand for Skt. *skandhāvāraḥ* has been established by Prof. Konow (*Corpus*, p. 43). There is thus no difficulty in taking *Viyaakadhavaro* as Skt. *Vijayaskandhāvāraḥ* ('Encampment of Victory')—an expression not unfamiliar to ancient Indian land-grants. We may compare the Nasik cave inscription of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇī,[1] where the expression occurs. The comparison is justified not only because that record and the Mathura Lion-Capital Inscriptions belong practically to the same period (first century B.C.–first century A.D.), but also because Nasik was and still is, like Mathura, a place of strategic importance; military cantonments are even now located at Mathura and at Deolali, near Nasik. That is why Śātakarṇī's military exploits are mentioned with special emphasis in the Nasik inscription recording his mother's cave-dedication: the donation was inspired by some recent military success. The same explanation seems applicable to the Mathura dedication. *Palichchhina* may be connected with *pāli*, 'boundary', and *chhinna*, 'limited'; compare *sīmāvachchhinna* of later land-grants. In the Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra (II. 1), we read of rocks (*śaila*) and caves (*darī*) being made to serve as boundaries (*sīmā*) of villages. Similar prescription is found in regard to Buddhist parishes. As noted by Kern[2]: 'The Buddha prescribed to mark out the boundaries of a parish, *sīmā*, in this way: first, the marks are to be mentioned, such as a *mountain*, a stone, a forest, a tree, a road, an ant-hill, a river, a water-sheet. This being done, a competent monk has to bring forward a motion that the Saṁgha may decree to fix by such marks the boundaries of a parish for common residence and common celebration of the Uposatha.' *Bubusa-parvataparena palichchhina* would thus sig-

[1] *Epig. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 60–74.
[2] Kern, *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 82.

nify 'limited in boundary by what is beyond Mount Bu(b)busa'. *Nisimo* has been clarified by Prof. Konow with Pāli citations furnished by Mr. Helmer Smith; it implies '(an appurtenance just) outside the limit (of a *vihāra* or *saṁghārāma*)'. The words *dhamadana guhavihare, viya[a]ka[dha](varo)*, constituting sections H′-H and forming a sort of heading to the group M-I-J[1] show that there was a pre-existing *vihāra* known as *guhāvihāra*, 'cave-monastery', to which the *dhamadāna* or 'pious gift' set out in M-I-J appertained: it is likely that H′-H was added by way of correction like the second *bu* of *Bubusa*, both corrections being in small letters as demanded by the exigencies of space. *Karita* I take to represent Skt. *kāritaḥ*; loss of terminal *-am* and *-aḥ* is quite common in the dialect, and there can be no inconsistency in making *karita* agree with *niyat(r)it(r)o*, 'given', and *paḍhraviprat(r)eśo*, in view of the admitted apposition of *śarira* with *prat(r)iṭhavit(r)o* in section A and other similar instances. Prof. Konow's proposal to treat *karita* as a gerund cannot be accepted in the absence of any acknowledged analogy; his proposition that intervocalic *t* 'always becomes *tr*' on the Lion-Capital is itself founded on his supposition that *karita*, *bhusavita*, *ayimita* are gerunds,—a supposition without any support.

If, therefore, H′-H sets out the nature of the donation and M-I-J(1)(2) contains the denomination of the d o n o r as well as a description of the land given, we may expect that somewhere on the Lion-Capital there is reference to the denomination of the d o n e e. This reference we must evidently recognize in J(3) which reads:—

Sarvastivat(r)ana parigrahe.

'For the acceptance of the Sarvāstivādins.' We meet with the same expression towards the close of section A which, as we shall presently see, is concerned with another grant to the Sarvāstivādins. The fact that J(3) is inscribed vertically on the body of the left lion seems to indicate a desire to preserve some sort of symmetry with M which is inscribed vertically on the body of the right lion.

Acceptance of the gift is recorded in sections K, L: (1) *ayariasa*, (2) *Budhat(r)evasa*, (3) *ut(r)aena ayimita*, 'Of the āchārya Budhat(r)eva. Received with water'. The equivalence of *ut(r)aena* with Skt. *udakena* has been pointed out by Prof. Lüders. *Ayimita* I propose to regard as the past participle of root *yam* preceded by the prefix *ā*; the roots *yam* and *dā* being synonymous, *ā-yam* would be synonymous with *ā-dā*, signifying 'to accept'. It was customary to accept donations of this character with water poured on the hands of the donee; for instance, we hear of Anāthapiṇḍika pouring water over the

[1] Cf. *danamukha* in Mount Banj Inscr. (*Corpus*, Pl. XI).

hands of the Buddha when giving away Jetavana-vihāra to the Saṁgha.[1]

The group H′-H-I-J(1)(2)(3)-K-L-M thus represents a record complete in itself. It is a public record of the charter of land-grant, in favour of the Sarvāstivādin community, by the kshatrapa Śuḍisa.

(II)

We may now consider section A, inscribed on the top and back of the central block. It contains the phrase *sarvastivat(r)ana parigrahe*, 'for the acceptance of the Sarvāstivādins'—the same as in J(3) pertaining to the group recording Śuḍisa's land-grant. There cannot be the shadow of a doubt that section A is concerned with another grant in favour of the same (Sarvāstivādin) community. It records in fact the establishment of the relics (*śarīra*) of the Buddha, the interment thereof inside a *stūpa*, and the laying-out of a *saṁghārāma* for 'the saṁgha of the Four Quarters'. Its connexion with and posteriority to the land-grant of Śuḍisa will appear at once from its reference to 'the *nissima* piece of land' as the place of deposit of the relics: as we have seen, the inscription on the front records the fact that the land granted by kshatrapa Śuḍisa was made *nissima* with reference to the *guhāvihāra* or cave-monastery previously existing.

The donor here is a lady named Ayasi, with the epithet *Kamui*, described as 'chief queen of *mahākshatrapa* Rajula', 'daughter of *yuvarāja* Khar(r)aosta' and 'mother of Nada Diaka'. It will be observed that she is not described as 'mother of Śuḍisa' who, we know, was the son of Rajula. She was apparently Śuḍisa's step-mother. Associated with her in the donation are: her mother Abuhola, her father's mother Pispaśrī, her brother Hayaüra and 'the body of star-observing astrologers' of Habani (*Habanisa astraürena horakaparivarena*). The word *astraürena* (hitherto read as *atraürena*, *ateürena*, etc.) I take to be instrumental singular of **astraüra* compounded of two Greek words, *ἄστρον*, 'star', and *ὅρας*, 'observe'.

The term *horaka* seems to have been derived from *hora* in the same way as the term *mauhūrtika* was derived from *muhūrta*. Astrologers, as noted by Alberuni,[2] used the unit of time known as *horā*, an interval of 60 minutes; and modern scholars, like Alberuni, feel no hesitation in recognizing its identity with Greek *ὥρα* and Latin *hora*. The *muhūrta*, as we know, is an interval of 48 minutes; and *muhūrta* was a unit employed by Hindu astrologers prior to the advent of *hora* under Hellenistic influence. Just as the earlier astrologers were called *mauhūrtikas* because

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[1] Kern, *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 28.

[2] *India* (Sachau), I. 343: 'Nobody in India uses the hours except the astrologers. . . . They call the hour *hora*.'

they calculated in terms of the *muhūrta*, the later astrologers seem to have been designated *horakas* because they calculated in terms of the *hora*. The form *horā*, with the long *ā*, is probably due to popular etymology which sought to derive the word from Skt. *ahorātra*, with the initial and final syllables (*a* and *tra*) omitted! Such a derivation is seriously cited by Varāha Mihira in his *Bṛihajjātaka*, ch. I, verse 1—*horetyahorātravikalpameke vāṁchhanti pūrvāparavarṇalopāt* ('some take *horā* to be an optional form of *ahorātra* by reason of omission of the first and the last syllables').

It is noteworthy that, in a chapter entitled 'Encampment' (*Skandhāvāraniveśaḥ*) of the Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra (X. 1), *mauhūrtikas* are mentioned as part of the staff accompanying every military expedition; and the *horaka-parivara* appears on the Lion-Capital in connexion with the foundation of a *stūpa* on a piece of land described therein as an 'Encampment of Victory' (*viyaakadhavaro*), *vijaya-Skandhāvāra*.

There is western classical testimony showing the special association of *stūpa*-worshipping *śramaṇas* with astrology at a period not far removed from the age of the Mathura Lion-Capital Inscriptions. Clemens Alexandrinus (third century A.D.) notes the circumstances that the S e m n o i 'make predictions about futurity and worship a kind of pyramid beneath which they think the bones of some divinity lie buried.... They observe closely the heavenly bodies, and, by the indications of futurity which these offer, make some predictions.' The S e m n o i have been recognized as Ś r a m a ṇ a s, and the p y r a m i d as the s t ū p a.[1]

The name *Habani* reminds us of the 'Indian' merchant alluded to in the *Acts of St. Thomas*; his name is spelt *Ḥabān* in Syriac, Ἀββάνης in Greek, and *Abban* or *Abbanes* in Latin. The *Acts* associated Ḥabbān with G u n d a p h a r, 'King of India', who, as recognized long ago, is doubtless the Indo-Parthian ruler known to Indologists as Gondophares—Gondophernes.

Regarding the expression I tentatively read as *Maśakitri-rayasaśpae*, the element *raya* should be explained as *rājan*, 'King', since the mention of Kharaosta as *yuvarāja* presupposes the existence of some *rājan* to whom Kharaosta stood in the relation of yuvarāja. In *saśpa*, I propose to see Skt. *śasya*, 'corn', confounded with Skt. *śashpa*, 'young grass'; the figurative sense of *śasya* being 'merit'. A similar idea is conveyed by the expression *kuśalamūla*, 'root of virtue' occurring in other Kharoshṭhi records (Manikiala, Hidda, Wardak). It is worth noting that, after *rayasaśpae*, we get *bhusaṁvi(ta) thuva* which I take to represent Skt. *bhū-saṁvītaḥ stūpaḥ*, 'stūpa covered over with earth'—a rhetorically appropriate nuance, with perhaps an allusion to the original sense of *stūpa*. If we took the syllable *tri*

[1] McCrindle, *Ancient India* (1901), pp. 183-4.

along with *rayasaśpae*, we would have to think of 'three Kings' whom Ayasi wanted to benefit spiritually by her 'establishment'. *Maśaki-tri-rayasaśpae* might in that event be construed as 'for merit to the three Maśaki Kings', where M a ś a k i could be plausibly connected with M a s s a g a, the chief city of the Assakenoi, which had been stormed by Alexander. And such a connexion would be supported by the occurrence of epithets like *Naüliba, Kamui, Nak(r)araa*, derived from place-names not very far from Massaga, in other sections of the same record. The initial *Ma*, however, is doubtful; and the interpretation must consequently remain uncertain.

Ayasi thus established, in the *nissima* land conferred by her step-son Śuḍisa on the Sarvāstivādins, not only the *śarīra* of the Buddha, covered over by a *stūpa*: she also laid out a *saṁghārāma* 'for the Four Quarters of the Saṁgha'. The *nissima* land appertained to the already existing *guhā-vihāra*. A distinction evidently existed between v i h ā r a and s a ṁ g h ā r ā m a; by the former term we are probably to understand 'a dwelling' for the monks, intended specially for use during the rainy season; while by the latter term we are presumably to understand 'a park (*ārāma*) for the assembly (*saṁgha*)' of monks. This distinction vanished in later times, apparently because to every *vihāra* there came to be attached a *saṁghārāma*; so that what was in truth a v i h ā r a - *cum* - s a ṁ g h ā r ā m a could, for brevity, be designated by either name. That the distinction was still being maintained during the Kushān period will appear from the Peshawar casket-record mentioning a 'pious gift' (*deyadhaṁma*) 'in Kanishka's *vihāra*, in Mahāsena's *saṁghārāma*',—in other words, in the *vihāra* founded by Kanishka to which had been attached a *saṁghārāma* by Mahāsena.[1] A Buddhist cave-inscription at Kanheri records the construction of a *saṁghārāma* beside a pre-existing *vihāra*.[2] Yuan Chwang (Hiuen Tsiang), who visited India in the seventh century A.D., speaks of *vihāra* and *saṁghārāma* side by side; for instance, writing about Kanauj, he says: 'Before each *vihāra* is a little *saṁghārāma*.'[3] And it is not impossible that, as has been already suggested, the Chinese pilgrim actually saw at Mathura the very *vihāra*-cum-*saṁghārāma* which we are discussing.[4]

Assent to this gift from Ayasi is recorded in the group, incised on the back of the right lion, consisting of sections E and B. What is called E″ (*k(ra)karita*) is, as recognized by Prof. Konow, a continuation of E(4) (*samanumot(r)a*), the two together reading—*samanumot(r)ak(r)a karita*, i.e. 'made co-

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[1] *Corpus*, pl. XXVI. 'Mahāssena' seem to denote Huvishka who appears to have adopted the style in the same manner as Vima adopted the style 'Mahiśvara'. Huvishka's portrait occurs on the casket.

[2] Lüders' *List of Brāhmī Icrs.*, No. 988 (*Epig. Ind.*, Vol. X, App.).

[3] Beal, *Rec. W. World*, Bk. V, p. 222.

[4] *Ibid.*, Bk. IV, p. 181.

assenters'. E should be read before B, since E occupies a position to the right of B, and the direction of Kharoshṭhī writing is from right to left. Additions in smaller letters are embodied in E′, D and C(1)-C(2); of these, E′ and D seem to have been inserted by way of correction, while C(1)-C(2) were added by way of supplement, because C(1)-C(2) are preceded by a caret-mark. We may thus read the group:—

(E(1)) Kha(r)raosto yuvaraya	(B)	mahakshatravasa
(E′) Kamuio		Rajulasa putra
(E(2)) Khalamasa kumara		Śuḍase kshatrave
(E(3)) Maja kaniṭha	(D)	Naülube
(C(1)) Kalui a		
(C(2)) varajo		
(E(4)) samanumot(r)a k(ra)karita (E″)		

The spelling in Śuḍase is noteworthy as showing that the group does not appertain to the land-grant recorded in M-I-J where the spelling is Śuḍise; for we cannot well suppose two variant spellings of the satrap's name in the same document. This inference is corroborated by the different forms of *u*-mātrā employed in *Śu* of *Śuḍisa* and *Śuḍasa*.

It will be observed that just as the word *Kamuio* is added against *Kha(r)raosto yuvaraya*, evidently to indicate that Khar(r)-raosta was *Kamuia*, i.e. (as perceived by Konow) 'native of Kamboja', the word *Naülube* is added against *Śuḍase kshatrave*, evidently to indicate that Śuḍasa was Naüliba, i.e. (as I suppose) 'native of Naüliba'. The name Naulibi occurs in Ptolemy's geography[1] as a town-name along with Proklais or *Pushkalāvatī* (mod. Charsadda), in connexion with the Gandaroi, i.e. Gandhāras, 'between the Souastos and the Indus'; and, immediately before this mention of Naulibi, occurs the enumeration of a group of town-names including Nagara (mod. Jelalabad), 'also called Dionysopolis',[2] a designation showing that it was re-founded as a Greek city (*polis*). The identification of Naüliba harmonizes with the circumstance that Aśoka, in his Rock Inscription, associated the Yonas (Greeks), Kambojas and Gandhāras. The expression *Śuḍase kshatrave Naülibe* thus means, 'by kshatrapa *Śuḍasa*, native of Naüliba'.

The co-assenters are: the *Yuvarāja* Kha(r)raosta, Khalamasa (styled *kumāra*), Maja (described as *kanishṭha*) and—as the supplement (C) added with a caret places on record—Kalui (styled *avaraja*). The styles show that the enumeration comprises Kha(r)raosta and his brothers. *Yuvarāja* denotes 'sub-king' (*lit.* 'young king' or 'junior king'); the Kauṭilīya (I. 17),

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[1] McCrindle, *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy* (Bombay, 1885), p. 115.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 112.

in discussing the topic 'Protection of Princes' (*Rāja-putrarakshaṇam*), recommends that the king should establish a wise son as *Yuvarāja* or *Senāpati* (*ātmasampannam saināpatye yauvarājye vā sthāpayet*); the Kauṭilīya further prescribes (V. 2), in discussing the topic 'Subsistence to State-servants' (*bhṛityabharaṇīyam*), that the *yuvarāja* is to receive an allowance of 48,000 (paṇas), while the *kumāra* is to receive an allowance of 12,000 (paṇas). Maja is called *kaniṭha*, Skt. *kanishṭha*, 'youngest', while Kalui is, in the supplement, described as *avaraja*, i.e. 'afterborn'. Kalui was thus evidently born afterwards; and Maja had been the youngest of the brothers at the time of Ayasi's donation when, Kalui being yet unborn, his name could not be entered as an assenting party.

Such assent must clearly have been deemed necessary to invest the gift from Ayasi with a strictly legal character. The assent of her father, the *yuvarāja* Kha(r)raosta, was alone apparently considered insufficient; the assent of every one of his brothers was so essential that the name of the afterborn Kalui had to be inserted afterwards. We may understand this in the light of the circumstance that 'succession among the Sakas sometimes passed from the ruling prince to his brother' (Konow, *Corpus*, p. xxxvi; Bühler, J R A S, 1894, p. 532): the brothers of Kha(r)raosta being expectant reversioners, legal formalities were felt to be incomplete without their assent. Or, perhaps, the government was akin to the *kula-saṁgha* type—a *yauvarājya* where the rulership resided in the *yuvarāja* and his brothers.

Acceptance of the gift from Ayasi to the Sarvāstivādin community is registered on behalf of Budhila in section F which reads—*Budhilasa Nak(r)araasa bhikhusa Sarvastivat(r)asa*, 'Of Budhila, native of Nagara, a Sarvāstivādin *bhikshu*'. It was in the fitness of things that section F should be engraved near sections K-L recording acceptance by Budhat(r)eva of the land-grant from Śuḍisa to the Sarvāstivādins. That F is posterior to K-L is proved by their disposition; the prior presence of K-L(1) prevented F(1) beginning further to the right, and the previous existence of K-L(2) stood in the way of F(2) commencing further to the right.

Prof. Konow's proposal to identify Budhila with Budhat(r)eva cannot be supported. Had the two been identical, we would have expected a more absolute identity between the names. We cannot imagine tautologous allusion to the same person at such close quarters. Moreover, Budhat(r)eva is expressly styled *āchārya* (*ayaria*) in K-L, while Budhila is simply designated *bhikshu* (*bhikhu*) in F, implying deliberate distinction.

The group A-B-C-D-E-F thus represents the second charter in favour of the Sarvāstivādins, recording the establishment of the *śarīra* (corporeal relics) of the Buddha, together with a *stūpa* and a *saṁghārāma*, by Ayasi, upon the land granted previously by Śuḍisa.

The disposition of section G, coming as it does after section F, will be most conveniently discussed now. That it was engraved by another hand is evident from its employment of a peculiar form of *sa*. That it was inserted later than J(3) can be inferred also with absolute certainty. As a glance at the plates will show, its second line begins not from below the commencement but from below the middle of its first line; such a disposition could only have been necessitated by the prior presence of J(3). The contents of section G corroborate the inference that it was a later addition. It reads—

(1) mahakshatravaasa Kusullaasa Patikasa Mevaki(sa)
(2) Miyikasa kshatravasa puyae

'In honour of mahākshatrapa Kusullaa Patika (and) of kshatrapa Mevaki Miyika.' The circumstance that 'honour' is accorded here to mahākshatrapa Kusullaa Patika and kshatrapa Mevaki Miyika, ignoring Śuḍisa-Śuḍasa, demonstrates that section G was added when Śuḍisa-Śuḍasa was no longer ruling at Mathura which had passed under kshatrapa Mevaki Miyika,[1] himself subordinate to mahākshatrapa Kusullaa Patika.

This conclusion has a bearing upon chronology. It renders possible the identification of Kusullaa Patika with Patika, son of Liaka Kusulaka, mentioned in the Taxila copper-plate, without prejudice to an explanation of its date (year 78) in terms of the same era as is employed in the Mathura Brāhmī epigraph (Lüders' *List*, No. 59) in association with the name of Śuḍasa as *mahākshatrapa Śoḍāsa*. The Mathura Brāhmī epigraph bears the date 'year 72' and refers to Śuḍasa as *mahākshatrapa*. If the Lion-Capital Inscriptions be read together as one single document (as has been done by Konow), then we should have to infer that it was incised when Śoḍāsa was a *kshatrapa*. On the assumption that he became first a *kshatrapa* and afterwards a *mahākshatrapa*—not first a *mahākshatrapa* and afterwards a *kshatrapa*—we would have to admit that the Mathura Lion-Capital record is earlier than the Mathura Brāhmī epigraph of 'year 72'. Again, since the Lion-Capital Inscription mentions Kusullaa Patika as a *mahākshatrapa*, it (as a single document) would be presumably later than the period when Patika was not yet even a *kshatrapa*. On the assumption that this Kusullaa Patika is identical with Patika, son of Liaka Kusulaka, mentioned in the Taxila copper-plate—an assumption supported by the agreement between the styles *Kusullaa* and *Kusulaka*—the conclusion would follow that the Taxila copper-plate inscription bearing date 'year 78' is earlier than the Mathura Lion-Capital record and *a fortiori* earlier than

[1] Rapson (*JRAS*, 1894, p. 548) traces the name of a ksatrapa *Mevaka* on a coin; see *Corpus*, p. 45, n. 3.

the Mathura Brāhmī epigraph bearing date 'year 72'. In other words, we should be driven to the position that the 'year 78' refers to one era, and the 'year 72' refers to another; unless of course we were prepared to suppose (as done by Fleet) either that the two Patika's were different, or (as done by R. C. Majumdar) that Śuḍasa may have been a *mahākshatrapa* first and a *kshatrapa* afterwards,—an exceptional circumstance. Recognition of the true character of section G of the Lion-Capital will obviate the necessity for these assumptions, leaving us free to regard the 'year 78' of Taxila and the 'year 72' of Mathura as belonging to one and the same reckoning which, I believe, was the famous Vikrama era of 58 B.C.[1]

(III)

The group N-O-P-Q-R, engraved on bottom, may be considered next. It is noteworthy that the first line of section N, comprising 16 aksharas, runs from end to end of the bottom-surface, while the next three lines (i.e. lines 2–4), consisting of 8 to 10 aksharas each, occupy only the central portion of the surface. The result is that marginal spaces remain on both sides—one to the right (below the aksharas *ayari*), another to the left (below the aksharas *sa bhikhu*). Into these marginal spaces were subsequently inserted sections P-O-R.

I look upon section Q as a continuation of section N. Part of Q, consisting of the four aksharas *Khardaasa*, was engraved upon the same face as N, on the right margin, below the aksharas *ayari* of line 1 of N and immediately after line 4 of N; the other part of Q, consisting of the four aksharas *kshatravasa*, appears practically on the front of the Capital, in an inverted order—a clear overflow from the back and a continuation of *Khardaasa*. The original intention evidently was to symmetrically place *Khardaasa* and *kshatravasa* in the same line,—the one below *ayari*, the other below *sa bhikhu*, of line 1 of N; but the scheme was frustrated by a chipping-off in the stone-surface so intended for accommodating *kshatravasa*. Symmetry had to be sacrificed, and *kshatravasa* had to be engraved just 'below' *Khardaasa*.

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[1] See my paper 'Vikramaditya and his era' in *Zeits. f. Ind. u. Iran.*, 1922, pp. 255ff., for the origin of the era. I argued there that the era of 58 B.C. was founded by Gautamīputra Śātakarṇī who is called *vāraṇa-Vikrama* in his mother's Nasik eulogy; *cf. siṁha-Vikrama* on coins of Chandra-gupta (II) Vikramāditya. I have since then observed that a Nasik epigraph of Vāśishṭhīputra Puḷumāyī is expressly dated in the era founded by his father (*i.e.* G. Śātakarṇī);—*amhapituka-savachhare* should be read in place of Sénart's *amhohi savachhare*, as can be seen from Sénart's published facsimile. I have also satisfied myself by a personal inspection of the original cave-inscription at Nasik.

Reading N-Q together, we have—

(N) ayariasa Budhilasa Nak(r)araasa bhikhu-
-sa Sarvastivat(r)asa sag(r)a-
-re Mahasaghia na pra [ma]
ñavit(r)ave Khalulasa
(Q) Khardaasa
kshatravasa

The word *sag(r)are* may be taken to denote the instrumental singular of *sag(r)ara,* equivalent to Skt. *saṁgara,* 'promise'; we have similar instrumentals in *Śuḍase kshatrave Naülube* of sections B-D. In *ñavit(r)ave* we shall no doubt be justified in seeing a survival of the Vedic infinitive in *-tave* which, with the negative, often had a passive force. Thus, the expression *Mahasaghia na prama ñavit(r)ave* may be held to mean: '*prama* (is) not to be taught to any Mahāsāṁghika'. *Prama* is most naturally explained as Skt. *pramā,* a technical term in Logic, signifying 'correct apprehension' or 'right knowledge'. This prohibition against *pramā* being taught to any Mahāsāṁghika 'according to the promise' *sag(r)are* of the Sarvāstivādin *āchārya,* provides important epigraphic evidence on the relations between the two rival Buddhist schools—the Sarvāstivādins and the Mahāsāṁghikas—about the beginning of the Christian era. The Mahāsāṁghikas were regarded as schismatic, and the Sarvāstivādins were also designated 'Hetuvādas' (more correctly, 'Hetuvādins'), i.e. 'professing the doctrine (*vāda*) of Logical Reasoning (*hetu*)' or 'causationists' (Radhakrishnan, *Indian Philosophy,* 2nd ed., p. 613 n.). The place of Logic in the history of Buddhism, as worked out by Dr. Stcherbatsky in his *Buddhist Logic* (Leningrad, 1932), enables us to determine the psychology behind the prohibition embodied in our inscription which pertains to the threshold of Stcherbatsky's 'Second Period' comprising the first five centuries A.D.—a period characterized by the rejection of all Logic, it being maintained that 'the only source of true knowledge is the mystic intuition of the Saint'. The Sarvāstivādin *āchārya* Budhila, belonging as he did to a school of thought that believed in the doctrine of logical reasoning, was naturally loth to see the *pramā* of their Logic being taught to the Mahāsāṁghikas who professed to believe in the doctrine of mystic intuition. Upon the earlier prestige of philosophers devoted to *pramā* (of which an equivalent is *pramāṇa*), Strabo throws some light. 'The *Pramnai,*' says Strabo, 'are philosophers opposed to the *Brachmanes,* and are contentious and fond of argument. They ridicule the Brachmanes who study physiology and astronomy as fools and impostors.' Strabo then proceeds to distinguish several classes of 'Pramnai'.[1]

[1] McCrindle, *Ancient India, etc.* (1901), p. 76.

Budhila's desire that *pramā* should not be taught to the Mahāsāṁghikas was given effect to by the official endorsement entered herein: *Khalulasa Khardaasa kshatravasa* of N-Q. It is clear that, when N-Q was engraved, the local satrap was Khalula Khardaa; the satrap Śuḍasa's rule had terminated in Mathura. Quite in harmony with this conclusion is the circumstance that Budhila, who appears simply as a *bhikshu* in section F pertaining to the period of Śuḍasa's rule in Mathura, appears in section N as *bhikshu* and *āchārya*, implying elevation in status.

The dispositions of sections P-O-R show their posteriority to sections N-Q; P-O-R being fitted into the marginal spaces kept blank by the engraver of N-Q. What is designated J′ appears really to be a continuation of R. The disposition of section G leaves it open to us to place G after N-Q but before P-O-R-J′. Such placing will conform to a psychological link; for G, like P-O-R-J′, records *pūjā* to enumerated entities.

Of P-O-R-J′, P must be read before O, because P is to the right, while O is to the left, and the direction of Kharoshṭhī writing is from right to left. Thus, we read: (P) *sarvasa Sak(r)-astanasa puyae*; (O) *sarvabudhana puya dhamasa puya saghasa puya*. We can hardly take P independently of O—although P is engraved in bolder letters than O, and we have *puyae* in P but *puya* (thrice) in O; because the relatively small lettering as well as the omission of the three *e*'s can be explained as due to limitations of space, apparently in conformity with the intention to write P and O symmetrically on the two margins. The engraver of section R, which follows section O, was so hard pressed for space that he could not help engraving part of it on the chipped-off surface avoided by the engraver of N-Q even at the cost of symmetry; for, as shown above, the latter part of Q (*kshatravasa*) overflows practically to the front. The precedent so established seems to have influenced the engraver of R to put down the terminal part of his material on a chipped-off surface of the front—the part designated J′. Consequently, reading R-J′ together, we get: *Takshilasa K(r)ochh(r)anasa Belaśamuśo*. And it may be rendered: 'Of K(r)ochh(r)ana Belaśamuś, native of Taxila'. We should not dissociate *Takshila* from *Taxila*, a Greek pronunciation of Skt. *Takshaśilā*; another Greek pronunciation, *Taxiala*, is preserved in Ptolemy (VII. 1. 45), and is reflected as *Takshaila* in another Kharoshṭhī epigraph (*Corpus*, p. 90). The group P-O-R-J′ should thus be taken together, and translated thus:—

> 'In honour of all Śakrasthāna: Honour to all Buddhas! Honour to Dharma! Honour to Saṁgha!'
> 'Of K(r)ochh(r)ana Belaśamuś, native of Taxila.'

Sak(r)astana is doubtless composed of *Sak(r)a* and *stana* (= Skt. *sthāna*); and, if any particular geographical area is

intended thereby, we should think primarily of Kamboja—Naulibi—Nagara—Taxila,—wherefrom the people responsible for these records came to Mathura. The fact that *puya* (Skt. *pūjā*) is accorded to **Sak(r)asthāna* along with the Buddhas, Dharma and Saṁgha would lead us to expect in the expression *Śak(r)a-sthana* an allusion to a *sacred entity*. It seems to me that **Sak(r)a-sthāna* is equivalent to *Śakra-sthāna*, 'the region of Śakra', i.e. the area or areas where Śakra-worship prevailed. We may compare *Śiva-thala* (Skt. *Śiva-sthala*) occurring in the Panjtar Inscription of 'the year 122' in the reign of *maharaja Gushana*.[1] The expression *sarvasa Sak(r)astanasa puyae* implies *pūjā* to the whole of Śakrasthāna, that is, to all localities where Śakra or Indra was worshipped. Since the *pūjā* proceeds from a person pertaining to Taxila, it behoves us to enquire in the first instance whether Śakra was venerated there.

Strabo quotes Alexander's historians as the source of his statement: 'The Indians worship *Zeus Ombrios* (i.e. the Rainy); the river Ganges and the indigenous deities of the country.' Let us compare a passage occurring in the Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra (IV. 3): *varshāvagrahe Śachīnātha-Gaṅgā-parvata-Māhākach-chha-pūjāḥ kārayet*, 'During drought, worship should be performed of Śachīnātha (= Śakra, Indra), the Ganges, the mountains and Māhākachchha (= Varuṇa)'. It thus appears that Zeus Ombrios corresponds to Śakra or Indra in his drought-removing and rain-giving capacity. When therefore we find Strabo quoting Onesicritus as the source of his statement that two of the sages of Taxila—Kalanos and Mandanis—discoursed on Zeus when Onesicritus, as Alexander's representative, wanted to 'hear their wisdom', we may infer that the identity of Zeus with Śakra was well recognized and that Zeus was regarded with special veneration at Taxila as master of the world and dispenser of rewards and punishments. As the passage in Strabo is important for its bearing on my interpretation of *Sak(r)astana*, I take the liberty of quoting it in McCrindle's translation (*Ancient India*, 1901, pp. 70–75):

'........Onesicritus found him [*scil.* Kalanos] at the time of his visit lying upon stones. He approached the sage and, having accosted him, informed him how he had been sent by the King [*scil.* Alexander] to hear their wisdom and bring him a report of its nature. So then, if there was no objection, he was ready to listen to his discourse. Kalanos, observing that he wore a mantle, a broad-brimmed cap and long boots, laughed and said: In former times the world was full of corn and barley, as it is now of dust; the fountains then flowed, some with water and others with milk, or it might be with honey or with wine and with oil; but mankind, by repletion and luxury, became

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[1] *Corpus*, p. 69. Konow, after remarking 'what a *S'iva-thala* is, I cannot say', proceeds to translate it as 'auspicious grounds'.

proud and insolent. Then *Z e u s*, indignant at this state of things, made all disappear, and allotted to man a life of toil. When temperance, however, and other virtues had appeared once more in the world, an abundance of good things again arose.... ....Mandanis' [who was, according to Strabo's sources, 'the oldest and wisest' of the sages of Taxila] 'is praised, because when messengers from Alexander invited him to go to the *s o n o f Z e u s* [*scil.* Alexander], with the promise of gifts if he complied, and threats of punishment if he refused, he did not go. Alexander, he said, was not the *s o n o f Z e u s*, for he was not so much as the master of the larger part of the world.........The following particulars also are stated by the historians. The Indians worship *Z e u s O m b r i o s* (i.e. the Rainy), the river Ganges, and the indigenous deities of the country.'

Of the three other localities, besides Taxila, mentioned in the Lion-Capital Inscriptions, viz. Kamboja—Naüliba—Nagara, the last named (Nagara) bore, according to Ptolemy's geography, the alternative designation D i o n y s o p o l i s, proving it to have been a centre of Dionysus-cult; and Dionysus was, as we know, a son of Zeus. Naüliba figures along with Proklais (Pushkalāvatī) among the G a n d a r i o i in Ptolemy. And Kamboja figures between Yonas (Greeks) and Gandhāras in one of Aśoka's inscriptions.

We have numismatic testimony to prove prevalence of Zeus-worship in regions around K ā p i ś ī and P u s h k a l ā v a t ī; coins of Eucratides present 'Zeus enthroned' as *Kaviśiye nagara-devata*, and coins of Azilises figure the 'standing Zeus' along with the 'city-goddess of Pushkalāvatī'. In view of the early identification of the thundering Indra or Śakra with the thundering Zeus, it is of interest to note that Aśoka refers to t h u n d e r - cult being practised in an area contiguous to or comprised in the Greek settlements, the Kambojas and the Gandhāras; in one of his inscriptions we find reference to *Viśa-Vajri—Yona—Kaṁboja—Gandhara*, and *Viśa-Vajri* can hardly be dissociated from *Viśva-Vajra*—a double-headed variety of *Vajra*—worship of which is well attested for a later period. The Gandhāra sculptures always figure V a j r a p ā ṇ i as attending on Buddha; and, since Indra or Śakra is Vajrapāṇi ('thunder-bearing') *par excellence*, the representation of Buddha-*cum*-Vajrapāṇi can only be regarded as evolved from an originally dual divinity, like Mitra-Varuṇa, etc. of Vedic literature, composed of Buddha and Śakra (= Vajrapāṇi), with Śakra reduced to a subordinate position. Many such sculptures come from the Swāt valley where, according to Yuan Chwang, local legend related what Buddha had done 'when he was Śakra'. Associated with the source of the river Swāt (Su-po-fa-su-tu, 'Suvāstu') is another legend, also preserved by the Chinese pilgrim, which makes Buddha take the *Vajra* from Vajrapāṇi in order to bring to terms

the dragon-king who was afflicting people with rains and wind,—clearly a Buddhist edition of the Indra-Vṛitra myth.

There are coins of the so-called 'Nameless King', found almost exclusively at Mathura, which depict the thunder-bearing Zeus or Śakra on reverse; these show that even in the Mathura region there was a community devoted to the worship of Śakra or Zeus. The reverse-type closely resembles some coins struck by Azes as well as issues bearing the joint names of Azes and Spalirises found most plentifully in Kandahar and Seistan. Its ancestry can be traced back to Bactria. Coins of Bactrian Greeks figure Zeus hurling thunderbolt, with aegis on one arm as reverse-type. Diodotus (I or II) and Euthydemus I strike the type. Demetrius, on his bilingual silver clearly intended for Indian currency, varies the type by substituting the sceptre for the aegis, the god being represented as holding, instead of hurling, the thunderbolt. Heliocles follows Demetrius in his silver issues; and his Scythian conquerors mint the type in copper. Archebius presents the thunder-bearing Zeus in two poses: in one, the deity holds sceptre and hurls thunderbolt; in the other, he holds aegis and hurls thunderbolt; both being manifestly varieties of the representations of Zeus in the two series, Bactrian and Indian. Since Greek coin-types were local in character, it is reasonable to infer that these coins were meant specially for areas where worship of Zeus prevailed. The idea seems to have originated with Bactrian Greeks intent on conciliating Scythians who, as Herodotus (IV. 59) assures us, were in the habit of propitiating Zeus. It is interesting to observe that according to the same authority the Scythians regarded the Earth as the consort of Zeus—an idea akin to the Vedic concept *Dyāvā-Pṛithivī*, of which the first element (*Dyauḥ*) has been philologically identified with the name *Zeus*.

Concerning Taxila, we may observe that the local coin-type initiated by Antialcidas (whose rule over Taxila is epigraphically attested by the Besnagar inscription of his envoy Heliodorus) shows on *obv.* the 'Head of Zeus, holding sceptre' (really the king, posing as Zeus) and on *rev.* 'Palms and Pilei of Dioscuri', that is, the twin-sons of Zeus. The same reverse-type is employed by the Satrap *Liaka Kusulaka* whose name occurs on the Taxila copper-plate; and his son figures on the Lion-Capital itself as *Kusullaa Patika* in section G which was inserted, as we have seen, shortly before P-O-R-J′. It is likely that, when Patika removed from Taxila to Mathura, a part at least of his *entourage* accompanied him to his eastern seat of government; and *Takshila K(r)ochh(r)ana Belaśamuś* (sections R-J′) may have been a person belonging to the same *milieu*.

The name *K(r)ochh(r)ana Belaśamuś* reminds us of *Belasamisa Gushaṇasa* in line 3 of the Takht-i-Bahai inscription incised in the year 103 of what is generally admitted to be the

(Vikrama) era of 58 B.C. (i.e. the year A.D. 46), being also the year 26 in the reign of Gondophernes. It is not impossible that the same person is intended. From the phonetic standpoint, *K(r)ochh(r)ana* might well correspond to the style we generally represent as 'Kushāṇa'; the word was, even on Kushān coins, variously spelt; *XOPANCY*, *KOPΓOΛOY*, *KOφANO*,—all these are found, and they betray the uncertainty felt in transcribing the second syllable in Greek or modified Greek. The vocalization in *K(r)o* corresponds to *X O-*, *K O-*, of the coins; that is to say, it may represent a Greek pronunciation of *K(r)u*, just as *Takshila* represents a Greek pronunciation of *Takshaśilā*. There is enough resemblance between *Belaśamuśo* of Mathura and *Belasamisa* of Takht-i-Bahai to justify us in presuming phonetic identity; the name may perhaps be composed of Babylonian *Bel* and *Shamash*, where *Bel* means 'lord', 'master' (*cf.* art. 'Bel' in Encycl. Britt., 11th ed.) and *Shamash* is a god's name. We have already (*supra*, p. 17) noted correspondence between the name *Habani* (of section A herein) and *Habban*, an 'Indian' merchant figuring in the *Acts of St. Thomas* in association with Gondophernes. And it has been shown elsewhere[1] that the king reputed to have put St. Thomas to death was most probably *Mastāna* whose torso was found in the Kushān statue-house near Mathura and whose name can be reconstructed out of the Ethiopic versions of the *Acts*. Mastāna must have been a 'Kushāṇ', since his statue was set up with that of Kaṇishka in the same statue-house, evidently for purposes of worship as implied in the term *devakula* ('temple') applied to it in the foundation-record incised on the pedestal of another image labelled as *mahārājo rājātirājo devaputro Kushānaputro shāhi Vama-Takshamasya*.

If these links are considered together, we shall probably have to revise our notions regarding the manner in which Śakas were supplanted by Kushāṇs. A process of infiltration seems to have operated. We know from coins that Gondophernes succeeded to the Manes-Azilises-Azes group by associating himself with Aśpa-varmma, the *strategos* of Azes; and Sasa, nephew of Aśpa, afterwards struck coins under the new master. Quite possibly, when the Śaka empire in N. India was thus hastening to its end, its eastern provinces, hitherto ruled over by mahākshatrapas and kshatrapas, passed under Kushān administration as the result of a *coup d'état*. The fact that the Sarnath inscription dated in 'year 3' in the reign of Kaṇishka mentions local rulers bearing Scythian names with the titles *mahākshatrapa* and *kshatrapa* points to a bloodless revolution rather than a sanguinary conflict having ushered in Kushān rule over Eastern India.

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[1] Deb, *JPASB*, 1933, pp. 311-2.

First Inscription.

(H. Ḥ) dhamadana guhavihare viya[a]ka[dha][varo]

(M)	(I and J(1)-J(2))	
1. kshatravo Śuḍise	4. Veyaüdaka-	8. kadhavaro Bubusapa
2. imo paḍhravī	5. ro kadha	9. rvat(r)aparena palich-chhina
3. prat(r)eśo	6. varo	10. nisimo karita niyat(r)-it(r)o
	7. viyaa	

(J(3)) 11. Sarvastivat(r)ana parigrahe

(K-L) { 12. ayariasa
13. Budhat(r)evasa
14. ut(r)aena ayimita }

Translation.

'*Religious gift to the cave-monastery—the encampment of victory.*'

'By kshatrapa Śuḍisa, this piece of land—Veyaüdakara—the encampment of victory, limited in boundary by what is beyond the rock Bub(b)usa is made *nissima* (i.e. an appurtenance just outside the limit of the cave-monastery) (and) is granted for the acceptance of the Sarvāstivādins.'

'Of the āchārya Budhat(r)eva. Received with water.'

Second Inscription.

(A)

1. mahakshatravasa Rajulasa
2. agramahesh(r)i Ayasia
3. Kamuia dhit(r)a
4. Kha(r)raostasa yuvaraña
5. mat(r)a Nada Diakasa [taye ?]
6. sadha mat(r)a Abuhola [e]
7. pit(r)amahi Pishpaś(r)ia bhra
8. tra Hayaürana sadha Habanisa
9. astraürena horakapa
10. rivarena iś(r)a praḍhraviprat(r)e
11. ś(r)e nisime śarira prat(r)iṭhavit(r)o
12. bhak(r)avat(r)o Sakamunisa Budhasa
13. [Maśa]kitri-rayasaśpae bhusaṁvita
14. thuva cha sagharama cha chat(r)u
15. diś(r)asa saghasa Sarva
16. stivat(r)ana parigrahe

(E(1)(2)(3)-E′)	(B-D)
17. Kha(r)raosto yuvaraya	20. mahakshatravasa
17*a*. Kamuïo	21. Rajulasa putra
18. Khalamasa kumara	22. Śuḍase kshatrave
19. Maja kaniṭha	22*a*. Naüliḅe
	(C) { 19*a*. Kalui a / 19*b*. varajo }

(E(4)-E″) 23. samanumot(r)ak(r)a karita
(F) { 24. Budhilasa Nak(r)araasa
25. bhikhusa Sarvastivat(r)asa }

Translation.

'By Ayasi, chief queen of mahākshatrapa Rajula, native of Kamboja, daughter of *yuvarāja* Khar(r)aosta, mother of Nanda Diaka, (by her ?), along with her mother Abuhola, her father's mother Pispasri, her brother Hayaüara, along with the body of Star-observing Horakas (astrologers) of Habani, is established, in this piece of land made *nissima* (i.e. an appurtenance just outside the limit of the cave-monastery), the corporeal relic of the Lord Śākyamuni, also, for merit to the (? the three Maśaki) Kings, a *stūpa* imbedded in earth, also, a *saṁghārāma* for the Four Quarters of the Saṁgha—for the acceptance of the Sarvāstivādins.'

'Khar(r)aosta, the *yuvarāja*, a native of Kamboja; Khalamasa, the *kumāra*; Maja, the *kanishṭha* (i.e. youngest of the brothers); [Kalui, the *avaraja* (i.e. born afterwards)—added with a caret];—made co-assenters by kshatrapa Śuḍasa, native of Naüliba, son of mahākshatrapa Rajula.'

'Of Budhila, native of Nagara, a Sarvāstivādin *bhikshu*.'

Third Inscription.

(N-Q)

1. ayariasa Budhilasa Nak(r)arak(r)asa bhikhu
2. sa Sarvastivat(r)asa sag(r)a
3. re Mahasaghia na pra (ma)
4. ñavit(r)ave Khalulasa
5. Khardaasa
6. kshatravasa

Translation.

'According to the promise (*saṁgara*) of the *āchārya* Budhila, a Sarvāstivādin *bhikshu*, native of Nagara, correct apprehension (*pramā*) not to be taught to any Mahāsāṁghika.'

'Of kshatrapa Khalula Khardaa.'

Fourth Inscription.

(G)

1. mahakshatravasa Kusullaasa Patikasa Mevaki(sa) Miyikasa kshatravasa puyae

Translation.

'In honour of mahākshatrapa Kusullaa Patika (and) of kshatrapa Mevaki Miyika.'

Fifth Inscription.

(P-O-R-J′)

1. sarvasa Sak(r)asta
2. nasa puyae
3. sarvabudhana puya dhamasa
4. puya saghasa puya
5. Takshilasa
6. K(r)ochh(r)anasa
7. Belaśamu
8. śo

Translation.

'In honour of all Śakrasthāna! Honour to all Buddhas! Honour to Dharma! Honour to Saṁgha!'

'Of K(r)ochh(r)ana Belaśamuś, native of Taxila.'

Reference.

For plates please refer *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. II, Sten Konow, *Kharosthi Inscriptions*.

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ARTICLE NO. 3.

A Note on a Unique work on Vedānta.

By CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI.

The Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal possesses a manuscript of a unique work on Vedānta called the *Saugata-sūtra-vyākhyānakārikā* and attributed to Kumārila Svāmin. A brief account of the work is given below with a view to drawing attention of scholars.

The manuscript which is hopelessly corrupt consists of 222 verses divided into three chapters, containing respectively 66, 81 and 75 verses. The origin and nature of the work is explained both in the beginning and the end.[1] But I am afraid, the explanation does not appear to be clear and helpful in appreciating the actual position. It refers to a Śivasūtra, composed in response to questions of Sugata, on which a commentary with a metrical summary as represented by the work under review was composed by Kumārila. The work is of the type of the *Upadeśasāhasrī* of Śaṅkara and contains a number of beautiful verses (I. 63, II. 47, 74).

It begins with an obeisance to Śiva.[2] The object of the work is stated to be an exposition of the real nature of Self and the refutation of Dualism.[3] So, the definition of Self is discussed and views of other schools including those of the Vijñānavādins are refuted (I. 29). A eulogy of *knowledge* closes Chapter I.

Chapter II speaks of Pratyagātman, Māyā and the identity of Ātman, Brahman and Paramātman.

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[1] शिवार्थं सुगतप्रश्नं शिवो व्याकृतवान् स्वयम् ।
शिवप्रश्नः स तत्सूत्रसारव्याख्यानमारभे ॥ I. 3.
प्रश्नं शिवार्थं सुगतस्य चक्रे यमुत्तरोक्त्या निहतं शिवोयम् ।
स वै शिवप्रश्न इति प्रसिद्धस्तत्सारसूत्रार्थनिरूपणीयम् ॥
शिवप्रसादेन विनिश्चितार्थः शिवोक्तसूत्रस्य विधाय भाष्यम् ।
इमाः सुसंक्षिप्ततदर्थकारिकाश्चकार सद्बुद्धिमुदे कुमारिलः ॥ III. 74-5.

[2] अवाङ्मनसगम्यस्य गुणातीतस्य वर्णनम् ।
गुणाध्यक्षतया यस्य सोऽनु[गृ]ह्णातु नः शिवः ॥ I. 2.

[3] अथात्यन्तपुमर्थाप्त्यै द्वैताभावप्रसिद्धये ।
आत्मकामस्य सद्बुद्ध्या आत्मतत्त्वं विविच्यते ॥ I. 20.

Chapter III discusses the nature of *Mokṣa*, praises monism, refutes dualism and incidentally refers to five mental states and three sources of knowledge (III. 21-22).

Of works, authors and schools of philosophy referred to in various connections mention may be made of Yogabhāṣya (I. 9), Bādarāyaṇa (I. 16), Sāṃkhya (I. 48), Bṛhadāraṇyaka (II. 6), Vyāsa (II. 39), Vyāsasūtra (II. 40), Gautama, Akṣapāda and Kapila (III. 8–10), Karmamīmāṃsaka (III. 31) and Kāpila (III. 39).

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Rāja Bīrbal—A Biographical Study, and an account of his articles of worship.

By B. PRASHAD.

Count von Noer [1] remarked 'of the many famous sovereigns of the East, few are comparable with Akbar and to him indisputably belongs the first place among the rulers of Hindustan. Not only was he equally great as a man, a warrior, and a statesman, but his reign fell at a time fitted to afford the freest play to his eminent qualities.' Beveridge [2] added his testimony to the above by stating 'The many-sided Akbar was a epitome of all the great Emperors, including Augustus, Trajan, Hadrian, Marcus Aurelius, Julian and Justinian.'

One of the great institutions of his august reign was the *Nau Ratana* (*Navaratna*) or the 'Nine Jewels'. These his 'nine friends', as Vincent Smith [3] designated them, were Rāja Bīrbar or Bīrbal, Rāja Mān Singh, Rāja Tōdar Mal, Ḥakīm Humām, Mullā Dūpiyāza, Faiḍī, Abūl Faḍl, Mīrza 'Abdur Raḥīm Khān Khanān and Tānsēn. The question has recently been discussed in an interesting contribution by Rao Bahadur G. S. Sardesai [4] which was read at the Akbar Quarter-Centenary Celebrations at Bombay in 1942. In place of 'Abdur Raḥīm Khān Khānān he has substituted Bairām Khān, which is hardly correct, and he also includes Badā'onī in the list. *En passant* it may be noted that a very interesting painting of the *Navaratna* is exhibited in the Victoria Memorial Hall at Calcutta. Rāja Bīrbal was one of the brightest jewels of this august assemblage, and his tragic death in 993 A.H. (February, 1586) in the 30th year of the reign cast a gloom over the Court. On hearing of the death the Emperor did not take any food or drink for two days, and is reported to have remarked 'Alas ! they could not even get his body out of the pass, that it might have been burned.' [5] A court mourning was ordered, and later a second mourning [6] was observed when an impostor's story of Bīrbal being alive proved without foundation.

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[1] Fredrick Augustus Count of Noer, *The Emperor Akbar*, translated by A. S. Beveridge (Calcutta, 1890) I, Preface, p. 1.

[2] Beveridge, H. in *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, translated by A. Rogers, edited by Beveridge, H., (London, 1914), II, Preface, p. 1.

[3] Vincent, A. Smith, *Akbar The Great Mogul*, (Oxford, 1919), p. 359, note.

[4] Sardesai, G. A., *Modern Review* for August, 1943, pp. 129–133.

[5] *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh* II, translation by Lowe (Calcutta, 1924), p. 164.

[6] *Op. cit.*, p. 369.

Bīrbal's personality has unfortunately been greatly maligned at the hands of the contemporary historians. They all appear to have been extremely jealous of the very great influence which he had over the Emperor, but even so the most bigoted of them and one who probably hated him the most, Mullā 'Abdul Qādir Badā'onī could not but recognize his great merits, for he says: فهمی و ادراک بلند داشت i.e. he had a considerable amount of capacity and genius—and in regard to his influence over the Emperor he added 'it became a case of "Thy flesh is my flesh and thy blood my blood"' (لحمک لحمی و دمک دمی بوده). Surely such a position of trust and regard with an exceptionally shrewd, clever, and talented ruler, such as Akbar, would have been impossible unless it is admitted that Bīrbal must have been a remarkably clever, capable, accomplished and loyal officer. Vincent Smith and tradition ascribe to him the extraordinary faculty of divining his master's secrets.

Our sources of information in regard to Bīrbal's earlier life are extremely limited, and even for the period of his service under Emperor Akbar one has to build up from stray references in the three contemporary histories, Abūl Faḍl 'Allāmī's *Akbarnāma*, Khwāja Niẓām-ud-Dīn Aḥmad Bakhshī's *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī* and Mullā 'Abdul Qādir Badā'onī's *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh*.[1] Shaikh Illādād Faiḍī Sirhindī's *Akbarnāma*, Mullā 'Abdul Bāqī Nihāvandī's *Maāthir-i-Raḥīmī*[2], and Firishtah or Muḥammad Qāsim Hindūshāh Astrābādī's *Tarīkh-i-Firishtah* or *Gulshan-i-Ibrāhīmī* do not contain any additional information. This is not strange in view of the fact that the authors of all these works relied mainly on the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī* for their accounts of Akbar's reign. From amongst the biographical works dealing with the period I have consulted the monumental book on Mughal Peerage *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*[3] by Ṣamṣām-ud-Daulah Shāh Nawāz Khan, completed by his son 'Abdul Ḥayy, *Tadhkirat-ul-Umarā*[4] by Kēwal Rām, and *Darbār-i-Akbarī*[5] by Maulānā Muḥammad Ḥusain Āzād. The account in *Maāthir-ul-Umarā* is a tolerably good summary of the information available in the contemporary histories of the period, and has formed the basis

[1] *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh*, text II, p. 161 (Calcutta, 1865).

[2] For these works see Prashad, Preface to *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī* translation III, pt. ii, pp. xxxiii–xxxv (Calcutta, 1939).

[3] See Prashad's Preface to the English translation I (Calcutta, 1941) pp. 1, 2 for details of the text edition of this important publication. Bīrbal's biography is printed on pp. 118–122 of Vol. II of the text, and Beveridge's translation I, pp. 420–423.

[4] See Ivanow, V. *Descriptive Cat. Persian Manuscripts in colln. As. Soc. Bengal* (Calcutta, 1924), pp. 71, 72, No. 216, for the MS in the Society's collection and references in regard to the work.

[5] Muḥammad Ḥusain Āzād, *Darbār-i-Akbarī* (Lahore, 1939, Urdu), pp. 295–310.

of the accounts of most later authors. Muḥammad Ḥusain Āzād also notes that he tried to obtain further information about Bīrbal and his literary work from other sources, but without success. Blochmann's[1] account in his admirable translation of the first volume of *Ā'īn-i-Akbarī* is based on *Maāthir-ul-Umarā* with some additional notes, but it unfortunately does not add to our knewledge of the life or achievements of Bīrbal.

A really important contribution on the subject, however, was the work of Grierson[2] (later Sir George Grierson) entitled *The Modern Vernacular Literature of Hindustan* published in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* in 1889, in which he collected most valuable information regarding the Hindi literature, particularly the works of poets, bards, etc. In this work he was able to include notes about Bīrbal's life based on Todd's *Rājasthān* and Sib Singh Segar's *Sib Singh Saroj*,[3] an important anthology of the Hindi poets about whom very little information was hitherto available. This formed the basis of Vincent Smith's[4] account of Bīrbal in his biographical work *Akbar the Great Mogul*. The interesting pamphlet entitled *Mullā Dūpiyāza and Rāja Bīrbar* (Bīrbal) by Muḥammad Ṭāhir[5] in Urdu is an interesting account of these noblemen, but the details about Bīrbal's life, such as his early years, education at Lucknow, Lahore, etc. though stated to be based mainly on *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh*, are not confirmed by any historical work. His identification of Mullā Dūpiyāza with 'Abdul Qādir Badā'onī is at variance with Pairamall[6] who identified him with a Mullā of Persian descent. A few useful notes on Bīrbal have also been published by Varaj Ratan Das in his Hindi translation of the *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*[7] in the volume dealing with the Hindū officials, and in *Umrā'ī Hunūd* by Sa'īd Aḥmad.

I give below a brief outline of the life of this great Hindū diplomat of Akbar's reign based on the information in the above sources.

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[1] Blochmann, H., *Ā'īn-i-Akbarī* I (translation, 2nd Ed., Calcutta, 1939), pp. 442–444.

[2] Grierson, G. A., *Journal As. Soc. Bengal*, LVII, for 1888, pt. I, pp. i-xxx, 1–170, i-xxxv (1889). Birbal's account is on pp. 35, 36, No. 106.

[3] Sib Singh Sēgar, *Sib Singh Saroj*, pp. 454, 455 (3rd edn. Newal Kishore Press, Lucknow, 1883).

[4] *Op. cit.*, pp. 236, 237.

[5] *Mullā Dūpiyāza and Rāja Bīrbar* (The name is Birbal all through the text) in Urdu, pp. 1–48 (Delhi, 1927). For a detailed account of Mullā Dūpiyāza Professor H. Mahmud Shirani's learned article in *Oriental College Magazine* for November 1939 may be consulted. I am indebted to Prof. M. M. Haq for this reference.

[6] Pairamall, *Modern Review*, Vol. VIII, pp. 86–89 (1910).

[7] Varaj Ratan Das's Hindi translation of *Maāthir-ul-Umarā* I, (Hindū Nobles), pp. 242–250 (Benares, 1931), *Umrā'ī Hunūd*, pp. 126–139 (Aurangabad, 1932).

His real name was Mahēs Dās, but in his earlier days he apparently preferred to it his *nom-de-plume* Brahm Dat (not Brahma Das as given by Badā'onī [1], or Brahna Das as was incorrectly copied by some ignorant or bigoted scribes of the *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarīkh*). In some works Brahm Kabī [2] is also given as his name, but this does not appear to be correct as he received the title of Kabī Rāy from Emperor Akbar at a later date. His father's name was Gangā Das [3], and according to Sib Singh Segar [4] and Bhūkhan Tripāṭhī [5] (Bhushan Kabī of Chhatar Sāl) of Tikāmpūr (Ṭikmāpūr) in the Kānpūr (Cawnpore) district he was born in *Vikrami* sambat 1585 (1528 A.D.). The latter author also gives Ṭikāmpūr as the place of his birth. Sib Singh Saroj states that his ancestral place was some village in Ḥamīrpūr District in the Allāhābād division. In view of these positive statements it is incorrect to describe him as a native of Kālpī, as most authors have done. Grierson describes him as a Kanaujiya [6] Dube Brahman, while Varaj Ratan Das designates him as a Kanykubja—(a more correct Sanskrit form of Kanaujīya or Qannaujiya as it should be if the Persian orthography is followed). The details of his early life in Muḥammad Ṭāhir's work are, as already noted, not to be found in any historical work. It is essential to direct attention here to an unfortunate error on the part of the Muḥammadan historians and which has been copied in some of the later historical works in English. It is stated that he was a *Bhāt* by caste, and that he was a *Bādfarōsh*. The epithet *Bhāt* in the case of Bīrbal was

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[1] *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh*, text II, p. 161, Lowe's translation II, p. 164. برهمه داس is written wrongly as برهنه داس or the Naked Das which is absurd. Lowe has, in my opinion, incorrectly regarded Badā'onī's epithet گدائی as a part of the name; this was only an invective used by the author out of scorn for Bīrbal; it only means a poor man, a mendicant or a dervish and cannot be regarded as a part of his name. Similarly his supposed *nom-de-plume* Baramba with the variant Burhiya noted by Beveridge (*loc. cit.*, p. 423) are only copyists' errors for Brahma. See also De's translation of *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* II (1936), p. 398, note 2, where a variant from another MS. has almost the same names and descriptions as in *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh*; this was apparently the work of Bādā'onī who was one of the collaborators of Niẓām-ud-Dīn Ahmad in the compilation of the *Ṭabaqāt*, see Prashad, *op. cit.*, p. xviii.

[2] See Grierson, *Journal As. Soc. Bengal*, LVII, Pt. 2, Special Number for 1888, p. 35.

[3] This name is given in the inscription on Aśoka's pillar at Allāhābād, *vide* Varaj Ratan Das's Hindi translation of *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, I (Hindū Nobles), p. 244, footnote (1931).

[4] *Vide* Grierson, *op. cit.*, p. 128, No. 595.

[5] *Vide* Varaj Ratan Das, *loc. cit.* He is the same as No. 145, p. 61 of Grierson's work.

[6] See Beame's edition of Elliot's *Memoirs on the History etc. of the North Western Provinces of India* (1869), I, pp. 146–153, and Bhattacharya, *Hindu Castes and Sects* (1896), pp. 49–51 and for *Bhats*, pp. 114, 115.

apparently used to signify his profession of a bard, a poet, and a genealogist, and not to indicate his caste. In any case, as has been remarked by Malcolm [1] and Bhattacharya, the *Bhāts* were in spite of their poverty 'the *tiers-etat* in Rajasthan, and the privilege of commenting on the action of their kings, which they possessed and very often abused, was nearly unlimited'. Similarly *Bādfarōsh* should be translated as a *Kabī* or a bard, and not a sycophant or a flatterer, as is implied in the most English translations. According to Badā'onī [2] he was at first in the service of Rāja Rām Chand of Bhatta, now known as the Rēwah State in Baghēlkhand. A reference may also be included to a legend current in Rēwah State: 'The [3] village of Ghoghra (24° 33′ N., 82° 5′ E.), 18 miles west of Sihāwal, in the *Ilāka* of *Kanpura*, is traditionally connected with Bīrbal, Akbar's witty favourite. The story runs that in a small temple here dedicated to Chandī Devī, one Raghubīr Rām, Brāhman of Chandainia village, daily worshipped the goddess for twelve years. He was helped by his sister's son Bīrbal, in keeping the temple clean. One day while the boy was sweeping the temple and Raghubīr Rām was away, he accidentally hurt his little finger and the blood from it stained the goddess's image. This propitiated the goddess and she promised the boy that whatever he prophesied, would turn out right. On leaving the temple the boy met a Kewat fishing. He told the Kewat that a bird was entangled in his hook and drawing up the line a bird was actually found upon it. The same night the goddess appeared to the boy in a dream and told that instead of wasting his power in such follies he should go to the Emperor's court. Accordingly the boy went to Akbar's court, where he soon rose to honour and distinction. Apart from the legend it would appear that Bīrbal was at one time an attendant at the Baghēl Chief Rām Chandra's

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[1] Malcolm, *Central India*, II, pp. 113, 114. The quotation is from Bhattacharyya, *op. cit.*, p. 115. Also see Wilson, *Glossary of Judicial and Revenue Terms*, pp. 78, 79 (London, 1855).

[2] *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh*, text II, p. 335, Lowe's translation II, p. 345. De in the translation of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī* II (1936), p. 595 has a long note (No. 3) about Bhatta, which he calls 'the country of Bhatt' and has given references to various readings and works. He was unable to trace the corresponding reference in *Akbarnāma*. The references are text III, pp. 420, 427 and Beveridge's translation III, pp. 624, 636. Blochmann (*op. cit.*, p. 685) identified Bhatta or as he writes Bhath as Panna, and following him Beveridge in his translations of the second and third volumes of *Akbarnāma* has designated Rāja Rām Chand as the Rāja of Panna State in Bundēlkhand, but the territory is what is now known as Rēwah State in Baghēlkhand, Central India, see C. E. Luard, *Rewah State Gazetteer* (Central India State Gazetteer Series IV, Lucknow, 1907), p. 1. He gives the name of Rāja as Rām Chandra, who ruled from 1555–92, and has included his detailed account on pp. 14–16. For Rām Chand Baghēlah also see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, text II, pp. 134–138, and for Baghēlah or Baghel Wilson, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

[3] C. A. Luard, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

court.' Later, according to Todd[1] he was one of the Court poets of Rāja Bhagwān Dās of Amber or Jaipūr, and this Rāja gave him as a *naẓar* (a present) to Emperor Akbar shortly after the latter's accession. Sib Singh Saroj[2] also mentions this in his biography. No reference to this transaction, if it may be called as such, is made in *Akbarnāma*, *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī* or *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh*, but relying on Todd's statement, apparently based on his personal enquiries in Jaipūr, the date of his introduction into Akbar's Court cannot be placed earlier than February, 1562, when Rāja Bihār Mal with his son Rāja Bhagwān Dās and grandson Rāja Mān Singh first came to Akbar's Court near Ajmer, and the Emperor was married to Rāja Bihār Mal's daughter at Sambhar[3]. Grierson, apparently on the authority of Sib Singh Segar, states that at this time he used to sign himself as Brahm Kabī in his poems. But according to the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*[4] he was first given the title of Kabī Rāy, and later of Rāja Bīrbar (the Hindī meaning of this title are detailed there at length as *Bīr* meaning a brave or hero, and *bar* great, i.e., the Rāja who is brave and great) when Nagarkot was bestowed on him by Emperor Akbar as his *jāgīr* in 980 A.H.[5] (1572-73 A.D.). Blochmann, Āzād and Vincent Smith all state that he probably never enjoyed this *jāgīr* of Nagarkot, but in the account of the 26th year's reign in *Akbarnāma* it is recorded that he welcomed the Emperor and offered his tribute at Dasūha[6], in the Nagarkot territory, which was in fief.

Prior to this in the 14th year he already must have been a man of some influence at the Court, for he introduced to the Emperor the Ambassador or Kajlī (Cochin?) who had been waiting from some time to offer as a tribute a wonderful knife on behalf of his master.[7]

In the 17th year[8] he was sent with other officers to the Panjāb to safeguard against the threat of an invasion by Ḥakim

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[1] Todd's *Rajasthan*, II, p. 390 (Calcutta edn. 1877–79).

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 455.

[3] *Akbarnāma*, text II, pp. 157, 158, Beveridge's translation II, pp. 243, 244.

[4] *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, II, De's translation, p. 399.

[5] Nagarkōt, according to *Akbarnāma*, text II, p. 370, Beveridge's translation II, p. 538, was assigned to Bīrbal in the 17th year, but Nagarkot was not conquered till the following year, and even then only a hurried peace had to be arranged by Ḥusain Qulī Khān owing to the impending attack of the Punjab by Ibrāhīm Ḥusain Mīrzā, see *Akbarnāma*, text III, pp. 36, 37. Beveridge's translation III, pp. 51, 52.

[6] *Akbarnāma*, text III, p. 348, Beveridge's translation III, p. 511. It is Dasuya in the Hoshiarpur District of the *Imperial Gazetteer*.

[7] *Akbarnāma*, text II, p. 342, Beveridge's translation III, p. 500. The knife referred to was probably made of Narhwal ivory, see Rogers and Beveridge's translation of *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, II, p. 300 for its supposed properties, etc.

[8] *Akbarnāma*, text II, p. 370, Beveridge's translation II, p. 511.

Mīrzā. In the 18th year [1] he accompanied the Emperor on his famous invasion of Gujarāt, and in the 19th year [2] he was with him in the expedition to Bihār. In the 30th year [3] he was deputed to the Yūsufzā'ī campaign. The choice of the command lay between Bīrbal and Abūl Faḍl and the question was decided by lot. Even then Akbar was reluctant about allowing Bīrbal to proceed on this campaign, but on the latter's insistance he sent him with a large army. The absence of a unified command, the inexperience and petty mutual jealousies of the commanders and finally the haphazard way in which the expedition was carried out resulted in a disastrous defeat for the imperial armies while crossing the Karākar and Malandarī passes, and it was here that Rāja Bīrbal and nearly 8000 of the army were massacred by the Afghāns.

In the 21st year [4] Bīrbal was sent to Dūngarpūr to arrange about the marriage of the daughter of the Rāja with Emperor Akbar. In the 23rd year [5] he was deputed with Saiyid Muẓaffar to Jālandhar (Jullundher) to supervise the removal of the Afghāns from the Panjāb to other areas. In the 25th [6] year Rāja Bīrbal and Shāh Qulī Maḥram were sent to conciliate Mā'ṣūm Khān Farrankhūdī who had rebelled at Jaunpūr. In the 28th year [7] he was deputed with Zain Khān Kōka for bringing Rāja Rām Chand Baghēla of Rēwah to the Court.

Bīrbal, however, spent most of the time at the Court in close attendance on the Emperor, and according to local tradition was with Khān Khānān, Abūl Faḍl and Faiḍī one of the four ministers who were favoured with attendance round the famous throne-pillar at Fatehpūr [8] Sīkrī. He was constantly consulted by the Emperor, and one special occasion was in the 27th year [9] when the Emperor asked the advice of all his leading ministers for improving the administration in the country. Bīrbal's suggestion, which was very judicious and humane was that 'some right-minded and energetic men should act as inspectors in various places and should represent impartially the condition of the oppressed people and seekers after justice and report unavoidable calamities.' In the same year [10] when various leading officials were appointed to supervise sales of different

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[1] *Akbarnāma*, text III, p. 49, Beveridge's translation III, p. 69.

[2] *Op. cit.*, text, p. 87, translation, p. 123.

[3] *Op. cit.*, text, p. 478, translation, pp. 719, 720. For good accounts of the Yūsufzā'i campaign see Raverty, *Notes on Afghanistan* (London, 1888), pp. 259–265, and Vincent Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 232–236. Sardesai is wrong in stating that Bīrbal was killed in the Kashmīr campaign.

[4] *Op. cit.*, text, p. 196, translation, p. 278.

[5] *Op. cit.*, text, p. 248, translation, p. 357.

[6] *Op. cit.*, text, p. 330, translation, p. 484.

[7] *Op. cit.*, text, p. 420, translation, p. 624.

[8] Vincent Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 444.

[9] *Akbarnāma*, text III, p. 380, Beveridge's translation III, p. 559.

[10] *Op. cit.*, text, p. 396, translation, p. 585.

commodities on a commission basis, Bīrbal was appointed in charge of the sale of cattle and buffaloes; the officers were to receive ½% from the purchasers and 1% from the sellers, and the ½% was to be their share. In the 28th year[1] he in company with Abūl Faḍl, Qāsim 'Alī Khān, Hakīm Humām and Shamshōr Khān Kōtwāl was appointed to 'the administering of justice to complainants'. They were not only to be 'satisfied with witnesses and oaths, but make a profound investigation'. In fact this body was established as a final appellate Court of the realm on the lines of the present day Federal Court of India. In view of the above appointments Vincent Smith's conclusion that 'he is not recorded as having held any important office' is hardly justified.

The regard which the Emperor had for him is further borne out by the fact that he had a beautiful house built for him at Fatḥpūr Sīkrī in the 27th year[2], and the Emperor twice attended at his house special feasts which Bīrbal arranged in his honour in the 27th[3] and 29th[4] years. In the 29th[5] year the Emperor even at the risk of his own life saved him from being crushed by an elephant which had run amok. The Emperor also went to his house[6] in the village Akbarpūr Bīrbal[7], which Bīrbal had founded on the banks of the Jamnā some 30 miles north of Cawnpur, in the 28th year. This village was in his *jāgīr* in the Kālinjar Sarkār[8] mentioned by Badā'onī, and whence the false report of Bīrbal having been seen after his death was received at the Court. Finally a reference may be included here to the identification[9] of Salīmgaṛh in the Agra Fort as the *bāradarī* of Bīrbal on the authority of some native historians who have not yet been identified.

In the above account I have not considered it necessary to refer to the religious discussions and wrangles in which he

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[1] *Op. cit.*, text, p. 405, translation, p. 599.

[2] *Op. cit.*, text, p. 397, translation, p. 587. For a photograph of the house see Vincent Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 443 and the plate facing the page, and Percy Brown *Cambridge History of India*, IV, pp. 542, 543.

[3] *Op cit.*, text, p. 397, translation, p. 587; also see Muḥammad Ḥusain Āzād, *op. cit.*, pp. 296, 297.

[4] *Op. cit.*, text, p. 438, translation, p. 657.

[5] *Op. cit.*, text, p. 436, translation, p. 654.

[6] *Op. cit.*, text, p. 415, translation, p. 617.

[7] F. N. Wright, *Statistical, Descriptive and Historical Account of the North-Western Provinces of India*, VI, p. 203 (Allahabad, 1881). Grierson notes that his descendants still exist in the Nārnaul quarter of the town (*op. cit.*, p. 36) and Sib Singh Segar (*op. cit.*, p. 455) records that the remains of beautiful buildings erected by him are all still to be found there, and that he founded the place at the instance of the Emperor.

[8] See Badā'onī, *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh*, text II, pp. 357, 358, Lowe's translation II, p. 369.

[9] *North-Western Provinces Gazetteer*, VII, p. 690 (Allahabad, 1884) and Nur Bakhsh in *Annual Report Arch. Surv. Ind.* for 1903-04), p. 169 (Calcutta, 1906).

was often involved with Badā'onī and other Muhammadan ecclesiasts; these are recorded in second and third volumes of the *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh*. Nor have I discussed his *bon-mots*, jokes, parables and short stories which are still current in almost all parts of Northern India. All these are of no historical interest. Bīrbal it may be noted was a *Kabī* of no mean order, a skilled musician, and was well known for his liberality and good nature.

Two of his sons Lālā and Har Rāy held minor offices during Akbar's time, but none of them rose to any high rank.

From the above it is clear that Bīrbal was not merely a story-teller, and a conversationalist whom only his *bon mots* made a favourite with Emperor Akbar. He was an officer of the rank of 2000 horse [1], and besides being attached to various military expeditions was often sent on diplomatic missions of great importance. He was certainly an exception amongst all grandees of Akbar's Court in not having been admonished for any shortcomings on any occasion whatsoever. He was the only Hindu member of Akbar's universal religion *Dīn-i-Ilāhī* [2]. It would be wrong to assert that he became a convert to this new religion simply to please the Emperor, rather it is suggested that he was fully satisfied about the soundness of its principles. In this connection it should not be forgotten that as a Brahman he was a devout Hindu as is evidenced by his articles of worship which have now come to light, and his pilgrimage to Allāhābād in 1576, while in the earlier years of the reign he was instrumental in making the Emperor take to Sun worship [3]. In Akbar's regime he held a very high place being connected with the commerce department and the administration of justice. He would certainly have risen much higher but for his untimely death in the Yūsufzā'ī campaign.

As an appendix to the above account I propose to include here a short description of certain articles of worship of Rāja Bīrbal. These articles were recently acquired by my friend Rai Bahadur Radha Krishna Jalan of Patna City from a hoard in the possession of an old family now fallen on evil days in the United Provinces. I wish here to express my sincere thanks and gratitude to him for giving me an opportunity of examining and describing this valuable find.

These articles of worship are made of solid silver inlaid with gold and copper and are excellent examples of high class Bidri work. Leaving aside the intrinsic value of gold and silver their importance lies not only in the fact that they are excellent

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[1] *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, II, De's translation, p. 674. Sib Singh Saroj, *loc. cit.*, p. 445, is incorrect in stating that he had attained the rank of 5,000.

[2] For a critical account see Vincent Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 209–422.

[3] See Badā'onī *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh*, text II, pp. 260, 261, Lowe's translation II, p. 268.

dated specimens of Bidri-ware, nearly 400 years old, but also because they bear the name of the owner and the dates on which he acquired them, in both the Vikrimī *samat* and the Salivāhan śāke. They also enable us to judge the social and material position of their owner, Rāja Bīrbal, at the time noted in the inscription.

The *pancha-pātra* (Figs. 3, 4) or the flat-bottomed basin for water used in the course of the ablutions is 3¾ inches high; and 3¼ inches in diameter. The presence of shallow depressions in the centre of its bottom seems to indicate that it was made on some type of a turning wheel or lathe, and this is confirmed by its very regular outline and shape. It has an outwardly projecting rim about half-an-inch broad along its upper edge. Both the rim and the outer surface of the basin are worked in Bidri style, and the main motive is the *Kalika* or conventionalized mango design with a branch of leaves filling up the central space. Above and below this motive are a row of heart-shaped petals with two rows of ovoidal leaf-like figures on either side. The spaces between the 8 main *Kalikas* are filled in by well-chased gold leaves. The outlines of the *Kalikas*, about ⅛ of an inch broad, are in gold and so are the heart-shaped motives, while the foliage and smaller leaves are of copper. The motive on the rim consists of very regularly laid out ovoidal leaves in a single row, in gold, filling up almost the entire surface.

The *tāmra-kunda* (Figs. 5, 6) or the flat-bottomed plate is 7⅝ inches in maximum diameter at the top and has a diameter of 5⅞ inches at the bottom; it is about an inch deep. The motive of the *pancha-pātra* is repeated on this plate, except that there is a circular stellar design in the centre surrounded by a circlet of 8 Kalika designs. The heart-shaped gold bits on the rim are, owing to their small size, not so well executed as those on the rim of the *pancha-pātra*.

Both these vessels bear the inscriptions 'Shrīmān Mahārāj Brahm Dat, *saṃat* 1608, *śāke* 1473' reproduced in photographs 4 and 6 respectively. The date according to the Christian era would be 1551 A.D. about 11 years before Bīrbal's introduction to Emperor Akbar's Court.

The *Āchamanī* (Fig. 7) or the spoon used in the course of ablutions is about 5 inches long. The spoon end, which is slightly, less than an inch in diameter, is not quite circular but octagonal, and bears 8 low ridges on its inner surface, and at the bottom has a solar design in gold. The handle is fluted above and there is a bird figure on either side where it is joined to the spoon-end. The other end of the handle has an image of the god *Gaṇeśa* with a five-headed hooded cobra forming an umbrella over the image. In Madam Getty's [1] excellent monograph

[1] Alice Getty, *Gaṇeśa, A Monograph on the Elephant-faced God* (Oxford, 1936).

on *Gaṇeśa* I have not found any figure corresponding to this representation of *Gaṇeśa*. It may be noted that though gold chasing in three rows is to be found on the stem, no gold inlay has been used on the figures of *Gaṇeśa* or of the cobra.

The last item, the most interesting of the list, is a standing image of *Nṛitya-Gopāla* (Fig. 1) fitted on a beautifully executed pedestal, and a *prabhāvali* fixed by struts behind it. The pedestal (Fig. 2) underneath bears an inscription similar to those on the other vessels except for the dates, both *samat* and *śāke*, which are six years later, *viz*. 1614 and 1479 respectively.

The pedestal is roughly 4 inches square, and about 2 inches high with a grooved-in space in which the image is slipped in from behind, and two rectangular slots for the fitting in of the *prabhāvali* on the sides. The pedestal is ornamented with a row of inverted heart-shaped golden petals joined together by regular arcs connected with one another on the outer bases. The same design is repeated over the hollow groove for the reception of the image, while the flange next to it bears a single row of stellar petals. The main bevelled surface is ornamented with a beautifully executed foliage design in gold. It is interesting to note here that the *Kalika* design is not used in the ornamentation of the pedestal or the image.

The *prabhāvali* stands some 6 inches high with the struts about an inch long fitted into the pedestal. It is an ornamented ring, somewhat ovoidal in outline with a maximum breadth of about 5 inches, and represents a halo of flames (*jvālās*) shown in conventional curls round the periphery. The flames or *jvālās* are executed in gold, while the central ovoidal pivot about ¾ inch in height bears a stellar design in gold.

The image of *Nṛitya-Gopāla* is some 3 inches in height and is standing on a *padma-pīṭha* or the conventional lotus flower base about 1¼ inch in diameter. It is an image of the young *Kṛiṣṇa* in the dancing attitude resembling in general the *Navanīta-nṛityamūrti* bronze figured by Rao [1]. The right foot is made to rest on a *śaṅkha* to provide better attachment to the pedestal, and the hands are held in a *Kaṭaka-hasta* or pose. There is no *makuṭa* on the head and the hair are coiled into a prominent knot behind the head in the characteristic South-Indian style. The ears are large and bored in the lower lobe; they are supported by a broad lapel connected with the shoulders somewhat similar to the type reproduced in Madam Getty's figure of *Bāla-Kṛiṣṇa*.[2] It is a nude figure, but is embellished with ornaments, such as a necklace with an amulet in the centre worked in gold, a waist-band, bangles round the wrists, and anklets on the legs and the feet.

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[1] T. A. Gopinath Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography* I, pt. i, p. 206, pl. lx, fig. 1 (Madras, 1914).

[2] Alice Getty, *op. cit.*, pl. xv, fig. *b*.

These articles are of a polished chocolate brown or bronze colour which appears to be due partly to oxidation during the process of manufacture, and partly to their age. These articles of worship with the name Brahm Dat inscribed on them, and the dates 1608 and 1614 *samat*, eleven and five years earlier than his introduction to Emperor Akbar's Court, indicate that Bīrbal at the time must have been a man of position and means, and not a mere nobody. Unfortunately very little information is available regarding the exact history of these vessels, and one must add a word of caution regarding the possibility of their being fakes, though in view of their historical value not having been realized at the time of their sale, this is hardly likely.

I have to express my great indebtedness to Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, the late Director-General of Archaeology in India, for his expert advice in reference to these articles of worship and for lending me several books from his departmental library.

Explanation of Plate.

All the figures are direct reduced photographs of the articles of worship of Rāja Bīrbal.

Fig. 1. The image with the pedestal and the *prabhāvali*. Front view.
Fig. 2. Pedestal from below showing the inscription of the name of the owner and the date.
Figs. 3, 4. Side view and base of the *pancha-pātra*.
Figs. 5, 6. Upper and lower views of the *tāmra-kunda*.
Fig. 7. *Āchamanī* seen from above.

Paper received—13-9-1943.
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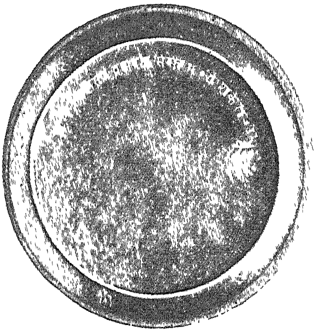

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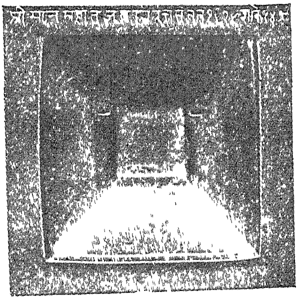

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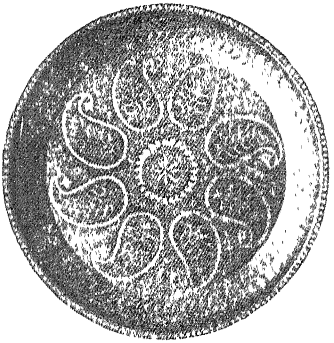

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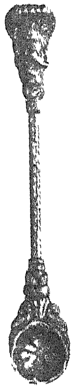

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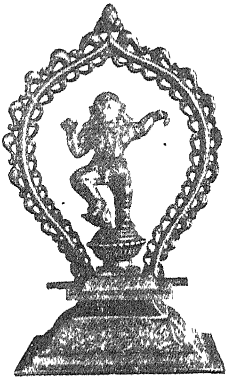

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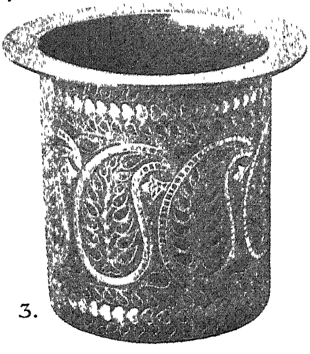

3.

Articles of Worship of Rāja Bīrbal.

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. Letters.

Volume X, 1944.

Article No. 5.

A New Discovery referring to Marco Polo's Departure from China from the Chinese Source.

Yang Chih-Chiu.

(*Communicated by Dr. Kalidas Nag.*)

Much has been done to the solution of the many puzzled questions in the book of Marco Polo. The identification of places, the interpretation of strange terms and the illustration of obscure customs, all these have been largely worked out by the laborious researches of the lovers of this traveller. Little, indeed, has been left unexplained about the numerous statements which Marco gives in his book and which may seem curious and incomprehensible at first sight.

There remains still, however, a great deal of puzzles about the circumstances of our traveller's personal history. Marco resided in China for a long time; no one nowadays doubts this fundamental fact; but none, alas! has been able to find any mention of him from Chinese sources of information. Pauthier's assertion, supported by Chang Hsing-Lang and Charignon,[1] that the 'Polo' found in the Chinese annals of the Mongol Dynasty (Yuan-Shi), who was nominated as a second class commissioner or agent attached to the Privy Council in the year 1277, refers to our author Marco Polo, has been refuted by M. Pelliot.[2] Since then, no satisfactory identification has been made of Marco Polo from Chinese materials of history.

I have found in a Chinese book an official document which I think refers to the doings of Marco Polo in China, with the only omission of his name in it. The passage runs as follows:

'On the 17th day of the 8th month of the 27th year of Chi-Yuan (September 21, 1290) Minister A-Nan-Da and another official, Bich-Bu-Hua present jointly a petition to the court, saying:

'We have received a petition from Minister Sha-Pu-Ting which reads:

'On the 3rd month of this year (April-May 1290) the three lords U-Lu-Tai, A-Pi-Shi-Ha and Huo-Jeh have arrived here who are despatched to the Kingdom of the great king

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1 *Pauthier's text of Marco Polo*, p. ix and p. 361.

Chang Hsing-Lang: *The 'Marco Polo' in the Chinese Books of History*, an article prefaced to the introduction to his Chinese translation of The Book of Ser Marco Polo.

A. J. H. Charignon's *preface to his version of Pauthier's text of Marco Polo.*

2 See Pelliot's article in *T'oung Pao* of 1927-1928. Pp. 156-169.

A-Lu-Hun, by the way of Ma-Pa-Rh. Accompanying them are one hundred and sixty persons, among whom ninety have been given their share of government provisions. I have been informed that the remaining seventy are only persons sent as presents (to be slaves to the three lords) by other officials, or bought by them. I beg therefore that provisions be not given to them.'

'The decree of the Emperor after reading this petition is: Let shares of provisions be not given to them!'

The above passage is taken from a Chinese book entitled Jan-Chi, which is an odd collection of governmental documents containing regulations and ordinances regarding the post system in the Mongol period, and abstracted from the Chinese Encyclopaedia, Yung-Lo-Ta-Dian (now missing), composed in 1408. An examination of it gives us much light on the relation existing between it and what has been described in the book of Marco Polo. In his book (see the Book of Ser Marco Polo, of Yule and Cordier's third edition, the 17th chapter of the prologue, pp. 31–33) Marco tells us that Argon, the lord of the Levant (i.e. Persia) had sent three barons as ambassadors to Cathay to request a Mongol lady for his bride from the great Caan Cublay. The names of the three barons were Oulatay, Apusca and Coja. When a maiden was given to them, they decided to return by the sea route and asked Marco's family (i.e. Marco, his uncle and his father) to travel with them. A comparison of this chapter with the above Chinese document will show that there is much coincidence between them. For it is very easy, by similarity of pronunciations between the two sources, to identify the Oulatay of Marco Polo with U-La-Tai of our Chinese document, Apusca with A-Pi-Shi-Ha, Coja with Huo-Heh and Argon with A-Lu-Hun. What interests us more is that not only are the names of the three barons of the two sources similar in the two sources, but the order in which they are enumerated in the two books is also the same. And, to complete their coincidence, Ma-Pa-Rh of the Chinese material corresponds obviously with the 'Maabar' of Marco Polo, which is the name of the south-east coast of modern India; and their returning to A-Lu-Hun (Argon) through this place as related by the Chinese passage suggests that the three lords were decided to take the sea route, as was reported by Marco Polo.

It is very safe, therefore, to conclude that the three lords in the Chinese document are the very three barons sent by Argon of Persia as ambassadors to China, and at the time when the petition was written Marco Polo was with them, though his name was not included in the petition.

Another light is thrown to us in the person of Sha-Bu-Ding of our document. According to the Mongol Annals (Yuan-Shi, vol. 16), Sha-Bu-Ting was a minister of the province of Chiang-Huai, in the year 1290, and Chi'uan-Chou, the Zayton of Marco

Polo, was a port then governed as part of this province (see vol. 62 of the Yuan-Shi). So we infer that at the time when the petition was presented, Marco Polo and the three ambassadors were staying at the port of Zayton.

So far as our knowledge goes, the above passage is the only information we can get from Chinese sources about Marco Polo's stay in China. The absence of his name in this passage is surely very regrettable, but not altogether without compensation. For it gives us light on the position Marco held in the Mongol court. If he had held a high rank in the government, his name should not be omitted in the Chinese petition. We derive from this that the office Marco served in China could not be so exalted as he would have us believe, and this serves as an explanation why it is difficult to find from Chinese materials of history any mention of his name who has left so gloriously a reputation in the western world, and whose book has led to the discovery of America.

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ARTICLE NO. 6.

Some Etched Carnelian Beads from Egypt.

By TSOMING N. SHIAH.

(*Communicated by Dr. Kalidas Nag.*)

Etched carnelian beads have designs in white colour chemically produced on red carnelian by etching and heating. This technique is still known to the Indian bead-maker at Sindh, who produces the white pattern by soda treatment and heating.[1] In Beck's comprehensive article on ancient etched carnelian beads, he says that the only definite case of specimens of this process for Egypt is a scarab of Amenhetep I.[2] When the writer was working on ancient Egyptian beads in London, he found three etched carnelian beads from Egypt in the Petrie Collection in the University College, University of London. The most interesting piece among them is one dated to the Eleventh Dynasty. It was found by Petrie in the Tomb 197 at Abydos in 1922, but so far has not been published. Besides the specimen in question, the tomb contained many small ring-beads of blue faience and the 'Antef Stelae' which alone has been published in the Report.[3] This tomb has been dated to the Eleventh Dynasty with a fair certainty by the 'Antef Stelae'. The faience ring-beads have a thick and brilliant glaze with a rich deep blue tint, and are characteristic of the Middle Kingdom. Our specimen is a barrel-shaped bead and is etched with an eye-pattern combined with a chevron design (fig. 1), a typical pattern of the beads of the 'Early Phase (before 2000 B.C.)' in Beck's article.[4] This type of beads was fairly common in Mesopotamia from the Protodynastic times down to the Sargonic period centring upon the Third Dynasty of Ur[5] and has been found also in Mohenjo-daro, India.[6] Those from India show the same technique, but are different in form and decoration. On the other hand, two beads from Ur, now in the British Museum (B.M. 120598, and 123213) show striking

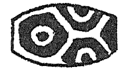

FIG. 1. Bead from Abydos. (1/1)

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1 E. Mackay, *Decorated Carnelian Beads*, in *Man* (1933), No. 150, pp. 143–146.

2 H. C. Beck, *Etched Carnelian Bead*, in *Antiquaries Journal*, XIII (1933), p. 395.

3 F. W. Petrie, *The Tombs of Courtiers* (1925), p. 10, sec. 20.

4 Beck, *op. cit.*, p. 396.

5 C. L. Woolley, *Ur Excavation II, Royal Cemetery* (1934), p. 374; also Mackay, '*A' Cemeteries at Kish*, pt. I, p. 56, pl. IV, fig. 30; and Mackay, *A Sumerian Palace*, etc., pl. xliii, fig. 9; pl. lx, figs. 54–8.

6 John Marshall; *Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilization* (1932), I, pp. 104–105; II, pp. 515-6; pl. CXLVI, 43–45.

similarity in shape and pattern to our specimen (fig. 2). There is no question that our specimen was imported from Mesopotamia. The synchronology between Egypt and Mesopotamia from this evidence can be collated by others. There are two Egyptian alabaster vases inscribed in cuneiform with Sargonic (Akkadian) royal names, Rimus and Naram-Sin.[1] The vases are of the Tenth–Eleventh Dynasty type.[2] A cylinder-seal inscribed in hieroglyph and cuneiform in the Collection of Carnarvon bears the royal name 'Sehetepibre' (Amenemhet I), the first pharoah of the Twelfth Dynasty, while its cuneiform inscription belongs to the Epoch of the Third Dynasty of Ur as shown by its form of writing, according to Sayce.[3] The treasure from Tod in Upper Egypt is dated to Amenemhet II of the Twelfth Dynasty by the cartouche on the box. The box contained many gold, silver, and *lapis lazuli* objects, including cylinder-seals and beads, which are certainly imported from Mesopotamia. Some of the beads of *lapis lazuli* have characteristic forms, such as the facetted barrel-beads with a square cross-section, and the triangular spacers, both of them having been found at Ur.[4] The cylinder-seals of *lapis lazuli* have cuneiform inscriptions which are of the period of Hammurabi of the First Dynasty of Babylon.[5] Although the absolute chronology of Egypt and Mesopotamia before the Middle Kingdom could not be fixed quite definitely at present, yet their synchronology is fairly certain as proved by beads and other archaeological objects.

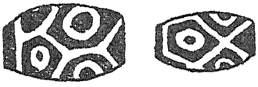

FIG. 2. Beads from Ur.

The other two specimens of etched carnelian beads are dated to the Greco-Roman period. Both of them came from Petrie's excavations at Saft el Henna in 1905-6 (Tomb Nos. 705 and 796*s*). But the beads in question have not been mentioned in his Report,[6] nor have been published in his later works. Both of them are circular button-shaped beads with an elliptical or plano-convex-section (fig. 3). The etched white pattern is a circular ring with a row of radiated small crosses on one bead, and a large cross encircled

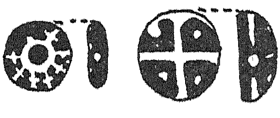

FIG. 3. Beads from Saft el Henna. (Natural size.)

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1 A. H. Sayce, *The Date of Middle Kingdom, in Ancient Egypt*, 1921, pp. 102-3.

2 Petrie, *Stone Vases*, pls. XXVIII, 584, 589; XXIX, 617, 621.

3 Pinches and Newberry, *A Cylinder-seal*, etc., in *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, VII (1921), pp. 190–199, pl. XXXII for Sayce's remark, see *Ibid.*, vol. VIII (1922), p. 285.

4 Woolley, *op. cit.*, p. 369, fig. 78; pls. 144–145.

5 B. de la Roque, Tod, 1934 à 1936, (1937), pp. 119-121.

6 Petrie, *Hyksos and Israeli Cities*, (1906).

by a ring and filled with one dot each at the space between each two arms of the cross on another bead. They belong to the 'Middle Phase (300 B.C.–A.D. 200)' of Beck's scheme.[1] Again, the place of their manufacture is in western Asia. Beads of this type are extremely common in sites of the Scytho-Parthian and Kushan period in the North-west of India.[2] They have been found even as east as ancient Khotan in Chinese Turkestan.[3] This shows how useful the beads are as archaeological evidence for revealing a contact between two cultures in widely separated regions.

I wish to thank my teacher, Prof. S. R. K. Glanville of the University of London, for giving me the kind permission to study the unrivalled collection of beads in his charge with a view to their publication, and regret that the difficulty of communication under the present condition prevents me from sending the typescript of this article for his criticism.

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[1] Beck, *op. cit.*, p. 396.

[2] Marshall, *op. cit.*, p. 583, footnote 11; and also Woolley, *op. cit.*, p. 374.

[3] A Stein, *Serindia*, (1921), pp. 117, 122, 127; pl. IV, (Khot. 02r, 02q, Yo, 00125 and Jiya, 005).

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Volume X, 1944.

ARTICLE No. 7.

Supplement to Bibliography of Ancient Indian Terracotta Figurines.

By CHARU CHANDRA DAS GUPTA.

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PREFACE.

In the year 1938 my article entitled 'Bibliography of ancient Indian terracotta figurines' summarizing all articles written up to 1936 was published (JRASBL, IV, 1938, pp. 67–120). Since that time so many articles on ancient Indian terracotta figurines had been published that it has been quite necessary to publish their summaries as a supplement to the aforesaid communication. I have, therefore, published them exactly in the same manner as was done in case of the articles mentioned above. This summarizes articles generally written in the period between 1937 and 1942.

ABBREVIATIONS.

A	..	Antiquity.
AAIT	..	Archaic and ancient Indian terracottas. By L. Sternbach.
ABIA	..	Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology, Kern Institute, Leyden.
ABORI	..	Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.
ADNAR	.	Archaeological Department of Nizam, Annual Report.
AR	..	Asiatic Review.
ASIAR	..	Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report.
BMRAH		Bulletin des Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire.
EH	..	Excavations at Harappa. By M. S. Vats.
ER	..	Excavations at Rairh. By K. N. Puri.
FEM	..	Further excavations at Mohenjo-daro. By E. Mackay.
GIK	..	Grundzuge der Indischen Kunst. By S. Kramrisch.
I	..	Iraq.
IAL	..	Indian Arts and Letters.
JISOA	..	Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art.
JRASBL	.	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Letters.
JRSA	..	Journal of the Royal Society of Arts.
JUPHS	..	Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society.
M	..	Man.
MASI	..	Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India.
MR	..	Modern Review.
QJMS	..	Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society.
RT	..	Rajghat Terracottas. By V. S. Agrawala.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

1. Agrawala, V. S. JUPHS, X, pp. 59–64; pls. I–III; 1937.

(1) Terracottas from Ghoshi.

Here the author studies certain terracottas found at Ghoshi in Azamgarh district in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh. As these specimens are found by chance, 'there is no stratum or level to indicate the period for which our sole criterion for the present remains the style' (p. 59). So far as technique is concerned, these specimens are mainly handmade, the material used is red clay of rough texture and the style is noted by remarkable crudity, verging on the primitive. According to the author these specimens are to be ascribed to the Kushaṇa age. The illustrated specimens are male figure (pl. I, fig. 1), female figure (ibid., figs. 2–4, II, fig. 5) and human head (pls. II, figs. 6-7, III, figs. 8–10).

2. ——— JUPHS, X, p. 88; pl. II, fig. 3; 1937.

(2) Further acquisitions to the Mathura Museum.

Among some important additions to the Mathura Museum the author has noted an Indian adaptation of the well-known Greek sculpture of 'Herakles and Nemean Lion' made in terracotta (pl. II, fig. 3).

3. ——— RT, pp. 1–8; pls. I–V; 1941.

(3) Here the author has described and illustrated certain terracotta figurines found at Rajghat in Benares district in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh. The terracottas which have been found here number approximately two thousand specimens and mostly belong to the Gupta age. They are interesting for the varieties of the head-dress and for the paintings in line and colour still preserved on many of them. The illustrated specimens represent human head (pl. I, 1, 3, 4), female head (pl. II, 8), male bust (pl. I, 2), head of Pārvatī-Parameśvara (pl. III, 12), Kinnara-mithuna (pl. IV, 13), scene representing *aśoka-preṅkha* (ibid., 14), hunter (pl. V, 15) and Śiva (ibid., 16). It seems that the specimens nos. pls. II, 5–7, and III, 9–11 have not been described.

4. Anonymous. AR, XXXII, pp. 769, 770; figs. A, B; 1936.

Archaeology in Baroda.

The author describes and illustrates certain terracotta figurines found at Kamrej in Navsari district of the Baroda State (fig. A) and at Amreli in Kathiawar (fig. B).

5. Chandra, G. C. ASIAR for 1934-35, p. 40; pl. XVII, b; 1937.

(1) Excavations at Nalanda.

In course of excavation at monasteries Nos. 11 and 12 at Nalanda in Patna district in Bihar the author has discovered a number of 'terracotta plaques decorated with human and animal figures' (pl. XVII, b) (p. 40).

6. ——— ASIAR for 1935-36, p. 53; pl. XVI, f; 1938.

(2) Excavations at Rajgir.

In course of exposing the circular brick structure known as the Maniyar Math at Rajgir in Patna district in Bihar the author has discovered a large number of terracottas representing human and animal figurines (pl. XVI, f).

7. Corbiau, S. BMRAH, mars-avril, pp. 1–3; 1936.

(1) Collection de pieces provenant de l'Inde.

Here an account has been given of the terracottas found at Sari-Dheri and Sulai-Dheri in Peshawar district in the North-West Frontier Province. Major D. H. Gordon who discovered the mound of Sari-Dheri thought that the civilization evidenced by these specimens could be dated from c. 250–50 B.C.; but the present authoress believes that the archaic figurines found here belong to the 3rd-4th millenniums B.C. and that the later figurines to the Graeco-Buddhist age. Most of these archaic figurines have analogies with the Sumerian (age of Jemdet Nasr), Aegean (ancient Minoan) and Russian Turkestan (Anau III) antiquities. The illustrated specimens represent a human head (fig. 11) and a human bust (fig. 15)—both in Graeco-Buddhist style. The remaining figures are of archaic character and represent two unidentifiable specimens (frontispiece and fig. 12), a female figure (fig. 13) and another archaic figurine (fig. 14).

8. ——— M, XXXVII, pp. 150–52; 1937.

(2) Prehistoric remains on historic sites of India and the Near East.

In this paper the authoress has opined that Sari-Dheri 'forms part of a vast cultural cycle that will be met in the deeper layers of many sites of historical date, that there are many points of analogies between these archaic Indian remains with regions so far off as pre-Hittite Asia Minor and the Early Minoan Aegean,' that 'a whole stratum of Taxila bears the mark of Scythian art' which flourished in South Russia from the sixth to the second century B.C., and that 'Taxila appears to be of first importance also for the history of religions'. She doubts

i, 4), woman and children (ibid., *i*, 5), bear (ibid., *j*, 3) and antelope (ibid., *j*, 4). It is strange that many illustrations have not been described in the text.

12. Dutt, G. S. JISOA, VI, pp. 169–80; pls. XXXVI–XXXIX, 1938.

Bengali Terracottas.

In course of giving an interesting résumé of Bengali terracottas the author has opined that this art may be divided as belonging to two periods, one ending with the close of the Pāla and Sena ages and the other till almost the end of the nineteenth century. Though he has given an account of the first type of specimens, yet the article is almost devoted to the study of the terracotta plaques found on the Deul, a monument of probably the seventeenth century A.D. at Mathurapur in Faridpur district in Bengal. The illustrated specimens which are taken from the Deul itself represent the lion-belt (pl. XXXVI, 2), Rāmāyaṇa and Kṛishṇa-līlā scenes (ibid., 4, pl. XXXVII, 1), Kīrtimukha (pls. XXXVI, 1, XXXVII, 3). Kīrtana-scene (pl. XXXVI, 2), two females worshipping one Kalpataru (ibid., 3), Lakshmaṇa (pl. XXXIX, 2), lion (śārdūla) rampant superimposed on an elephant (ibid., 4), superimposed figures of armed soldiers (ibid., 5), herd of deer fleeing from hunters (pl. XXXVIII), hunting scene (pl. XXXIX, 3, 6), plaque representing two sphinenes (ibid., 1).

13. Gordon, D. H. I, Vol. V, pp. 85–88; pls. VI–IX; 1938.

(1) The age of frontier terracottas.

This is a reply to Corbiau's paper summarized as No. 9. According to the present author the Channavira, etched carnelian beads, lids in the central knob handles, applied and incised techniques in eye-form, fan-shaped head-dress are not convincing criteria for drawing any deductions. He opines that the goddess represented in the terracottas with the rosetted head-dress is Anaitis, Anahid or Nanaia. In order to illustrate his points of argument the author has illustrated certain specimens which are archaic head (pl. VI, fig. 1; fig. 2—left figs.), human head (ibid., fig. 2—third and fourth figs. from left), head with the knotted head-dress (ibid., fig. 3), head with the conical Parthian cap (pl. VII, fig. 4), moustached Scythian figures (pl. VII, fig. 5), archaic figure (pl. VIII, 6 and 7), archaic and Hellenistic head (pl. VIII, fig. 8), archaic moulded figure (ibid., fig. 9), primitive female figure with the fan-shaped head-dress (pl. IX, fig. 10), Hellenistic head (ibid., fig. 11), mask-like face (ibid., fig. 12).

14. ——— M, XXXVII, pp. 198-99; 1937.

(2) Prehistoric remains on historic sites: a reply.

This is a reply to Mlle. Corbiau's article summarized as article No. 8. According to him the terracottas from Sari-Dheri and other kindred sites may be divided into three groups, viz., the terracottas of Hellenistic appearance, Syrian derivation of 180–50 B.C. and a group of figurines and animals which appear to be just pre-Kushan of 100 B.C.–300 A.D.

15. ——— A, XI, pp. 70–79; pls. I and II; 1939.

(3) The mother-goddess of Gandhāra.

From the evidence of the terracotta figurines which have been dated from the third century B.C. to the 3rd century A.D. the author has established that a cult of the Mother-Goddess in her manifestation as the Persian Anaitis existed in India.

16. Gordon, D. H. and M. E. I, Vol. VII, pp. 1–12; pl. I; 1940.

(1) Mohenjo-daro; some observations on Indian pre-history.

Among various topics the authors have made some observations on terracotta figurines found at Mohenjo-daro. So far as female figurines are concerned, they have remarked that almost all these have the fan-shaped head-dress, that where the eyes are present, they are applied, that 'they are practically, without exception, of pink-coloured terracotta with a red wash, that the majority of the figures have a single necklace and that they have a narrow applied loin-cloth and are not completely nude. Regarding the male figurines they have remarked that ''they are for the most part of the same pink pottery, that the majority of these figurines have no head-dress, but a certain number have widespread horns and that these figures are completely nude. They also refer to human masks, man-headed animals and ordinary animals. They hold that there is no Yogic influence in the face of any figure. They do not hold the view of Dr. Mackay that certain terracottas of rough workmanship are the work of children and believe that the Mohenjo-daro terracottas have no Sumerian affinities. They have illustrated the figure of a man (pl. I) found in Zhob which is, according to them, the most Sumerian looking object yet found in India.

17. ——— JRASBL, VI, pp. 61–72; pls. 4, 5; 1940.

(2) Survivals of the Indus Culture.

Here the authors have shown the points of similarity between the objects of the Indus Valley age and those of the later ages and in proving this point they have illustrated a few terracotta figurines among other objects. The illustrated specimens are

bird (pl. 4, 1, 2), bird-whistle (ibid., 3), bird-rattle (ibid., 4), Hellenistic head (ibid., 5), divided figure (pl. 5, 1, 3) and female figure (ibid., 2).

18. Johnston, E. H. ABIA for 1937, p. 16; pl. V; 1939.

Indian Institute, Oxford.

The author has illustrated a female figure (pl. V). According to him 'the best authorities place it in the third century B.C., and it certainly cannot be later than the first century B.C.'

19. Khan, H. H. ASIAR for 1935-36, p. 70; pl. XXXIX, *d*; 1938.

Exploration in the Madras Presidency.

The author reports the discovery of a few terracotta figurines on the summit of the cairn hill on the Nilgiris among which one representing the head of a cow (pl. XXIX, *d*) has been illustrated.

20. Kramrisch, S. GIK, pp. 127-28, tefel 47 ; 1924.

The authoress illustrates a magnificent Vishṇu-head preserved in the Museum of the Varendra Research Society.

21. ——— JISOA, VII, pp. 89–110; pls. VII–IX; 1939.

(2) Indian Terracottas.

Here the authoress has given a highly interesting account of Indian terracottas. There are certain conclusions which are quite important. According to the opinion of the present authoress there are two types of terracottas, viz., (1) ageless type and (2) timed variation. Then she has dealt with earth, physiognomy, costume and conveyance. So far as the type of the timed variation is concerned, she has given an idea of data, technique and places. She has given an elaborate description of Pataliputra, Buxar and Mathura terracottas. The illustrated specimens are all taken from the Patna Museum collection and represent male figure (pls. VII, 1–4, 6, 13, 14, VIII, 7, 10, 11, IX, 6), male torso (pl. VIII, 6), male figure with ram (ibid., 8), Yaksha (ibid., 9), male head (ibid., 12, 13), female figure (pls. VII, 5, 7–11, VIII, 2, IX, 1–5), female figure with serpent-head (pl. VII, 12), human head (pl. VIII, 1), animal-head (?) (pl. VII, 15), elephant (ibid., 16, pl. VIII, 4). griffino (pl. VIII, 3) and horse (ibid., 5).

22. Machay, E. JRSA, LXXXV, p. 542; fig. 8; 1937.

(1) Excavation at Chanhu-daro.

The author describes and illustrates one female figurine (fig.) found at Chanhu-ḍaro in Nawabshah district in Sind and

referable to the Indus Valley age. According to him this represents mother-goddess.

23. ——— FEM, I, pp. 257–316; II, pls. LXVI, 23, LXXI, 23, 25–32, LXXII, LXXIII, LXXIV, 1–5, 7, 8, 13, 14–17, 21–26, LXXV, 1–23, LXXVI, 1–25, LXXVII, 2–7, 10–12, 17, 18, 21, 22, LXXVIII, 1, 3, 5–9, 11, 12, LXXIX, 1–4, 7–17, 22, 23, 25–27, 29–33, LXXX, 1, 2, 4, 6–12, 14–23, 25–27, LXXXI, 1–5, 7–11, 13, 14, 17–19, CXII, 10, 11; 1938.

(2) Here the author has described and illustrated certain terracotta figurines found in course of excavation between 1927 and 1931 at Mohenjo-daro in Larkana district in Sind and belonging to the Indus Valley age. He has divided these specimens into two groups, viz., human and animal. Further each group of figurines has been divided into two classes, viz., those found in the upper levels down to 12 ft. below datum and those from below that level. So far as human figurines are concerned, he has shown that 'most of the figurines were painted over with a red slip or wash', that 'in only a few of the better made figurines is the red slip polished.' 'Besides the general coating of red, there is now definite evidence that on some at least of these figurines other colours also were used.' According to the author 'none of the female figurines are represented as entirely nude; they usually wear a short, plain kilt . . . . sometimes ornamented with medallions'. So far as the modelling of these figurines is concerned, the author has shown that the eyes are represented by flat pellets of clay, that the nose was formed simply by pinching up the clay, that the nostrils are merely represented by holes, that the ears are never represented except the animal—like ears associated with horns. Regarding the dating of these figurines he has remarked, 'I find it impossible as yet to distinguish with any degree of certainty between the figurines from the upper and lower levels respectively' (p. 270). The illustrated specimens represent human figure (pl. LXXIII, 7, 13, LXXIV, 14, 16, LXXV, 11, 20, LXXVI, 6, 14, 17, 19), human head (pls. LXXIII, 3, LXXIV, 21, LXXVI, 9, 12), human double head (pl. LXXVI, 8), human mask (pls. LXXIV, 22, LXXVI, 1, 2, 4), male figure (pls. LXXII, 3, 7–10, LXXIII, 1, 8, LXXIV, 17, 2, 3, 24, LXXVI, 15, 16, 23, 24), male mask (pls. LXXIV, 25, 26, LXXVI, 3), male bust (pl. LXXVI, 18), male child (pl. LXXVI, 25), female figure (pls. LXXII, 1, LXXIII, 2, 4, 6, 12, LXXIV, 15, LXXV, 2, 4, 5, 6, 8–10, 13, 15–19, 21–23, LXXVI, 7, 10, 11, 20–22), mother and child (pls. LXXII, 2, LXXV, 3, 7, 12, 14, LXXVI, 13), female torso (pl. LXXII, 5, 6), female bust (pl. LXXVI, 5), mother-goddess (pl. LXXV, 1) and crawling child (pl. LXXVIII, 10). So far as the animal figurines are concerned, he has remarked that 'like the human figurines, the animal figures were frequently

coated with a red wash or slip, varying from a light to dark red' (p. 283). The illustrated animal and bird figurines are dove (pls. LXXI, 28, LXXIV, 4, LXXVII, 3, 5, 11, 12, LXXX, 15, 18, 23, 25, 27), fowl or goose (pl. LXXIV, 1), foul or dove (pl. LXXIV, 2), pheasant (ibid., 3), foul (pls. LXXVII, 4, LXXX, 20), dove or cock (pl. LXXVII, 7), crested bunting (ibid., 6), goose or duck (ibid., 10), peacock (pl. LXXX, 22), monkey (pls. LXXI, 27, LXXVIII, 3, 8, 9, LXXX, 1, 2, LXXXI, 18, 19), antelope (pls. LXXVII, 2, LXXX, 4), dog (pls. LXXVII, 17, LXXVIII, 7, LXXIX, 4, 11, 12, 15, LXXX, 9), rhinoceros (pls. LXXVII, 22, LXXIX, 2, 3), bull (pls. LXXVIII, 1, 6, LXXIX, 16, 17, 25–27, 29, 30–32, CXII, 10, 11), horse (pl. LXXVIII, 11), cross-bred animal (pl. LXXI, 26), bull's head (pls. LXXIV, 8, LXXIX, 22, 23, 33), turtle (pls. LXXVII, 21, LXXX, 6), Gaur (pl. LXXVIII, 5), boar (pl. LXXIX, 1), hare (pl. LXXIX, 9, 10), elephant (ibid., 13-14), buffalo (pl. LXXX, 7), ram (ibid., 8, 12), goat (ibid., 11), unidentifiable animal (pls. LXXIV, 13, LXXIX, 7, 8, LXXX, 10, 19, LXXXI, 1, 1*a*, 2, 2*a*, 7–9), Gallus domesticus (pl. LXXIV, 5), unidentifiable figure (ibid., 7, LXXVIII, 12), dog-like animal (pl. LXXVII, 18), female kid (pl. LXXX, 14), head of bird (ibid., 16), dove or pigeon (ibid., 17), unidentifiable bird (ibid., 21, 26, LXXXI, 1[illegible], 17), composite animal (pl. LXXXI, 3, 4, 10, 11, 14) and figure having bird-like head (pl. LXXXI, 5).

24. Majumdar, N. G. ASIAR for 1934-35, pp. 41-42; pl. XVIII, 1, 3; 1937.

(1) Exploration in Bengal.

In course of excavating the mound known as Medh at Gokul in Bogra district in Bengal the author has found a number of terracotta plaques among which some have been illustrated. They represent the fragmentary hand of Vishṇu (pl. XVIII, 1) and a squatting male figure (ibid., 3). All these belong to the late Gupta age.

25. ———— ASIAR for 1935-36, pp. 64-65; pl. XXII, *a–e*, *g–o*; 1938.

(2) Explorations at Lauriya-Nandangarh.

While exploring the ancient mounds at Lauriya-Nandangarh in Champaran district in Bihar the author has discovered a large number of terracotta figurines among which a few have been illustrated. The illustrated specimens represent human child (pl. XXII, *b*), human figure (ibid., 1, *n*), female figure (ibid., *g*, *h*, *i*, *j*, *k*, *m*, *o*), duck (ibid., *c*), and elephant head (ibid., *d*). These examples should be ascribed to the Śuṅga age, i.e., second and first century B.C. on the stylistic consideration. It seems that the author has not described the specimens illustrated in pl. XXII, *i*, *k*, *l* and *n*.

26. ——— ASIAR for 1935-36, pp. 68, 69; pl. XXVIII, 4, 5, 8, 11, 12; 1938.

(3) Excavations at Gokul.

While excavating the mound known as Medh in Gokul in Bogra district in Bengal the author has discovered a number of terracotta plaques bearing human and animal figures among which some have been illustrated. The illustrated specimens which represent human figure (pl. XXVII, 4, 5), head of lion (ibid., 8), boar (ibid., 11) and crocodile or Makara with the rider (ibid., 12) are typically Gupta in style and may be ascribed to the sixth or seventh century A.D. The author in a foot-note informs us that similar terracottas were found by him at Govinda Bhita mound in Mahasthan in Bogra district in Bengal.

27. ——— ASIAR for 1936-37, p. 50; pls. XXII, XXIII, 4–18, XXIV, 7–16; 1940.

(4) Excavations at Lauriya-Nandangarh.

In course of excavation at the mound at Lauriya-Nandangarh in Champaran district in Bihar the author has discovered a large number of terracotta figurines among which some have been described. It is very strange that only a few out of the illustrated specimens have been individually described. Regarding the age of the monument buried under this mound the author has observed that 'there is evidence to show that this structure must have been erected not later than the second century B.C.' The illustrated specimens which have been described are human head (pl. XXII, 9), Lakshmī (pl. XXIV, 11, 16), mother and child (ibid., 14, 15).

28. Nazim, M. ASIAR for 1934; pp. 32-33; pls. X, 15; XI, 7, 14, 19, 25, 29, 31; 1937.

Excavations at Harappa.

In course of excavation at mounds A, B, D and F at Harappa in Montgomery district in the Punjab the author has unearthed a number of terracotta figurines among which he has described and illustrated a few only. These specimens belong to the Indus Valley age. The illustrated examples represent fish (pl. X, 15), model of a tiger (pl. XI, 7), unidentifiable animal-head (ibid., 14), turtle (ibid., 19), female figure (ibid., 25, 31) and male figure (ibid., 29). It is important to note that the above-mentioned terracotta fish (pl. X, 15) 'shows five pictographs on the underside' (p. 32).

29. Puri, K. N. ER, pp. 26–34, pls. XII–XVII, XVIII, 1–3, 6–8, 12; 1942.

Figurines and model animals.

Here the author gives an account of terracotta figurines found at Rairh in Jaipur State. He opines that among the female

figurines found here many represent mother-goddess which has been divided into eleven types. The illustrated specimens are mother-goddess (pls. XII, XIII), Yakshī (pl. XV, *a*, *c*, *g*), Śiva-Pārvatī (pl. XV, *b*. *f*). Śakti with male deity (pl. XV, *d*), elephant-rider (pl. XVI, 1), horse-rider (ibid., 8), nude male figure (pl. XVIII, 2), human figure (ibid., 6–8, 12), elephant (pl. XVI, 2, 3(*a*), (*b*), 5), bull (ibid., 7), camel (ibid., 9), cow with calf (ibid., 1*a*, and *b*, 12), monkey (pl. XVII, *a*, *b*, *d*), ram (ibid., *e*, *h*), tiger (ibid., *g*, *j*), unidentifiable animal (ibid., *c*, *f*), dog (ibid., *k*), dove (ibid., *i*), owl (ibid., 1). It seems that the specimens illustrated in pls. XIV, XV, *e*, XVI, 4, 6, 10, XVII, 1 and 3 have not been described.

30\. Ramachandran, T. N. ASIAR for 1935-36, pp. 118–19; pl. XXXVI, 5–8; 1938.

(1) Indian Museum, Calcutta.

Here the author discusses five terracotta figures which were found near Ghosi in Azamgarh district in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh. The illustrated specimens represent female figure (pl. XXXVI, 5), male figure (ibid., 7) and male head (ibid., 6, 8).

31\. ——— ASIAR for 1936-37, pp. 52–54; pls. XV, *a*, *b*, *d*, *e*; XVI *a–e*, *g*, *h*; 1940.

(2) Excavations at Mahasthan.

In course of excavation at Govindabhita mound in Mahasthan in Bogra district in Bengal the author has discovered a number of plaques among which some have been illustrated. The illustrated specimens represent male head with ushṇīsha (pl. XV, *b*), mithuna (ibid., *d*), Yaksha (ibid., *e*, pl. XVI, *a*), conventional geese (ibid., *b*), Yama (ibid., *c*), dragon and elephant-headed makaras (ibid., *d*, *e*). It seems that the description meant for pl. XV, *b* has been wrongly ascribed to pl. XVI, *g* and that pl. XVI, *h* is undescribed. Regarding the figure illustrated in pl. XV, *a*, the author is of opinion that it may represent Māyā's dream or the second dream of Mārudevī, the mother of the first Tīrthaṅkara, Ṛshabha-deva (p. 54).

32\. S. S. QJMS, XXX, pp. 362-63, pl. facing p. 362; 1939-40.

A note on the terracotta figurines at Pondicherry.

The author illustrates two terracotta figurines (pl. facing p. 362) found at Danatumoder, south of Tirukaji near Pondicherry.

33\. Saraswati, S. K. MR, LIX, pp. 295–97; 1936.

A clay head from Kalinjar (Bogra).

The author describes and illustrates one terracotta male head found at Kalinjar in Bogra district in Bengal. According

to him it should be referred to the Pāla age while Dr. Kramrisch refers it to the fifteenth century A.D.

34. Srivastava, H. L. ASIAR for 1936-37, p. 40; pl. X; 1940.

Excavations at Harappa.

In course of excavation at Harappa in the Montgomery district in the Punjab the author has found a female figurine (pl. XI, *g*) belonging to the Indus Valley age.

35. Sternbach, L. AAIT, pp. 1–26; pls. I–XVII; 1941.

Here an account has been given of some ancient Indian terracottas in the collection of Dr. Eugene Banasinski, Consul-General for Poland in Bombay. Here the terracottas under discussion have been placed under five different groups, viz., those belonging to the Indus Valley, late pre-Maurya, Śuṅga, Kushan, and Gupta ages. Besides some animal terracottas have also been described. The illustrated specimens are female figure (pls. I, 1, 2, III, 7, IV, 8–10, V, 11, 12, IX, 28, XII, 31, XIII, 32, 33, XIV, 34, 35, XV, 36), human head (pls. I, 3, II, 4, 5), male head (pls. V, 13, VI, 14, X, 26, 27, XV, 37), female head (pls. VI, 15, VII, 18, 19, XII, 30), human bust (pl. III, 6), warrior (pl. VI, 16, 17), yaksha (pl. VIII, 20), half-man and half-monkey (ibid., 21), man-monkey (pl. IX, 22, 23), female bust (pl. IX, 24), mother-goddess (pl. X, 25), naṭī (pl. XI, 29), unidentifiable animal (pls. XVI, 38, XVIII, 43), ram (pl. XVI, 39), bull (pl. XVII, 40), bull's head (pl. XVIII, 41, 42).

36. Takacs, Z. de. JISOA, V, pp. 171–6; pl. XIX, 3, 5, 6, 8; 1937.

Kushaṇa art in the Francis Hopp Museum at Budapest and some related art products.

The author has described certain terracotta figurines, among other objects, said to have been found at Mathura. According to the author these belong to the Kushaṇa age. The illustrated specimens represent head and torso of Indo-Parthian figure (pl. XIX, 3), human figure (ibid., 5), half-figure of a man (ibid., 6) and female head (ibid., 8).

37. Vats, M. S. ASIAR for 1935-36, p. 37; pl. XII, *b*, 14; 1938.

(1) Explorations in Khairpur State, Sind.

In course of excavating the Kotasur mound in Khairpur State in Sind the author has discovered a number of toys among which one has been illustrated. (pl. XII, *b*, 14). This is to be ascribed to the Indus Valley age.

38. ——— EH, pp. 292–309, pls. LXXVI, 1–30, LXXVII, 31–69, LXXVIII, 3, 6–17, 21, 22, 26, 27, 31–41, LXXIX, 46–66, 69–73, 75–88; 1940.

(2) Here the author has given an idea of the terracotta figurines found at Harappa in Montgomery district in the Punjab in course of excavation carried out there between 1920-21 and 1933-34. Among the discovered human figurines 'nearly two-thirds of them are female and over one-third male, the latter not being so rarely as at Mohenjo-daro.' The animal figurines which have been found here are great in number. According to him 'Harappa offers a greater variety of animal figures than those yet published from Mohenjo-daro' (p. 300). The illustrated specimens are male figure (pls. LXXVI, 1–21, 27, LXXVII, 66), male (?) head (pl. LXXVI, 22), female figure (pls. LXXVI, 23, 26, 30, LXXVII, 49–53, 55, 61, 62, 64–67), female head (pls. LXXVI, 24, LXXVII, 39–44, 60), human feet (pl. LXXVII, 25), pregnant woman (ibid., 28, 29, LXXVII, 69), mother and child (ibid., 31–33), female bust (ibid., 34–38, 45–48, 54, 56, 57, 63), female torso (ibid., 57), female hand (?) (pl. LXXVII, 59), human figure (ibid., 68). The illustrated bird-specimens are parrot (pl. LXXVIII, 3), sparrow (ibid., 6), unidentifiable bird (ibid., 7), pigeon (ibid., 8, 9), kite (?) (ibid., 10, 11), cock (ibid., 12), hen (ibid., 13), peacock (ibid., 14, 15), duck (ibid., 16), goose (ibid., 17), tortoise (ibid., 21), crocodile (ibid., 22), arimadilo (ibid., 26), grasshopper (ibid., 27), squirrel (ibid., 31–34), monkey (ibid., 35-36), pig (ibid., 37, 38), unidentifiable animal (ibid., 39), goat (ibid., 40), ram (ibid., 41), hare (pl. LXXIX, 46), mastiff (ibid., 47), hound (ibid., 48), dog (ibid., 49–57), cat (ibid., 58), bull (ibid., 59–66), bull's head (ibid., 69–73), rhinoceros (ibid., 75–79), elephant (ibid., 80–82), tiger (ibid., 83–87) and bijugate chimera-head (ibid., 88).

39. Yazdani, G. ADNAR for 1935-36, p. 23; pls. IV, *b*; V, *c*; 1938.

(1) Note on the excavations at Maski in Hyderabad.

While carrying out excavations at Maski in Hyderabad the author has found a number of terracotta figurines among which a few have been illustrated. Regarding the age of these figurines it has been opined that they belong to the period ranging from 500 B.C. to 100 B.C. No illustrated example has been described. The author has opined that 'one figurine representing a woman with long trunk and short legs is very primitive and bears striking resemblance to similar figurines found in Mediterranean countries, particularly at Malta'; but he has not given the reference to this extract.

40. ————ABORI, XXII, pp. 176, 177, 178, 184; pls. VIII–XI, XVIII; 1942.

(2) Excavations at Kondapur.

In course of an address on the first excavations at Kondapur in Medak district in Hyderabad the author has given an idea of the terracotta figurines found there. The illustrated specimens are Bodhisattva or Yaksha or Rājā (pl. VIII, *a–d*), Yaksha (pl. IX), Bodhisattva (pl. X, *a*), human head (ibid., *b*), Kuvera or Yaksha (pls. XI, *a*, *b*), Hāriti with child (ibid., *c*) mother-goddess (?) (ibid., *d*), lion (pl. XVIII, *a*), ram (ibid., *b*), horse (ibid., *c*—the left fig.), bull (ibid., *c*—the right fig.). They are to be ascribed to the period extending from *c.* 200 B.C.–200 A.D.

41. Yusuf, S. IAL, XII, p. 87, pl. VIII, *b*, *c*; 1938.

Paithan excavations.

In course of excavation at Paithan in H.E.H. the Nizam's dominions the author discovered a number of terracotta figurines among which a few have been illustrated. The illustrated spcimens are male bust (pl. VIII, *b*) and human bust (ibid., *c*). According to the opinion of the author 'the workmanship bears striking resemblance to that of the figurine found at Mohenjo-daro, Chanhu-daro, and Maski and other prehistoric sites' (p. 87).

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An Outline of the Stone Age in India.

By S. N. CHAKRAVARTI.

(*Communicated by Dr. Kalidas Nag.*)

The presence of old Stone Age remains in India was first recognized by R. Bruce Foote, who in 1863 had discovered the first palaeolith at Pallavaram, ten miles south-west of Madras, in the debris from a small ballast pit dug in the thin bed of laterite gravel overlying the basal granite gneiss. Foote's recognition of the specimen from Pallavaram as a true palaeolith was fully confirmed later in the same year by the discovery of similar artifacts, made by him in company with William King, at Attirampakkam, about forty miles north-west of Madras, on the banks of the nullah falling into the Korttalaiyar river two miles to the south-east.

From that date onwards palaeolithic implements have been collected in many parts of India from high-level gravel-beds, or older alluvia, of rivers, both in South and North India, and laterite formations of the Coromandel Coast. They have been found, proceeding northwards from Cape Comorin, in the Madura, Tanjore, and Trichinopoly districts of the Madras Presidency; in the Mysore State; in the Bellary, Cuddapah, North Arcot, Chingleput (e.g., at Pallavaram, Attirampakkam, and Vadamadurai), Nellore, Kurnool (e.g., at Giddalore), and Kistna districts of the Madras Presidency; in the Hyderabad State (e.g., in the Upper Godavari valley at Mungi); in the Dharwar, Bijapur, and Belgaum districts of the Bombay Presidency; at Kandivli, near Bombay; in the Baroda State (e.g., in a section of the right bank of the Sabarmati river opposite the village of Sadolia on the left bank); in the Narbada valley of Central India (e.g., at Bhutra and other localities between Narsinghpur and Hoshangabad in the Central Provinces); in the Saugor and Damoh districts of the Central Provinces; in the Rewah State and Bundelkhand Agency of Central India; in Rajputana; in the Punjab (e.g., in the Soan valley and on the banks of the Indus river from Attock to the junction with the Soan); in Jammu and Punch States; and in Chota Nagpur, Bihar, and Orissa. In 1865 A. B. Wynne discovered an agate flake at Mungi, near Paithan, in Hyderabad, and in 1873 C. Hacket found a handaxe at Bhutra in the Narsinghpur district. Both artifacts were found, embedded in gravels, in association with fossil mammal remains.

But no serious attempt was made to study old Stone Age remains in India on a geological basis until quite recently. Today, as a result of the Yale-Cambridge India Expedition, led in 1935 by H. de Terra in association with T. T. Paterson and P. Teilhard de Chardin, a geological foundation for the study of

Indian prehistory has been laid. The Himalayan Ice Age was studied in south-west Kashmir to understand the Pleistocene stratigraphy of the plains of the Punjab, and a correlation between Himalayan glaciations in the Sind and Liddar valleys and artifact-bearing Pleistocene deposits in the Potwar region was worked out to reach the relationship between Pleistocene geology and prehistory.

Of the studies on the Himalayan Ice Age by early geologists, G. Dainelli's are more intensive. He records four main glaciations, separated from one another by three interglacial stages, in the north-west Himalayas recognized by their moraines. The glacial sequence is as follows: (1) First glaciation. (2) First interglacial stage. (3) Second glaciation. (4) Second interglacial stage. (5) Third glaciation. (6) Third interglacial stage. (7) Fourth glaciation.

Nearly half the area of the valley of Kashmir is occupied by Pleistocene deposits, which are found as low, flat mounds bordering the slopes of the mountains on all sides. These deposits, known as *Karewas* in the Kashmiri language, are composed of boulder gravels and fine sands and clays, which occur in an alternating succession. The Karewas are supposed to be the surviving remnants of deposits of a lake which intermittently came into existence during the warm interglacial periods of melting ice and filled the whole valley. The first glacial deposit is the conglomerate overlying the Mangom moraine, the lowest and earliest undoubted morainic deposit composed of large blocks, derived from trap and limestone, and scree-like small chips in a yellow clay matrix. The conglomerate is characterized by small, coarsely rounded pebbles of limestone, quartzite, slaty rocks, and grits cemented by hard calcareous matter. The first interglacial period, succeeding the deposition of the 'cemented conglomerate', saw the inundation of the Kashmir valley by a lake in which were deposited fine sands and clays, forming the lower Karewa beds. The boulder gravels of second glacial time and the early second interglacial sediments form the upper Karewa beds. The great part of the early second interglacial deposit was eroded during the late second interglacial period, producing a terrace, T1. T2 is of third glacial age; the third terminal moraines are in a fresh state of preservation, which distinguishes them clearly from older glacial deposits. Brown loam and gravel cover the second terrace, which is presumably of fluvio-eolian origin. T3, of third interglacial age, was produced by erosion. Brown loam and gravel also cover the third terrace. But the eolian deposits in this terrace are less than those of the preceding glacial stage. T4, of fourth glacial age, is composed of a thin bed of boulder gravels.

Dainelli tentatively correlates the glacial cycle in the Himalayas with that of the Alps; the first glaciation in the Himalayas is correlated with the Mindel advance in the Alps, the

second with the Riss, the third with the Würm, and the fourth with the post-Würm I. Today, however, as a result of de Terra's studies it is necessary to assign an older age to Dainelli's glacial sequences. In other words, the lower Pleistocene in Kashmir corresponds to the first glacial and interglacial stages, the middle to the second major glaciation and the following long interglacial stage, and the upper to the third and fourth glaciations and the third interglacial stage. According to Dainelli the lower Karewa beds represent the first, or Mindel-Riss, interglacial stage. This means that the beds are of middle Pleistocene age. De Terra's studies show that the beds, as they lie between the first terminal moraines and the second glacial deposits, must belong to the first interglacial stage, but that they are to be assigned to the lower Pleistocene age, because in the lower Karewa beds at Sombur occur the *Elephas* cf. *hysudricus*, a primitive elephant that lived during the earliest part of the Pleistocene period. Again, in de Terra's opinion the fourth glaciation in the Himalayas should not be regarded as a post-Pleistocene stage, because its terminal moraines are succeeded by at least two smaller oscillations recalling the Bühl and Geschnitz advances in the Alps.

From this brief survey of the Pleistocene glacial sequence of the north-west Himalayas we pass on to the Pleistocene geology and prehistory of the Potwar region, an elevated plain lying on the one hand between the foothills of the Kashmir Himalayas and the Salt Range and on the other between the Indus and Jhelum rivers.

The upper Tertiary and lower Pleistocene rocks in the extra-Peninsula, forming the low, outermost hills of the Himalayas from the Indus to the Brahmaputra, are known as the Siwalik system, because they form the Siwalik hills near Hardwar where they were first recognized and in which the first palaeontological records were collected.

The origin of the Siwalik system is ascribed by E. H. Pascoe and G. E. Pilgrim to the flood-plain deposits of a great north-west-flowing river, lying south of and parallel with the Himalayan chain from Assam to the Punjab and flowing southwards into the gradually receding Miocene sea of Sind and the Punjab. This river has been named the 'Siwalik' by Pilgrim and the 'Indo-Brahm' by Pascoe, because it carried at one time the combined discharge of the Brahmaputra, Ganges, and Indus. According to de Terra, however, the Siwalik deposits are the local precipitates of an antecedent slope drainage and not derived from the hypothetical Indo-Brahm river.

The Siwalik hills have yielded fossil remains of a remarkably varied and abundant vertebrate fauna in which the class *Mammalia* preponderate. The first collections were made in the Siwalik hills near Hardwar in the early thirties of the last century. Later, additions were made by discoveries in the other Himalayan

foothills. But it is through Pilgrim's discoveries in the Potwar and Kangra areas in the present century that the homogeneity of the fauna over the whole Siwalik province has been established and a revised correlation of the system has been made.

Of special interest is the discovery of about eleven genera of fossil anthropoid apes in the Siwalik mammal fauna. Since the discovery of the first fossil anthropoid ape in 1836 by H. Falconer and E. Cautley many a scholar thought that the uplift of the Himalayas, which set in during the Tertiary era,[1] determined the evolution of the Siwalik anthropoids.

Now, those forms of the organisms which are most closely related to man are to be found, as all authorities now agree, in the anthropoid group. Hence, if the origin of man be looked upon as the result of evolution rather than of special creation it is to be assumed, especially on the evidence from the dentition, that the Siwalik anthropoids were at least structurally ancestors to the human group.

But in the light of geological investigations carried out by de Terra it appears that the uplift of the Himalayas and the evolution of the Siwalik anthropoids did not coincide. The greatest abundance of the anthropoids of the Siwalik fauna occurred long after the middle Tertiary mountain-making and prior to the Pleistocene uplifts. But no sure traces of anthropoids of the lower Pleistocene period are known, whereas the first records of man appear during the middle Pleistocene; the Siwalik fauna became extinct both by dying out of forms and migration to other regions, such as the Narbada valley of Central India, during the second glaciation.

On palaeontological grounds the Siwalik system is divided into upper, middle, and lower. The upper Siwalik embraces the Boulder conglomerate, Pinjor, and Tatrot stages; the middle the Dhok Pathan and Nagri stages; and the lower the Chinji and Kamlial stages. De Terra has correlated the upper Siwalik stages of the Punjab with the moraines of successive glaciations in the Sind and Liddar valleys of Kashmir.

We now come to the dating of the various stages of the Siwalik system on the basis of palaeontological records. Here,

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[1] The Tertiary era is the most important in the physical history of India. It was during this era that two profound physical changes set in, which materially altered the old geography of the Indian region. They are the submergence of the Mesozoic *Lemuria* (the name given to the Indo-Madagascar continent) and the upheaval of the deposits of the sea (the great Tethys of geologists) spreading over an immense tract, now forming the northern zone of the Himalayas, North India, Tibet, and a great part of China. As a result of the foundering of Lemuria (the land-bridge between India and Africa) and the growth of the Himalayas the present configuration of the country was outlined. The evidence of an Indo-African land connection is afforded by the unmistakable affinities between the living lower vertebrate fauna of India and that of Central Africa.

we are mainly concerned with the Pliocene and Pleistocene divisions of geological time. But opinion among geologists and palaeontologists differs as to the definition of the Pliocene-Pleistocene boundary. Pilgrim regards the Tatrot and Pinjor stages as of Pliocene age, and refers the Boulder conglomerate stage to the lower Pleistocene. W. D. Mathew and E. H. Colbert consider the upper Siwalik stages as of Pleistocene, 'very probably of lower Pleistocene age'. De Terra, following E. Haug's definition of the Pleistocene period which states that it is the period marked by the appearance for the first time of true elephants, true horses, and true oxen, considers the lower and middle Siwaliks as mainly of Pliocene age, and refers the Tatrot stage to the first glacial, the Pinjor to the first interglacial, and the Boulder conglomerate to the second glacial age. The mammal fauna of the Tatrot stage is poorer than that of the overlying Dhok Pathan and underlying Pinjor stages. Again, in the Tatrot stage occur elephants, pigs, and bovids, which are more easily adapted to climatic changes than the Rhinocerotidae or anthropoid apes. Distinct fossil remains of the latter are not found in the Tatrot stage. Again, most of the fossil remains of *Hippopotamus*, a climatically specialized type, are found in Pinjor beds rather than in basal Pleistocene strata. Thus in Tatrot time conditions were less favourable for land mammals due to the first glaciation. The fauna of the Pinjor stage is more or less similar to, but greater in number than, that of the Tatrot stage. In the Boulder conglomerate stage, in which the fauna is very poor compared with that of the underlying Pinjor stage, occur *Equus namadicus* and *Bubalus palaeindicus*, which are found in the middle Pleistocene of the Narbada valley of Central India.

In the Punjab, in second interglacial time, the Boulder conglomerate rock was eroded, leaving a terrace, T1. The surface of T1 is covered with redistributed Boulder conglomerate, which in places became cemented together. T2, of third glacial age, is composed of a conglomerate capped by a mantle of yellow and pinkish silt. This silt is the 'loess' of earlier writers and the 'Potwar loessic silt' of de Terra. T3 was produced by erosion during third interglacial time. It has a basal gravel covered by redeposited Potwar. T4, of fourth glacial time, is composed of gravel, and T5 is later than fourth glacial age.

The two important areas in north-west India where the Yale-Cambridge India Expedition of 1935 made extensive collections of palaeolithic implements in association with datable Pleistocene deposits are the Soan valley and the Indus river from Attock to the junction with the Soan.

The earliest tools, which come from the upper portion of the Boulder conglomerate at Chaomukh, Kallar, Adial, Jammu, and Malakpur, comprise large crude flakes of quartzite and slate. They are rolled, which suggests that they were made during the deposition of conglomerate. The upper surface is usually unflaked

save for one or two small irregular scars. The edges are often battered, either by use or by natural agency. These large crude flake tools of second glacial age have resemblances to the Cromerian of Europe.

At Khushalgarh, Makhad, and Injra on the Indus and at Gariala which is south-east of Attock at the outlet of the Haro river into the Indus, well-patinated pebble and flake tools, worn and fresh, were found on the surface of T1. Now, tools patinated like those from the surface of T1 and boulders were found in a rolled condition in the gravels of T2. Therefore, the tools from the surface of T1 appear to be earlier than those found in the gravels of T2. Hence, T1 is of second interglacial age and T2 of the third glacial.

The tools from the Indus region form a distinct group, and are termed the 'early Soan' by Paterson in contrast to the industry found widespread along the Soan valley to which the same 'Soan industry' has been given by de Terra and which Paterson called the 'late Soan'. The early Soan industry is divided into three groups, termed A, B and C, based on patination and state of wear. The tools of Group A are heavily patinated, deep brown or purple, and much worn. The tools of Group B are as patinated as those of Group A, but they are unworn. The tools of Group C are less patinated and fairly fresh.

The pebble tools, which are all made from thoroughly rounded, water-worn pebbles and small boulders, are of two types. The flat-based specimens are portions of pebbles, one side flat or nearly so, produced artificially or by natural agency. From the flat face flakes were struck off steeply towards the upper rounded surface, resulting in a strong working edge which is usually convex and sometimes straight but never concave. The working edge may be all around the pebble or only partly around. In the case of rounded-pebble tools the flakes were struck off from the original pebble surface and not from flake surface. The pebble tools, circular, boat-shaped, or oval, become finer in the later stages.

The flake tools, which are made of quartzite and trap, are at first Clactonian-like in appearance but have resemblances to the proto-Levalloisian forms in the later stages.

The early Soan A tools include pebbles only. The early Soan B and C tools comprise both pebbles and flakes. The flakes in Group B resemble the Calctonian forms, while those in Group C are of proto-Levalloisian forms.

Of the same second interglacial age are rolled tools, comprising handaxes, cores, and flakes, found in gravels of the third glacial age. The handaxes are of Abbevillian and early, middle, and late Acheulean types. The Abbevillian handaxes are more rolled than the early Acheulean. The middle Acheulean handaxes have been found in a gravel which is correlated with that on the terrace T1. They are slightly rolled. But unworn examples

occur at a site on the Soan, which was discovered in 1937 by E. S. Pinfold.

The late Soan industry is of third glacial age. In it flake tools and cores are more dominant than pebble tools. It is divided into two groups. In the earlier, A, the flakes and cores are of early Levalloisian forms, while in later, B, the flakes and cores have resemblances to the late Levalloisian forms.

In third interglacial time erosion was widespread, which led to the redeposition of all earlier industries in T3. At Chauntra de Terra and Teilhard found in a gravel that may be of third interglacial age an assemblage of tools. The tools comprise one or two very worn Abbevillian handaxes and one or two large flakes resembling those from the Boulder conglomerate; less worn early and middle Acheulean handaxes; and fresh, late Acheulean handaxes and late Soan flakes and cores.

At Dhok Pathan on a high terrace has been found a series of pebble tools and flakes. This series may be of fourth glacial age, judging from typology and state of preservation. Another site, a few miles from Dhok Pathan, yielding similar tools is Pindi Gheb. This site was discovered in 1930 by K. R. U. Todd.

In the Narbada valley between Hoshangabad and Narsinghpur de Terra and Teilhard carried out investigations. Here W. Theobald had studied the stratigraphy of the ancient alluvial deposits. At his time the deposits were considered of Pliocene age. Hacket had discovered a handaxe, embedded in the reddish clay of the upper group, in association with fossil vertebrate remains, and several finds of flake stones were made in the surface deposits. Theobald had mentioned a human cranium, supposed to have come from the conglomerate bone bed of the lower group. He listed it as *Homo sapiens*, which strongly suggests that it was collected from the surface deposits in which de Terra and Teilhard found protoneolithic tools. R. D. Oldham had pointed out that beneath the lower group lay laterite gravel and laterite soil. Pilgrim had proved that the beds were of Pleistocene age. De Terra and Teilhard established the association of early palaeolithic tools with a middle Pleistocene type of fauna, and suggested a correlation between the Narbada sequence and the Punjab Pleistocene.

The ancient alluvium of the Narbada is composed of three sedimentary phases, the lower and upper groups and the cotton soil or regur. In addition, beneath the lower group lies a thick deposit of laterite capped by a thin laterite gravel. The lower group begins with a coarse cemented conglomerate of gravels and sands, ranging in thickness between 3 and 11 feet. De Terra and Teilhard collected and chiseled out from the conglomerate large flakes, resembling the pre-Soan artifacts of north-west India, handaxes of Abbevillian, early Acheulean, and middle Acheulean types, and cores, most of which were heavily

rolled. They collected also fossil remains of *Hexaprotodon namadicus* and *Bos sp.* from the very base of the lower group. Conformable on the conglomerate is a red silty clay with lime concretions, measuring 25 to 32 feet in thickness. From the red clay de Terra and Teilhard collected unrolled Clactonian flakes and late Acheulean handaxes. In view of the fact that the lower Narbada group contains heavily rolled Abbevillian and fresh late Acheulean handaxes, which appear in the Punjab connected with the stages younger than the Boulder conglomerate, de Terra and Teilhard are inclined to equate the lower Narbada group with T1-T2 in the Punjab.

The fossil vertebrate fauna collected by de Terra and Teilhard from the base of the upper Narbada group includes *Elephas namadicus*, *Equus namadicus*, *Hexaprotodon namadicus*, *Bos namadicus*, *Bubalus palaeindicus*, *Sus sp.*, *Trionyx sp.*, and *Emys sp.* To this list may be added the following types of the vertebrate fauna from earlier collections preserved in the Indian Museum of Calcutta. They are *Ursus namadicus*, *Leptobos frazeri*, *Cervus duvancelli*, *Rhinoceros unicornis*, *Stegodon insignis*, *Stegodon ganesa*, *Hippopotamus palaeindicus*, *Pangsura tectus Bell* and other Reptilia.

The fauna of the upper group is of middle Pleistocene type, except for *Leptobos* and *Stegodon* which occur in the Pinjor zone of the upper Siwalik series and hence are of lower Pleistocene age. But according to Teilhard, who critically examined these specimens in Calcutta, the *Leptobos* may well be a damaged skull of *Bos*, and the tusks or fragments of *Stegodon* are too imperfect to allow even generic specifications.

Thus it may be stated that the fossil fauna of the upper group is similar to that of the lower group and that both groups carry middle Pleistocene mammal remains.

The basal gravels and sands of the upper group are less cemented and less coarse than those of the lower group. Above this bed, which measures 15 to 30 feet thick, lies a clay bed of 30 to 70 feet thick. The clay is less red, poorer in concretions, and more silty compared with the older clay. In both gravels and pink clays occur flakes and cores of late Soan type, rolled and otherwise. Rolled early Acheulean handaxes are found in the basal gravels and sands and not in pink clays, which shows that they were redeposited from the lower group. The upper Narbada group may be correlated with T3-T4 in the Punjab.

Above the clay of the upper group is a soft bed of gravels and sands in which de Terra and Teilhard collected small blades and scrapers. These tools are made of flint or jasper and not of trap or quartzite from which the tools of the upper and lower groups were made. No handaxes or large cores were found. The small blades and scrapers show a total change both in technique and in material, and hence may be regarded as representing a

protoneolithic industry. The alluvium of the regur or cotton soil may be equated with T5 in the Punjab.

Paterson studied the terrace geology and archaeology of the region near Madras. In 1930 L. A. Cammiade and M. C. Burkitt had classified the old Stone Age artifacts of south-east India, collected by Cammiade, into four series belonging to four distinct cultures of early paleolithic to protoneolithic times, determined on stratigraphical and typological grounds, and also judging by their state of preservation. The earliest industries comprise handaxes of quartzite. They are rolled, but not heavily. One type, represented at Chodavaram and in the Bhavanasi gravels, recalls the rostrocarinate. It is the type of tool which was first recognized at Victoria West in South Africa. Next are flake industries. Industries of the third series, best found in sites at the eastern and western end of the Nandi-Kanama Pass, comprise blades, burins, planing tools, and end scrapers. Lastly, microlithic industries occur, pigmy tools being dominant. They are found on the surface of the ground near the Godavari river. The pigmy tools recall those of the Wilton culture of South Africa. According to Cammiade, who recognized a series of oscillations from pluvial to interpluvial in the climate of south-east India by observations made at a number of sites, the industries of the first series from pebble beds are associated with a long dry period following a long damp period which was marked by the formation of laterite on the east coast of India between the rivers Kistna and Palar, and those of the second series from red clay with the second dry period following a period of violent rain which led to the formation of detrital beds. The third wet period differs from periods 1 and 2 in that neither laterite was formed nor the rain-wash was violent. Lastly, a period of less rainfall was followed by a period of denudation. Industries of the third and fourth series are associated with these periods. The series 3 industries occur on the surface of red clay overlain by red sandy soil.

Paterson recognized four terrace surfaces, designated TD, Tl, T2, and T3, in the Korttalaiyar valley. On the gneissic surface, an old marine platform of pre-Pleistocene age, lies the white boulder conglomerate, a fluvatile deposit which is probably of middle Pleistocene age. The overlying detrital laterite forms surface TD. The laterite was eroded, producing Tl which was mantled by some little deposits of boulder gravels and sands. This was followed by erosion to T2 on which thicker gravels were deposited and then covered by silts and sands. T3 was cut into these and forms a small terrace alluvium.

At Vadamadurai, in a tank dug up, palaeolithic implements comprising handaxes, cores, and flakes were discovered by Paterson. They are divided into three groups. The implements of the first group, heavily patinated and most of them rolled, are of pre-laterite age; they have been found in the white boulder

conglomerate. The second group has been found in the laterite on top of the conglomerate. The implements of the first group show a very deep whitish crust in consonance with the colour of the boulder conglomerate pebbles, while those of the second group are stained red through contact with the laterite gravel. The third group, the implements of which have no laterite staining and little patination, belongs to the gravels of T1.

The first group is divided into an early and a late series on grounds of patination and typology. The handaxes, cores, and flakes of the early series are heavily patinated. The handaxes are of Abbevillian type. They are very crude and irregular in outline. The cores, mostly oblong or circular, show rough, irregular flaking. The flakes have primary flaking of a very primitive type on the upper surface. The implements of the late series are less heavily patinated. The handaxes are of early Acheulean type, and show the beginnings of a step flaking technique. They are slightly more regular in form. The cores, mostly discoidal, show fairly regular alternate flaking. The flakes have more primary flaking than in the previous stage.

The handaxes of the second group resemble the middle Acheulean. They have considerably more step flaking. They are much more regular in form, and the common forms are pear-shaped and ovate. The cores, mainly discoidal, have more regular flaking. The flakes show primary flaking covering the upper surface.

The handaxes of the third group are of late Acheulean type. There are two forms, one comprising ovates with step flaking and the other consisting of long pointed forms with free flaking. The cores are discoidal. There is also a flat type of core, oblong, oval, or square, with a platform at one or both ends for removing flakes from one surface. The flakes show no faceting on the platform. They are thin, and a few show retouch for use, probably, as side scrapers.

Late Acheulean handaxes, cores, and flakes, similar to those of the third group from Vadamadurai Tank have been found at Giddalore in the Kurnool district. At Attirampakkam, near Madras, have been found late Acheulean handaxes and cleavers, several of them being in place in the basal laterite gravel of T2. A few rolled specimens correspond typologically to the implements of the first two groups from Vadamadurai Tank. But the very great majority are unrolled, and they are probably to be assigned to the age of the third Vadamadurai group.

Quite recently, in 1942, an expedition sponsored by the Archaeological Survey of India and the Gujarat Research Society explored the Sabarmati, Orsang,[1] and Narbada valleys. H. D. Sankalia of the Deccan College Post-Graduate and Research Institute, A. S. Gadre of the Archaeological Department of the

[1] A tributary of the Narbada.

Baroda State, B. K. Chatterji, and V. D. Krishnaswami participated in this expedition. A short article entitled 'In search of Early Man along the Sabarmati', embodying the results of the expedition, has been written and published by Sankalia,[1] the leader of the expedition. But in the said article the geological and archaeological results of the expedition have not been properly dealt with. In the Sabarmati valley, as the writer understands, Chatterji and Krishnaswami collected and chiseled out quartzite handaxes from conglomerate overlying a solid granite bed. They collected also microliths, made of flint or jasper, from cotton soil. But in the upper layers of the cotton soil microliths were associated with potsherds, whereas in the lower layers pottery was entirely absent. The discoveries made in the Sabarmati valley appear to be in consonance with that we expect; the geological, palaeontological, and archaeological history of Pleistocene time not only in the Sabarmati valley but also in the Godavari, Jamuna, and Ganges valleys must agree with that in the Narbada valley. As in the Narbada valley, in the Godavari valley and in the valleys of the Jamuna and Ganges a middle Pleistocene type of fauna has been found. Skulls and bones of *Elephas namadicus*, bovine bones, a jaw of hippopotamus, and a single tooth of *Equus namadicus* have been found in the Godavari valley, and in the valleys of the Jamuna and Ganges near Allahabad occur the following: *Semnopithecus sp.*, *Elephas namadicus*, *Mus sp.*, *Hippopotamus palaeindicus*, *Equus sp.*, *Sus sp.*, *Cervus sp.*, *Bubalus palaeindicus*, *Bos namadicus*, and *Antilope sp.* In the Sabarmati valley, however, fossil remains of middle Pleistocene mammals remain yet to be found.

From the preceding facts we may conclude as follows: (1) The earliest industry in north-west India is represented by pre-Soan flakes of Cromerian type. It is of second glacial age. (2) The earliest industry in south-east India comprises handaxes of Abbevillian type. (3) In the Narbada valley the earliest tools, found in association with a middle Pleistocene type of fauna, are Abbevillian handaxes and pre-Soan flakes. (4) In north-west India the second interglacial industries comprise Abbevillian and early Acheulean handaxes and early Soan flakes of Clactonian and proto-Levalloisian forms. Of third glacial age are late Soan's flakes of Levalloisian type. (5) The handaxes found in north-west India and the Narbada valley typologically resemble the handaxe technique of south-east India. (6) Thus it seems very probable that the handaxe peoples came from south-east India to the Narbada valley and north-west India.

Now, de Terra says: 'This race' (the handaxe peoples of south-east India) 'also may have brought to the north a special tradition of tool manufacture to which I have given the name

[1] *Journal of the Gujarat Research Society*, Vol. V, April 1943, No. 2, pp. 75–86.

Soan culture.' But the writer objects to this statement, for the Soanian clearly belongs to the flake group. Oswald Menghin has put forth the theory that there were three belts of palaeolithic, or, as he prefers to say, protolithic, civilization in the Old World: in the north bone culture, in the centre flake culture, and in the south handaxe culture. Switzerland, Austria, Germany, and Czechoslovakia, where sites of bone culture have been uncovered, belong to the northern part of the Old World; Russia and the central portion of Asia to the middle part; and Africa and India to the southern part. Menghin is inclined to locate the original home of the flake culture somewhere in China or Turkestan and that of the handaxe culture in Africa. Regarding the question of the cradle of the flake culture the writer would bring north-west India within the central belt of the Old World, and suggest that the Caucasus and north-west India were the two earliest centres of the flake culture. This is because civilization began in the Near East not only in Mesopotamia and Egypt but also, and probably earlier, in north-west India and the Caucasus.[1]

As mentioned above, pigmy tools representing a protoneolithic industry occur in the Sabarmati, Narbada, and Godavari valleys. Such tools were also found in the alluvial basin of the Orsang river by Bruce Foote, in the Vindhya region, in the caves of Padan near Bombay, and in a rock shelter situated in the valley known as Dorothy Deep about two miles W.N.W. of Pachmarhi in the Mahadeo hills.[2] To the protoneolithic industry belong also the implements found at Sukkur and Rohri on the Lower Indus in Upper Sind. On the limestone hills in both localities de Terra found conical cores and very thin long blades of flint which, to judge from typology and the state of preservation, resemble those of Mohenjodaro. But at Sukkur and Rohri the implements were not found associated with pottery and metal. This suggests that the industries of Sukkur and Rohri are earlier than the industry of Mohenjodaro. Also, from a geological angle the greater antiquity of the industries of Sukkur and Rohri seems clear. Ancient soils of 'terra rossa' type occur on the limestone hills of Sukkur and Rohri. They are buried on the hill slopes under ancient Indus silt. In both red soils and silt occur flint cores and blades. Now, it is at a time of greater rainfall and not under present arid conditions that

[1] For the Caucasus as one of the earliest centres of civilization see my 'The Origins of Civilization in Egypt' in the *Journal of the University of Bombay*, Vol. XII, Part I, July, 1943.

[2] In the Dorothy Deep rock-shelter No. 1, G. R. Hunter excavated microliths only from the lower layers and microliths associated with pottery from the upper layers. He excavated also a skeleton in association with microliths from the lower layers. Pottery was entirely absent not merely at the level of the skeleton, 18″–21″, but for a further 10″ above it. The surface soil down to 6″ yielded pottery in abundance.

red soils form. The Indus valley civilization flourished also at a time of greater rainfall. But the formation of red soils on the limestone hills and the construction of Mohenjodaro do not appear to have belonged to the same climatic phase. A higher Indus level at Sukkur, as attested by the silt on the hill slopes, necessitated also a higher flood plain at Mohenjodaro. But the flood plain at Mohenjodaro was not higher. The discovery of the ruins of Mohenjodaro nearly thirty feet below the present valley flat indicates a geological interval between the formation of the ancient silt and the construction of Mohenjodaro, during which the river deepened its channel. Hence we are inclined to adopt the view that the first Indian urban civilization represented at Mohenjodaro, Harappa, Chanhudaro, and other chalcolithic sites on the Indus evolved out of the protoneolithic culture represented at Sukkur and Rohri.

We now pass on to the new Stone Age in India. In 1861 H. P. Le Mesurier drew attention to certain ground and polished stone implements, which he in 1860 had found in the valley of the East Tons river in the United Provinces. In 1862 W. Theobald collected similar artifacts from the Banda district of the United Provinces. These stone implements are neoliths. But they were not recognized as such then. About 1866 numerous flint cores and flakes were discovered on the hills near Sukkur and Rohri in Upper Sind and from the bed of the Indus nearby. W. T. Blandford considered the cores 'by far the most carefully formed of any hitherto found in India'. Further, he suggested that the core-makers were different from the flake-makers, the latter representing a more advanced civilization. Blandford apparently regarded the implements of Sukkur and Rohri different from those of the Tons valley and Banda. In this, as we have seen above, he was right. The first discovery of neolithic implements, recognized as such, was made by W. Fraser about 1872 on the North and Peacock hills in the Bellary district of the Madras Presidency. Later, Bruce Foote made large finds of such artifacts in this district. He collected also neolithic implements from numerous sites in the northern part of the Anantapur district of the Madras Presidency. In 1876 F. Fedden picked up a flint scraper at Jhirak in Lower Sind, and in 1879 J. Cockburn described neoliths collected from the Khasi hills in Assam, the Banda district, and the Vellore taluq in the North Arcot district of the Madras Presidency. In 1879 W. Theobald picked up a celt of limestone with pointed butt and rounded edge from the bank of the Indus river near Attock. It is the first specimen of its kind to be discovered in the Punjab. W. H. P. Driver in 1887 discovered a neolithic settlement near Ranchi. Among the stone implements found by him we can recognize celts, arrow-heads, discs, polishers, and grinders. Since then neolithic implements have been collected from other districts in Chota Nagpur; C. W. Anderson in 1915 made in the valleys of

the Sanjai and Binjai rivers in Singhbhum an interesting collection of implements representing late palaeolithic and neolithic industries. Neoliths have been collected also from the Salem (e.g., on the Sheveroy hills) and Guntur (e.g., at Amaravati) districts of the Madras Presidency, from Gujarat (e.g., in the Sabarmati valley), and from the Central Provinces and the Assam Province. In the Tezpur district in Assam was found a shouldered celt of the Burmese type. A similar implement was found also in Dalbhum (Chota Nagpur) by V. Ball. The neolithic celts from the Central Provinces are similar to those from the United Provinces.

We shall now mention the neolithic discoveries made by the Yale-Cambridge India Expedition of 1935. In the central Salt Range, near Uchali and south-east of Rawalpindi, de Terra found human burials in postglacial loessic soil. The burials yielded skulls of *Homo Sapiens* of dolichocephalic type and handmade pottery. No stone implements were found. But at Uchali, west of Naushahra, a burial containing handmade pottery was found associated with implement-bearing layers. The implements comprised flakes and cores reminiscent of palaeolithic technique. Similar flakes and cores were found by Chr. and J. Hawkes in a postglacial terrace on the Jhelum river near Pampur. Both de Terra and Paterson made also similar finds associated with potsherds in alluvial deposits on the banks of the Jhelum as well as in lake-terrace sites of neolithic age. The megalithic site of Burzahom, between Srinagar and Gandarbal, yielded flakes and cores which are presumably waste products of hoes, pestles, and polished celts found at depths ranging from 2 to 10 feet. At Burzahom a trial excavation made by de Terra disclosed three culture layers. The uppermost layer (A) represented a Buddhist site of the fourth century A.D. Below it was a layer (B) with highly polished black ware and potsherds with incised geometric designs. This culture layer no doubt belongs to the last phase of the Indus valley civilization known as the Jhangar stage from the site of Jhangar, near Lake Manchar, in Sind where it is best represented. At seven feet from the terrace surface occurred charcoal, polished celts, bone awls, and cooking pots in postglacial loessic soil. Paterson uncovered also a similar 'kitchen' settlement at Nunar, above Gandarbal, also at seven feet below the terrace surface.

It would seem from the preceding that the neolithians of India were principally tool-makers and hence culturally inferior to the neolithic Egyptians who knew, in addition to tool-making, agriculture, domestication of animals, manufacture of pottery, and textile industry. Yet, India possessed a civilization fully equal to that of Egypt or Mesopotamia about 3400 B.C. The foreign derivation of the first Indian urban civilization at Mohenjodaro cannot be stressed in view of its connection with the protoneolithic culture at Sukkur and Rohri. Besides, going

Period.			N.W. India.	C. India.	S.E. India.
HOLOCENE.	Postglacial stage.	Chalcolithic.	Mohenjodaro.		
			Amri.		
		Neolithic.	Kitchen settlement of Burzahom and burial of Uchali.		
		Protoneolithic.	Industries of Sukkur and Rohri.	Microliths from cotton soil.	Microliths of the Godavari valley and the Nandi-Kanama Pass.
UPPER PLEISTOCENE.	Fourth glaciation.	Upper palaeolithic.	Industries of Dhok Pathan and Pindi Gheb.	Flakes and cores of late Soan type from upper gravels.	Blades and burins of the Nandi-Kanama Pass.
	Third inter-glacial stage.		Late Soan industry.		
	Third glaciation.				
MIDDLE PLEISTOCENE	Second inter-glacial stage.	Lower to middle palaeolithic.	Abbevillio-Acheulean and early Soan industries.	Pre-Soan and Abbevillio-Acheulean industries from lower gravels.	Handaxes of late Acheulean type, cores, and flakes of post-laterite age.
	Second glaciation		Pre-Soan flake industry from top of the Upper Siwalik Boulder conglomerate.		Handaxes of middle Acheulean type, cores, and flakes of laterite age. Handaxes of Abbevillian and early Acheulean types, cores, and flakes of pre-laterite age from white boulder conglomerate.

backwards from 3400 B.C. a correlation of the civilizations of the Indus and Tigris-Euphrates valleys can be made out. The Mohenjodaro period corresponds to the early dynastic period of Mesopotamia, and the Amri to the Jemdet Nasr. Stages corresponding to the Uruk and al'Ubaid phases of Mesopotamian civilization remain yet to be found in India. If systematic explorations were undertaken in the Indus valley and its border lands, as in the Nile and Tigris-Euphrates valleys, no doubt our extremely meagre knowledge of the neolithic period in India could be enlarged and the gaps between the chalcolithic and neolithic periods filled up. During 1929-30 and 1930-31 a survey of Sind was carried out by N. G. Majumdar. In course of this Majumdar discovered the Amri phase of the Indus valley civilization. In October 1939 he began further exploration in Sind. But he was killed in November of that year while on exploration duty on the Sind frontier. So far no account of this exploration has been published by the Archaeological Survey of India. It is true that the preparation of such an account will involve many a difficulty. But it is worth making an attempt at it in view of the possibility of obtaining new information on the beginnings of civilization in India.

The Stone Age cultures, belonging to the middle Pleistocene and the early part of recent times, in north-west and peninsular India and the Narbada valley of Central India are summarized in the foregoing table.

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Note.—In 1940 the Anthropology Department of the Calcutta University in collaboration with the Archaeology Department of Mayurbhanj State carried out excavations in the neighbourhood of Kuliana where some palaeoliths had been discovered in 1939 in the bed of tanks dug by the State Public Works Department. The country rock is Archaean in age and the detrital laterite in which the stone implements are found embedded are derived from these rocks. The thickness of the laterite beds varies from two feet to more than thirteen feet in places. Samples of laterites from different depths were analyzed to ascertain if the whole could be broken up into subdivisions differentiated from one another by their heavy mineral content. The result was negative. No fossils were found in the laterite beds. They, however, overlie, by a considerable height, certain fossiliferous calcareous clay beds near Baripada which are known to be of middle Miocene age. The beds are therefore post-miocene.

The tools belong to the following families:—

A. Pebble tools, some of which resemble crude hand-axes, and others cleavers. There are also choppers, ovate forms and awl-like pointed tools.

B. Core tools, both faces worked—

(i) Peariform and sharply pointed triangular forms.
(ii) Almond shaped, with (*a*) worked and (*b*) unworked butts.
(iii) Discs and choppers.
(iv) Ovate, i.e. with convex cutting edges, (*a*) worked and (*b*) unworked butts.
(v) Cleaver with transverse cutting edge, (*a*) pointed butt, (*b*) square butt.
(vi) Cleaver with convex cutting edge.
(vii) Cleaver with oblique cutting edge.
(viii) A new type of cleaver-like tool with lateral margins alternately chipped to yield working edges, anterior blunt.
(ix) Side-scrapers with both faces worked all over.

C. Flake tools (one side unworked)—

(i) Cleaver on flake, transverse, convex and oblique edged.
(ii) Chopper on flake.
(iii) Tool with serrated margin produced by one-sided flaking.
(iv) Scrapers, with unprepared striking platform (none is with prepared striking platform).

D. Cores—

(i) Used only as a source of flakes.

All the above tools are of quartzite, ranging from a comparatively easily weathered siliceous sandstone to crystalline varieties and flaggy or chertlike specimens. Many implements, even when found on the surface in the neighbourhood of gravel pits, show ferruginous (lateritic) incrustations on their surface or in the angles between flake-surfaces, proving that they must have been dug up from within the lateritized gravel beds.

K. P. CHATTOPADHYAY.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

MAGADHA ARCHITECTURE AND CULTURE. By S. C. CHATTERJEE. Published by the University of Calcutta. Price Rs.5.

It is possible to read in Sris Chandra Chatterjee's 'Magadha Architecture and Culture' (University of Calcutta) not only a sympathetic account of the buildings of the Buddhist Holy Land, but also to gain some idea of the intense enthusiasm of its author for the building art of his motherland. Beginning with a scholarly 'Foreword' by Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee, in which the author and his production are suitably presented, this is followed by an Introduction by Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan who explains in a concise manner the objects of the work. From a Preface by the Sthapatya-Visarad, a title to which the author is fully qualified by his experience not only as an architect, but also as a Civil Engineer, Mr. Chatterjee passes on to a chapter on the historical aspect of his subject. Here is a fine opportunity to take an expansive view of the events which led up to the great days of Magadha, a region which corresponds in some of its geographical limits with the modern country of Bihar. Dwelling on the antiquity of its culture, the author then refers to the splendour of its past as shown in the ancient capitals of Rajagriha and Pataliputra. The influence of the Indus Valley Culture then comes into the picture, followed by the effect of the Hellenistic art of Greece through Bactria and Gandhara in the early centuries of the Christian era. And so the story is continued through the ages, of Mahavira and Gautama Buddha, of Asoka, to whom Indian architecture owes its genesis, to the Guptas and the Palas, all active patrons of the arts, finishing with the 'Glory of Nalanda' that great Hindu-Buddhist University which flourished in the first millennium and spread its influence over so much of Asia and the East.

Section II of the work deals with the 'Message of Magadha', and the effect of this living culture on the subsequent ages. Gradually the author leads up to the more recent times eventually treating with 'the Modern Architecture in Magadha', on which he makes some illuminating remarks. In conclusion the agencies for resuscitating the architectural art of Magadha are discussed, in other words, the future outlook of this historical school of the building art.

The author has thrown himself into the study of this interesting subject with great energy, and produced much that is thought-provoking. He illustrates his arguments with a number of plates from the primitive structure of the Cyclopean Wall at Rajagriha through many of the phases through which Indian

architecture has passed, finally producing a series of designs associated with the buildings of modern times, which although some may not entirely approve of his excursions into historic styles, the fact that the effort is being made to adapt the past with the present is something more than praiseworthy, it is essential to our well-being.

PERCY BROWN.

SCIENCE CAUSE AND GOD. By J. B. FREEMAN. Ave Maria Press, Chingleput, 1942, pp. i–iv, 210; i–x. Price Rs.5 or 7*s*. 6*d*.

The book under review may be called one for all those interested in modern philosophical speculations. It is an attempt to set men thinking and is itself full of thought, though set in a bit loosely.

The author is no doubt abreast with the most recent advances in science, which he discusses and utilizes in his analysis of the concept of cause, which leads on to that of God, the uncaused cause of the universe.

In his treatment of the Axiom of Realism, Analysis of Cause, the Will, Intelligibility, Kinds of Causes, the Principle of Causality, Causal Efficacy, the Apprehension of Cause, Indeterminism, Freedom, Causality, Scientific and Metaphysical Cause, the Ascent, Hume and Cause, After Hume, Religion, Philosophy, Science and other allied topics, the author has made bold not to follow the beaten track but place his original views on record as good as he could, although we cannot agree with him in every detail. The book is useful in spite of certain misprints, that have crept in. To observe critically the popular view of a cause is that it is a power or force which produces or originates the effect. Physical science improves upon this popular view and interprets causality in the light of the doctrine of conservation of energy. The Empiricist argues that we never apprehend a force or energy or power in our sense-experience since all our knowledge is derived from experience. We know nothing of production and necessary connection between the cause and the effect. All that we experience is merely a succession of phenomena. Now, if in our experience, one phenomenon is uniformly or invariably followed by another, the ideas of them become associated in our minds so that whenever we think of the former, we cannot but expect the latter. Thus causality is nothing more than uniformity of order among events and the cause is nothing but the invariable antecedent of an event. This is Hume's definition of a cause. But in that case, day would be the cause of night, as it is invariably followed by night. So Mill defines a cause as an *unconditional, invariable antecedent* of an event. Thus Mill attempts to prove the law of causation on the basis of induction by simple enumeration. While attempting

to prove that the principle of causation is derived from experience, he is compelled to assume that it is found in the facts to make induction possible. But Hume had clearly pointed out that the causal connection could not be found in the facts of experience. The Empiricists first read it into the facts before extracting it *from* them. Hence, the fallacy is obvious. On strictly experiential grounds the causal connection turns out a mere 'fiction'. Experience furnishes us with no ground whatsoever to extract the principle of causation.

If causality cannot be derived from experience, it must be explained as an *a priori* principle. Kant holds that there is no causality in the reality in itself behind and beyond phenomena. It is real only within the range of experience. It is an *a priori* category of the understanding which the mind evolves from within itself, in order to understand and interpret our experience.

According to Hegel, causality is not only a category of the human mind, but also a category or the framework of reality, which is the objective expression of the Absolute. According to the Intuitionists (Martinean and others) causality does not consist in mere uniformity of sequence, as empiricism holds, nor is it an *a priori* category of the understanding having no objective counterpart in nature, as Kant supposes. It is a power or force which produces the effect. Thus the Intuitionists' view agrees with the popular view.

According to Pragmatism causation is neither derived from experience nor from the necessity of reason but from postulation.

NARENDRA CH. VEDANTATIRTHA.

GEOGRAPHICAL FACTORS IN ARABIAN LIFE AND HISTORY. By SH. INAYATULLAH. Published by M. Ashraf, Lahore, 1942. Price Rs.4-8-0.

The book provides an enquiry into the influence of physico-geographical environment upon Arabian life and institutions. The need for such a work has been felt for a long time and the author has made a useful contribution to the study of Arabian history and human geography. Though for over a century historians and orientalists have devoted much attention to the Arabic language, general history and the rise and development of the Islamic civilization, yet a systematic geographical survey of the peninsula has not been easy to compile, because of the inaccessible nature of the land and the deep prejudice of its inhabitants against foreigners. Therefore the knowledge of the climatic and physical conditions of the country has mainly been derived from the accounts of the various travellers and explorers (mostly incognito in the past) almost exclusively western who have visited different parts of Arabia at different times. In the

present work, in the earlier part an attempt has been made to trace some general effects of the insular and inter-continental aspects of the location of Arabia in the history, race and languages of its people and the later portions deal with some aspects of the political life of the Arabs, which seem to have been influenced directly or indirectly by the physical conditions of their land. The concept of the environmental influence, including climate, physical aspects, location and natural resources has been fully brought out and the author aptly remarks, 'Not only does geography make clear to us historical facts and events, by giving us topographical and other information about the places, with which they are connected; but the conditions of physical environment, taken as a whole, reflect themselves among other things, in the historical and political activity of man.' But he rightly adds, that considerations of physico-geographical character alone do not explain the variable element of human personality and initiative though they certainly underly the stage on which the drama of human history unfolds itself and consequently helps us to understand better the general trend of the historical processes. Interesting discussions are found in relation to such as geographical influences and rational topics, independence, lack of rational unity born of geographical isolation, the rôle of the camel in the economy of the people of Arabia, the Quran and the articles of dress and luxury and the problem of food in relation to the means available. In addition, an appropriate reference is made to the scientific of the Arab geographer's work on provincial and regional geography which in many ways anticipate some of the modern concepts of human geography.

One would like the author to expand many discussions on such portions as the hydro-geographical of settlements, the natural delineation of the country and the influences of environment and mobility. The fact that 'Arabia lies in the tropical latitude of low pressure' (p. 23) has nothing to do with its extreme dryness. The real cause of its rainlessness is the prevalence of the trade winds which blow from land to sea. The author has taken an exaggerated view of the adverse nature of the climate of the peninsula (Chapter IX). The additions of a few maps, showing the main lines of relief, prominent WADIS and the distribution of settlements would have been of immense use to the reader.

It is rather strange that Amin Ar-Raihâni's marvellous book, 'MULUK-UL-ARAB' (Bairūt, 1929), escaped the notice of the author.

All in all the author has made a useful contribution to the historical and human geography of Arabia. A select bibliography, subject index and a list of Arabic words used, have been provided at the end. The book is one of general usefulness both for students of Islamic history and culture and human geography.

AKHTER IMAM.

ANCIENT RACES AND MYTHS. By CHANDRA CHAKRABERTY. V. K. Bros., 81 Vivekananda Road, Calcutta. 132 pp.

It is not always pleasant to review a book even if it is immensely so to read it. The booklet under review is a unique production. It gives proof of wide reading and condensed thought but the author seldom finds it necessary to discuss the statements which are put forward categorically and with conviction. Archaeological findings are important in the identification of races but they are not unerring guides to the reconstruction of human racial chronology, as the author seems to think. Mr. Chakraberty thinks that 'the bones do not tell lies' therefore archaeological findings are important, but bones do not speak, we speak on bones, there lies the trouble.

'The Austric race is characterized by chocolate brown colour of the skin.' 'In religion they have no higher conception than totems and taboos.' 'The Wegroids evolved in Western Africa.' 'The Caspians are the tallest (above 7 ft. high)', 'the Jats and Kushans are Caspians' according to the author, 'they practised jar burials at Harappa 'pot burials.' 'The Alpines have the highest brain capacity (1,450 c.c.)' though the average cranial capacity of the Eskimos is 1,560 c.c. and Amerindians 1,450 c.c.' 'The Aryans were a blend of the Caspians, Mediterraneans as major factors, Austroloids and Negroids as very minor elements.' 'The Negroes (Rakshasas) and Negrittoes (Nishadas) coming from the north-west crossed the peninsula and passed through the Assam corridor', Mongoloids 'fused with the Negrittoes, formed the Santals and Mundas'. 'The Austrics had a certain mixture of Negroid blood which imparted to their hair wavy characteristics.' If all these are mere myths, they have been well put. If they are claimed to be 'rational' I doubt if anybody would be convinced. Many of his conclusions which he thinks are proved are so hypothetical that it is no use discussing them. I would end this review by quoting him from his own introduction to the booklet, 'Within the same totem group sexual union is tabooed, consequently marriage is exogamous and due to psychic fixation, there is a strong incest phobia among them, which by psychological inhibitory reaction proves that sexual intercourse had been rather promiscuous among them and not only endogamous, but even it did not exclude close blood relations'. This is what the author writes about the Aruntas of Australia.

D. N. M.

MODERN PERSIAN POETRY. By M. ISHAQUE, B.Sc., M.A., Ph.D. (London), Lecturer, Calcutta University; with a Foreword by the HON'BLE NAWAB MAHDI YAR JUNG BAHADUR OF HYDERABAD. Pp. xix+226. Calcutta, 1943.

Dr. M. Ishaque has already earned a reputation as the author of an anthology of modern Iranian poetry, entitled *Sukhanwarān-i-Īrān dar 'Aṣr-i-Ḥāẓir,* which he published in two volumes in 1933 and 1937. The present work is, as stated by the author, 'a general survey with a critical estimate of the position of modern Persian poetry'; 'it may justly be regarded', says the author, 'as a critical supplement to the anthology containing the data on which this dissertation is mainly based'. The book is divided into seven Chapters. It opens with an account of the birth of modern poetry in Iran—in which the author has referred to the political and social causes which brought about a change in the outlook of the people and which found an echo in the songs or the laments of the poets. In the next Chapter, we get a list of eighty-three modern poets, with brief notices of their lives and comments on their style. Among them are included two ladies, Parvīn-i I'tiṣāmī (died 1941) who wrote under the pen-name of *Parvīn,* and the princess Faṣl-i Bahār Khānum, who has adopted the *nom de plume* of *Jannat.* In the third Chapter the author has discussed the changes in the language of modern Persian poetry and has referred to two movements which have brought about this change (p. 35). According to him, 'the first is a Purist movement, the sole aim of which is to eliminate Arabic elements traditionally connected with the former classical and theological learning. Paradoxically enough, the second movement runs counter to the first in that it readily borrows words from Western languages in order to make good the deficiency caused by the ban on Arabic terms . . . .' (p. 45). He refers to a third movement also, which, according to him, is to bring 'the poetical language nearer to the spoken idiom.' Dr. Ishaque has dealt with these movements in some detail. In the Chapter on Metres, the author has traced briefly the history of the development of the Persian metre and has referred to the isolated attempts of certain poets to depart 'from the traditional metrical principles' and 'to compose verses according to the syllabic system'; but no systematic effort has, it seems, been made to strike a new line. . . In verse-forms (Chapter V), also, Modern Persian poetry has not made any change of remarkable importance. No doubt, 'Ishqi, Afsar, and Ayati have made certain innovations, while certain inferior poets have tried to introduce the European system of rhyme or European verse forms into Persian, but their attempts have not found favour with the more distinguished poets of modern Iran.

Dr. M. Ishaque's discussion of the 'Themes' of modern Persian poetry is the longest and also, perhaps, the best. The themes, 'if studied according to their chronological growth and development', fall within three distinct periods: (1) 1890–1896, (2) 1896–1924, (3) 1924 to the present day. The history of the development of political consciousness among the Iranians, as reflected in their poetry, makes interesting reading. Poets have played no mean part in the awakening of modern Iran. The contact with Russia and the improvement of Russo-Iranian relations following the signing of the Soviet-Persian Treaty in 1921, urged a number of poets to propagate socialistic ideas through their poems, but their efforts were nipped in the bud by the stern Riza Shah Pahlavi. A feature of modern Persian poetry is the tolerant appreciation by Muslim poets of Zoroaster, the ancient Prophet of Iran; another marked feature is 'the new attitude towards women which constitutes one of the most important changes in modern Iranian life'. In the concluding chapter, the author has summed up the mission of modern Persian poetry; he has referred to its achievements and has invited pointed attention to its shortcomings. 'The modern period,' he says, 'with all its redeeming features and drawbacks, is a period of Romanticism in the poetry of Iran. Like the Romantic movement in English literature, it is essentially a product of the freedom of thought.'

The book ends with a useful bibliography and a carefully prepared index.

Dr. M. Ishaque is a notable authority on the subject which he has chosen for his study; he has taste and judgment and his book will be read with interest and profit by all students of Persian poetry.

M. M. HAQ.

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